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THE

# UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

# Columbian Magazine:

CONTAINING,

A History of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, for the years 1775, 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80.

IT ALSO CONTAINS A GREAT VARIETY

Of Original Communications, in Profe and Verfe, Original Tranſlations, and extracts from Foreign Publications, otherwiſe little known in this country—being a Repoſitory of Miſcellaneous articles; on

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HISTORY,
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MODERN TRAVELS,
NATURAL HISTORY,
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
CHARACTERS,
A REVIEW OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS,
A REGISTER OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES,
PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS,
REPORTS, *&c. &c.*

Illuſtrated with COPPERPLATES, and a complete INDEX to each Volume.

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BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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*PHILADELPHIA:*

PRINTED, FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, No. 52. SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

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# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, N°. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

## *To* CORRESPONDENTS.

THE *Dialogue between a diſabled ſoldier, of the late American army, and a ſpeculating member of congreſs* ought to have been ſent to ſome of the printers of newſpapers. It does not come within the plan of this miſcellany.

We ſhould willingly appropriate *a few pages* to a diſcuſſion of the ſubject on which C. D. has written his very lengthy eſſay. Should our correſpondent condenſe his performance, ſo as to ſuit our limits, it would be acceptable.

The author of the eſſay with this proverbial motto, "Truth ought not to be told at all times," has, in our opinion, gone too far, in his defence of a want of veracity. If circumſtances ſometimes render it prudent to ſuppreſs the truth, it does not follow that an untruth ought to be aſſerted. At any rate, we apprehend that few ſtand in need of our correſpondent's exhortation.

*Minerva* has aſſumed a name to which we fear ſhe has no good claim; at leaſt, not on the ſcore of *wiſdom*. Her communication is of too frivolous a nature.

*Every man to his humour* does not ſuite our taſte.

*Myrtilla's* verſes have ſome merit, as to ſentiment; but not ſufficient to counterbalance their *poetical* defects.—The *elegy*, by the ſame hand, will be inſerted, provided permiſſion ſhall be given, by letter, or otherwiſe, to make a few alterations.

Of ſundry *verbal* and *epiſtolary* promiſes to correſpondents, ſome have been complied with, in this and the preceding number. The remainder will, in all probability, be fulfilled next month.

Several communications, which were received late in the month, are under conſideration.

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## PHILADELPHIA, *July* 31, 1792.

### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Six per cents, per £.* - - | 21/3. | *Indents,* - - - | 12/6. |
| *Deferred ſix per cents,* - - | 13/. | *Bank U. S. whole ſhares per cent advance* | 45. |
| *Three per cents,* - - - | 12/6. | *Bank of N. America do. do.* | 30. |
| *Final Settlements,* - - | 20s. | | |

### COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bills of Exchange on London,* | 90 *days,* 68. | *Amſterdam,* 60 *days, per guilder,* | 3s-2/11 |
| *Ditto.* | 60 *days,* 69—70. | *Ditto.* 90 *days,* | 2/10. |
| *Ditto.* | 30 *days,* 71. | | |

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

## EXTRACTS *from* PAINE'S RIGHTS *of* MAN—Part II.

*On the prevalence of revolution-principles.*

AS revolutions have begun, (and as the probability is always greater againſt a thing beginning, than of proceeding after it has begun,) it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and ſtill increaſing expences with which old governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in or provoke, the embarraſſments they throw in the way of univerſal civilization and commerce, and the oppreſſion and uſurpation they act at home, have wearied out the patience, and exhauſted the property of the world. In ſuch a ſituation, and with the examples already exiſting, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become ſubjects of univerſal converſation, and may be conſidered as the *order of the day.*

If ſyſtems of government can be introduced, leſs expenſive, and more productive of general happineſs, than thoſe which have exiſted, all attempts to oppoſe their progreſs will in the end be fruitleſs. Reaſon, like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with intereſt. If univerſal peace, civilization and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot be accompliſhed but by a revolution in the ſyſtem of governments. All the monarchical governments are military. War is their trade, plunder and revenue their objects. While ſuch governments continue, peace has not the abſolute ſecurity of a day. What is the hiſtory of all monarchical governments, but a diſguſtful picture of human wretchedneſs, and the accidental reſpite of a few years repoſe? Wearied with war, and tired with human butchery, they ſat down to reſt and called it peace. This certainly is not the condition that Heaven intended for man; and if *this be monarchy*, well might monarchy be reckoned among the ſins of the Jews.

## *Of the origin of the present old governments.*

IT is impossible that such governments as have hitherto existed in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present governments of America and France will ever be remembered, because it is honorable to record it; but with respect to the rest, even flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription.

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to over-run a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of robber in that of monarch, and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

The origin of the government of England, so far as relates to what is called its line of monarchy, being one of the latest, is perhaps the best recorded. The hatred which the Norman invasion and tyranny begat, must have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the curfeu-bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.

Those bands of robbers having parcelled out the world, and divided it into dominions, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others as lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first. They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other explains the original character of monarchy. It was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered, not as his prisoner, but his property. He led him in triumph rattling in chains, and doomed him, at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances, to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principles and objects remained the same. What at first was plunder, assumed the softer name of revenue; and the power originally usurped, they affected to inherit.

From such beginning of governments, what could be expected, but a continual system of war and extortion? It has established itself into a trade. The vice is not peculiar to one more than to another, but is the common principle of all. There does not exist within such governments, a stamina whereon to ingraft reformation; and the shortest and most effectual remedy is to begin anew.

What scenes of horror, what perfection of iniquity, present themselves in contemplating the character, and reviewing the history of such governments! If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart, and hypocrisy of countenance, that reflection would shudder at, and humanity disown, it is kings, courts, and cabinets, that must sit for the portrait. Man, naturally as he is, with all his faults about him, is not up to the character.

Can we poſſibly ſuppoſe that if governments had originated in a right principle, and had not an intereſt in purſuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelſome condition we have ſeen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aſide his peaceful purſuits, and go to war with the farmer of another country? or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any claſs of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's eſtate, or raiſe its value? Are not conqueſt and defeat each of the ſame price, and taxes the never failing conſequence?—Though this reaſoning may be good to a nation, it is not ſo to a government. War is the Pharo-table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game.

## *Hereditary government tyrannical and abſurd.*

ALL hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other fanciful name ſuch things may be called, have no other ſignificant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government, is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds.

Government ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be ſo conſtructed as to be ſuperior to all the accidents to which individual man is ſubject; and therefore, hereditary ſucceſſion, by being *ſubject to them all*, is the moſt irregular and imperfect of all the ſyſtems of government.

We have heard the *Rights of Man* called a *levelling* ſyſtem; but the only ſyſtem to which the word *levelling* is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical ſyſtem. It is a ſyſtem of *mental levelling*. It indiſcriminately admits every ſpecies of character to the ſame authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wiſdom, in ſhort, every quality, good or bad, is put on the ſame level. Kings ſucceed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It ſignifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be ſurpriſed at the abject ſtate of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the government itſelf is formed on ſuch an abject levelling ſyſtem?—It has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing; to-morrow it is ſomething elſe. It changes with the temper of every ſucceeding individual, and is ſubject to all the varieties of each. It is government through the medium of paſſions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurſe, in leading-ſtrings, or in crutches. It reverſes the wholeſome order of nature. It occaſionally puts children over men, and the conceits of non-age over wiſdom and experience. In ſhort, we cannot conceive a more ridiculous figure of government, than hereditary ſucceſſion, in all its caſes, preſents.

Could it be made a decree in nature, or an edict regiſtered in heaven, and man could know it, that virtue and wiſdom ſhould invariably appertain to hereditary ſucceſſion, the objections to it would be removed; but when we ſee that nature acts as if ſhe diſowned and ſported with the hereditary ſyſtem; that the mental characters of ſucceſſors, in all countries, are below the average of human under-

ſtanding; that one is a tyrant, another an ideot, a third inſane, and ſome all three together, it is impoſſible to attach confidence to it, when reaſon in man has power to act.

Hereditary ſucceſſion is a burleſque upon monarchy. It puts it in the moſt ridiculous light, by preſenting it as an office which any child or ideot may fill. It requires ſome talents to be a common mechanic; but, to be a king, requires only the animal figure of man—a ſort of breathing automaton. This ſort of ſuperſtition may laſt a few years more, but it cannot long reſiſt the awakened reaſon and intereſt of man.

## *On* GRATITUDE.

THERE is ſcarcely any point of moral obligation which has been more univerſally admitted, than that of Gratitude. We are taught it by the inſtinct of nature, nor is any degree of depravity ſufficient to efface the impreſſion. Let a man be ever ſo void of gratitude, he does not ceaſe to look for it where he imagines it to be due to him; and he beholds ingratitude with deteſtation in another, even while he excuſes it in himſelf.

It is therefore ſuperfluous to dwell upon gratitude as a *duty*—but I would wiſh every man to remember, that the cultivation of a grateful temper is eſſential to his happineſs.

Our earthly comforts ariſe, for the moſt part, from the good offices of others. The tenderneſs of our parents is the ſupport of our childhood—and the kindneſs of our friends and brethren, the ſolace of our riper years; but without gratitude, our reliſh for theſe comforts muſt be cold and languid. We may receive and uſe the matter of a benefit, but a ſenſe of the kindneſs which confers it, is that alone which renders our ſatisfaction vivid and laſting. Ingratitude has a morbific influence; the greateſt benefits wither and ſhrink up as they approach it; for it leſſens to itſelf, as far as poſſible, the kindneſſes which it cannot bear to acknowledge. But the grateful mind feels the full value of a favour—it ſees it through the moſt advantageous medium, and taſtes a pleaſure in acknowledging it, ſcarcely inferior to that of the generoſity which beſtowed it.

It may be obſerved farther, that the exerciſe of gratitude is eſſential to that circulation of good offices, which is the life of ſociety.—Few are beneficent without, at leaſt, a preſumption of gratitude. The moſt diſintereſted look for it, as a proof that their kindneſs has been effectual, which it would not be, if it were not felt. Conſequently, the ungrateful man is a public enemy: his baſeneſs diſcourages generoſity, and diffuſes a chilling influence which freezes many a ſtream of beneficence. But he who ſhews a due ſenſe of the kindneſſes done to him, becomes, himſelf, a benefactor to the public; his grateful acknowledgments caſt a clearer light upon virtue, and call all men to admire its beauty. Thus benevolence is roufed to in-

creaſed activity; and even the unfeeling heart, loſing its ſtrong plea of univerſal ingratitude, is allured to ſeek the credit, if it cannot taſte the luxury, of doing good.

There are various cauſes for that deficiency of gratitude which we ſo often have reaſon to lament—the moſt obvious are, pride, diſcontent, and irreligion.

The proud man cannot be grateful, becauſe he cannot be obliged. He conſiders all men as debtors to his ſuperior worth, and imagines himſelf entitled to their ſervices. Perhaps he may think his benefactors ſufficiently honoured by his acceptance of their kindneſſes; or if even he ſhould feel himſelf obliged, he is aſhamed to acknowledge it. The expreſſion of gratitude is, in this view, a humiliation not to be ſubmitted to, and he chuſes rather to appear ungrateful than mean.

Diſcontent is no leſs an enemy to gratitude.—The diſcontented man feels no benefit, and therefore can acknowledge none. He ſees every thing through the falſe medium of a gloomy fancy, which deprives the brighteſt bleſſings of their ſplendor. Perhaps that which is happineſs to another, may be miſery to him. Thus, being incapable of enjoyment, he cannot feel the kindneſs of a benefactor; and he fails in gratitude, not becauſe he is naturally ungrateful, but becauſe he cannot form an eſtimate of the favours conferred on him.

But, the greateſt foe to this deſirable virtue, is irreligion—this precludes every principle that tends to nouriſh gratitude, tears up the very ſoil from whence it ſprings, and fills the ſoul with the moſt oppoſite tempers. The eſſence of irreligion is ingratitude to the Supreme Benefactor; and it is ſcarcely to be expected that he who is habitually inſenſible of infinite kindneſs, ſhould be diſpoſed to acknowledge thoſe comparatively trifling obligations, which one frail mortal can confer on another.—But a religious man cannot be ungrateful; his piety to God neceſſarily brings every other virtue along with it, and it is impoſſible, that he who has learned to love his enemies, ſhould be wanting in gratitude to his benefactors.

I ſhall conclude this eſſay with an anecdote, which will be the more acceptable to my readers, as they may be aſſured of its authenticity.

About the year 1744, a perſon was taken up in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, on ſuſpicion of being a Popiſh emiſſary, employed to promote ſedition amongſt the Roman Catholic Iriſh, and carried before Mr. F. a gentleman of fortune, and a magiſtrate in that part of the country. Being indulged in a private hearing, he acknowledged himſelf an Italian Jeſuit, but ſo fully ſatisfied Mr. F. as to his deſigns in travelling through Ireland, that he not only declared him at liberty, but invited him to dinner, and afterwards to a bed. Mr. F. was highly pleaſed with his converſation; and, convinced that he deſerved to be protected rather than moleſted, gave him, the next morning, warm letters of recommendation to the principal gentlemen in thoſe parts of the country through which he intended to travel.

Some time after this, Mr. F. was ſurprized at receiving a very valuable preſent of wines and fruit from Italy, but without any notification of the hand from which they came. This donation was con-

tinued yearly for ſome length of time, and Mr. F. concluded that they could come from no other than the grateful Jeſuit.

In a few years Mr. F. and his lady went to the continent, and paſſing through Italy, they reſted ſome time at Rome. One evening, happening to fall into converſation with an eccleſiaſtic, he was led to ſpeak his ſentiments on ſome religious topics with more honeſty than diſcretion, but without ſuſpecting any conſequences. That night, however, at a very late hour, he was ſurprized by a viſit from an unknown perſon, who, on being introduced, told him, abruptly, that if he regarded either his liberty or his life, he muſt not remain an hour at Rome. He refuſed to anſwer any queſtions, only adding, that if Mr. F. would leave one of his ſervants behind him, he might ſoon be ſatisfied as to the danger to which he was expoſed.

Mr. F. obeyed the admonition—inſtantly ordered his carriage and horſes, and travelling with all ſpeed, ſoon got beyond the Papal territories.—His ſervant who had been left behind at Rome, came up with him in a ſhort time, and informed him, that ſhortly after his departure, the officers of the Inquiſition had ſurrounded the houſe, and ſearched every chamber in order to find him.

The means of this deliverance were ſtill a myſtery—but it was ſpeedily developed. Mr. F. after having been ſome time in Florence, received a letter to the following purport: "One good turn deſerves "another; I owed my liberty and the ſafety of my perſon to you, "and I am happy in having rendered you a ſimilar ſervice. From "this you know who it was that viſited you at mid-night."

## HINTS *to* DEALERS *in* PORK.

IT is well known that Iriſh proviſions have been, and ſtill are, generally uſed throughout Europe; the quality is a good recommendation, and the mode of preſerving them contributes in no ſmall degree, to their value; yet there is another point in which they differ from the ſalt proviſions of almoſt every other country, ſimple in itſelf, yet extremely uſeful, as it ſaves labour in the diſtribution, and of courſe gives it the preference to thoſe who have the power of approving or diſcountenancing it—I mean, that they are cut in pieces of a proper ſize to ſuit a ſmall meſs, either of a navy or army. If American pork of the firſt quality was manufactured in the ſame manner; viz. *fifty* pieces of about *four* pounds each in a barrel, it would command, not only a ready ſale at foreign markets, but it would alſo produce a better price; and as this mode of curing it can be attended with no poſſible injury at any market, it is earneſtly recommended to all dealers in pork, that they will begin and promote a ſyſtem which, if practiſed, muſt tend to their own emolument and the good of their country.

A MERCHANT.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

# HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

*(Continued from our last—page* 352.)

COUNT D'ESTAING having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, after the unsuccessful expedition against Rhode-Island, sailed, in the beginning of November, 1778, for the West-Indies, whither the theatre of naval operations was, for some time, transferred. The count, having taken St. Vincents and Grenada, retired to Cape-Francois. Here he was warmly solicited, by letters from general Lincoln, governor Rutledge, and others, to sail for the American continent, where it was confidently hoped, that he might render essential service, in operating against the common enemy. Having been instructed by the king, his master, to act in concert with the forces of the united states, as far as might appear beneficial to both, he readily yielded to the solicitation, and, on the 1st of September, arrived on the coast of Georgia, with twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His arrival was so unexpected by the British, that the Experiment, of 50 guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

General Lincoln was no sooner apprised of d'Estaing's arrival, than he marched for Savannah, with the army under his command. The militia of Georgia and South-Carolina were ordered to rendezvous near the same place; which they accordingly did, in great numbers. They were sanguine in the hope of driving the British out of Georgia, and therefore turned out with uncommon alacrity. Nor were the British less diligent in preparing for the defence of the place. Officers and privates vied with each other, in the most laborious exertions, to strengthen and extend the works. In this business great numbers were employed, day and night, under the direction of major Moncrieffe, an excellent engineer. That the French frigates might not get too near the town, some armed ships and transports were sunk in the channel, and a boom was thrown across it. The seamen were landed, and posted at different batteries.

Count d'Estaing, on the 16th of September, shortly before he was joined by Lincoln, summoned general Prevost to surrender to the *arms of France*. Against this mode of summons Lincoln afterwards remonstrated, as being improper, when the Americans and French were acting in conjunction. The matter, however, was amicably settled; and the manner of carrying on negociations in future was adjusted, to the satisfaction of both.

Prevost wished, if possible, to gain time, that he might strengthen the works, land the artillery of the shipping for their defence, and give lieut. col. Maitland an opportunity of arriving from Beaufort, with his detachment, consisting of about 400 men. He therefore returned a polite answer to the count's summons, declining to surrender on a general summons, and requesting that specific terms might be proposed. He was informed, in the count's reply, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms; upon which he artfully re-

queſted a truce, for twenty-four hours, for the purpoſes of deliberating upon the ſubject, and preparing proper terms. During this interval, which was injudiciouſly allowed him, he was joined by Maitland and his party, who had made their way through many obſtacles. By the arrival of this detachment, the garriſon was augmented to about 3000 men; with which Prevoſt determined to defend the place, to the laſt extremity.

It was now a queſtion with the allied army, whether they ſhould beſiege the garriſon formally, or attempt it by ſtorm. The former mode being adopted, it became neceſſary to erect batteries, and to land cannon; which, with the different military ſtores, were to be tranſported five miles by land. This, owing in a great meaſure to a want of proper carriages, conſumed much time; during which, the works of the town were greatly ſtrengthened. When the garriſon was firſt ſummoned, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but almoſt deſtitute of guns. Such were the exertions of the garriſon, that, before the termination of the ſiege, the works were covered with a numerous artillery, conſiſting of nearly 100 pieces.

On the 4th of Oct. the beſiegers began a furious cannonade upon the town, with nine mortars and thirty-ſeven pieces of cannon from the land ſide, and with fifteen from the water. Theſe continued to play for four or five days, with ſhort intervals, but without much effect. About this time, major l'Enfant, with five men, advanced through a briſk fire from the Britiſh lines, and attempted to ſet fire to the abbatis; but the moiſture of the wood, which was green, prevented the ſucceſs of this daring enterpriſe.

After the commencement of the cannonade, Prevoſt requeſted permiſſion to ſend the women and children out of town; but this was refuſed, from motives of policy. The combined army was confident of ſucceſs; and it was ſuſpected that a deſire of ſecreting the plunder, lately collected in South-Carolina, was covered under this ſpecious veil of humanity. It was preſumed, moreover, that a refuſal would expedite the ſurrender of the garriſon. The conduct of the beſiegers, on this occaſion, has, however, been branded by ſome Britiſh writers, with every epithet of barbariſm and inhumanity.

The time which count d'Eſtaing had aſſigned for this expedition being elapſed, and it appearing from a report of the engineers, that a conſiderable length of time would be ſtill neceſſary, to reduce the garriſon by regular approaches, his marine officers remonſtrated againſt his continuing longer to riſk ſo valuable a fleet, on ſuch a dangerous coaſt, in the hurricane ſeaſon, and at ſo great a diſtance from the ſhore that its deſtruction muſt be inevitable, ſhould it be ſurprized by a Britiſh fleet, in good repair, and well manned. Under theſe critical circumſtances, d'Eſtaing was unwilling to hazard the ſafety of his fleet, by any further delay; there was, therefore, no alternative, but to make an immediate aſſault, or to raiſe the ſiege. Prudence would have dictated the latter; but a ſenſe of honour induced the beſiegers to adopt the former. Had count d'Eſtaing been active on his arrival, and attacked the Britiſh lines, in their original weakneſs, before the garriſon was ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Maitland's detachment, there is reaſon to believe he would have

experienced a greater degree of ſucceſs. Indeed, to delay an attack, when he had limited his ſtay to a ſhort period, and while the ſtrength of the garriſon was daily increaſing, ſeems to have been a capital error.

On the morning of the 9th of Oct. before day-light, an attack was made upon the Spring-hill battery, by d'Eſtaing and Lincoln, at the head of 3,500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleſton. To favour the ſucceſs of this attack, two feints were made by the American militia. Thoſe deſtined for the aſſault, marched up to the lines, with great firmneſs; but a heavy fire from the batteries, which took them in almoſt every direction, and a croſs fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confuſion, and a retreat was ordered, after they had ſuſtained this deſtructive fire for fifty-five minutes. Such was the ſpirit and perſeverance of the allied troops during this attack, that two ſtandards were placed on one of the Britiſh redoubts, though it was bravely defended by capt. Taws, who was the only Britiſh officer that fell. The works and ditches near his redoubts exhibited, after the retreat, ſuch a ſpectacle of killed and wounded as, in the opinion of the officers preſent, had only been equalled at Bunker's-hill. Of the French and Americans, nearly one thouſand were killed or wounded. The loſs of the garriſon, who fired from behind their works, was very trifling. Count d'Eſtaing and count Pulaſki were both wounded; the latter mortally, as he was riding into town, full gallop, between the redoubts, at the head of 200 horſemen, with an intention of charging the enemy in the rear. On the part of the Britiſh, gen. Prevoſt, lieut. col. Maitland, and major Moncrieffe, acquired great reputation, by their ſucceſsful defence of a poſt, which was in a very weak ſtate, when firſt inveſted by the fleet and troops of France, under count d'Eſtaing.

The ſiege being raiſed, the continental troops retreated into South-Carolina. Exhauſted with fatigue, dejected by defeat, and expoſed to the viciſſitudes of an autumnal atmoſphere, in a climate unfriendly to health, ſickneſs was very generally prevalent among them. Immediately after the repulſe, the militia returned to their homes, almoſt to a man. Count d'Eſtaing reimbarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

The inhabitants of the ſouthern ſtates were much elated, when this expedition was undertaken. They looked forward to no leſs important an event, than the expulſion of the invaders from that part of the continent. The diſappointment of this expectation was attended with a proportional depreſſion of ſpirits. The ſituation of the Georgia exiles was particulary diſtreſſing. Many of them, who had collected from all quarters, in hopes of being enabled to repoſſeſs themſelves of their eſtates, were now obliged to flee, a ſecond time, from their country and poſſeſſions.

But if the manner in which this campaign was terminated in the ſouthern ſtates, diſappointed the hopes of the Americans, and excited gloomy apprehenſions in their minds; neither did it afford much matter of exultation to the Britiſh. The viſit of the French fleet to the coaſt of America, though it was unſucceſsful, as to its main object,

diſconcerted the plans of the Britiſh commanders, and cauſed a conſiderable waſte of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. Beſides, the campaign had been productive of no deciſive advantage. After having over-run the ſtate of Georgia, to the diſtance of 150 miles from the ſea-coaſt, and penetrated South-Carolina, as far as the lines of Charleſton, they were now reduced to their original limits, in Savannah. Their ſchemes of co-operation with the tories had failed; nor could they expect much, in future, from that claſs of inhabitants, whoſe ſpirits were thoroughly broken by repeated diſappointments.

While the allied army lay before Savannah, an exploit, well worthy of being recorded, was performed by col. John White, of the Georgia line. Capt. Trench was ſtationed, with 100 men, near the river Ogeechee, at the diſtance of about twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the ſame place were five Britiſh veſſels, four of which were armed; the largeſt with fourteen guns, the ſmalleſt with four, and the whole were manned by forty-one ſailors. All theſe men, with the veſſels, and 130 ſtands of arms, were ſurrendered to col. White, capt. Elholm, and four others, one of whom was the colonel's ſervant. On the 30th of September, late at night, this ſmall party kindled a number of fires in different places, practiſed various other ſtratagems, to give themſelves the appearance of a large force, and ſummoned the captain, in the moſt peremptory terms, to ſurrender immediately. The deception ſucceeded. Captain Trench was ſo fully impreſſed with an opinion, that nothing but an inſtant compliance could ſave his men from being cut in pieces by a ſuperior force, that, without attempting to make the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſurrendered. The priſoners were ſecured, and afterwards conducted, by three of the captors, twenty-five miles through the country, to an American poſt.

Throughout the year 1779, the military operations of the Britiſh, in the ſtates to the northward of Carolina, were almoſt entirely of a predatory nature. Their commiſſioners had, in the preceding year, threatened the Americans with all the horrors of devaſtation; in order to render "the colonies of as little avail as poſſible to their new connections." This threat was accordingly executed by the Britiſh commanders, to the utmoſt extent of their power. This mode of warfare, unprecedented among civilized nations, was undoubtedly ſanctioned by the miniſters of Great-Britain. Several members in both houſes of parliament, ſhocked by the inhumanity of the commiſſioners declaration, and deſirous of wiping away a ſtain ſo diſgraceful to their country, moved for a diſavowal of that part of the proclamation, in which the commiſſioners had taken upon them to denounce a barbarous ſyſtem of war, no leſs inconſiſtent with ſound policy, than with the dictates of humanity, and the law of nations. But every motion of this kind was negatived, by the uſual miniſterial majorities.

In the beginning of May, ſir Henry Clinton diſpatched ſir George Collier and general Matthews, with a conſiderable naval and land force, for the purpoſe of making a deſcent on Virginia. They landed at Portſmouth, which was deſtitute of defence, and conſequently fell into their hands; as did the remains of Norfolk, on the

oppoſite ſide of the river. On the approach of the enemy, the Americans burned a number of veſſels; but others were ſaved, and made prizes. The Britiſh made a forced march, by night, to Suffolk, where they deſtroyed a large magazine of proviſions and naval ſtores, together with the veſſels which they found there. A ſimilar deſtruction was carried on at Kemp's-Landing, Goſport, Tanner's-Creek, and other places in the neighbourhood. The frigates and armed veſſels were equally active and ſucceſsful, along the margins of the rivers, and the adjacent parts of the bay. Within a fortnight, that the fleet and army continued on the coaſt, the loſs ſuſtained by the Americans was prodigious. Three thouſand hogſheads of tobacco were taken at Portſmouth. Upwards of 130 veſſels were deſtroyed or taken. Several veſſels upon the ſtocks were burned; and every article of naval ſtores was either carried off or deſtroyed. The town of Suffolk, the ſtore-houſes at Goſport, and ſundry public buildings, in different places, were burned. The houſes of ſeveral country gentlemen ſhared the ſame fate. The fleet and army arrived ſafely at New-York, with their booty, before the end of the month.

The troops, immediately upon their return from the Virginia expedition, were joined to others, going up the north-river, to attack the poſts of Stoney-point and Verplank, where the Americans had begun to erect ſtrong works, for the purpoſe of preſerving an eaſy communication between the ſouthern and eaſtern ſtates. General Vaughan, with the greater part of the troops, landed on the eaſt ſide of the river, about eight miles from Verplank. Sir Henry Clinton landed on the weſt ſide, and took poſſeſſion of Stoney-point, without oppoſition. Directly oppoſite to Stoney-point, acroſs the river, the Americans had finiſhed a ſtrong fort; which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garriſon of about ſeventy men. It was untenable, however, after the loſs of Stoney-point, by which it was entirely commanded. During the night, the Britiſh dragged up a number of mortars and pieces of cannon, to the high rocks of Stoney-point, from which a dreadful fire was poured upon the fort early next morning. In the mean time, Vaughan had taken a circuitous rout, and completely inveſted the fort by land. The garriſon finding themſelves overpowered, and having no proſpect of eſcape, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton gave immediate directions for completing the works of both poſts; and for putting Stoney-point, in particular, in the ſtrongeſt ſtate of defence.

The numberleſs ſmall cruizers and whale-boats, from Connecticut, which infeſted the ſound lying between that ſtate and Long-Iſland, were ſo continually watchful and active, and their ſituation afforded them ſuch opportunities, that they had nearly deſtroyed the trade to and from New-York, on that ſide, to the great inconvenience and diſtreſs of the Britiſh fleet and army. This furniſhed a pretext to the Britiſh for a deſultory invaſion along the Connecticut coaſt, the oſtenſible motive to which was, that they might effect the deſtruction of the American veſſels, and of the materials for ſhip-building. But they did not confine themſelves to this object.

The troops deſtined for this expedition were about 2600. They were commanded by gov. Tryon, who was ſeconded by brigadier-

general Garth. The transports, which conveyed the troops, were covered by a number of armed vessels, commanded by sir George Collier. In the beginning of July, they sailed from New-York, and landed, in two divisions, at East and West-Haven, whence, after burning the greater part of East-Haven, they proceeded to New-Haven. The town was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their moveable property of every kind. Such articles as could not be carried off, were wantonly destroyed; and almost every species of enormity was perpetrated. The militia, however, was collecting so fast, that the enemy made a sudden retreat, without executing their original design of burning the town. They next proceeded, by water, to Fairfield. To col. Whiting, who commanded the militia near this place, Tryon sent a flag, with an address, by which the inhabitants were invited to return to their allegiance, and all, except civil and military officers, were promised protection, on condition of remaining peaceably in their usual places of residence. In this address the lenity of the royal army was enlarged upon; and the existence of a single house on the defenceless coast, was said to be at once a monument of British mercy, and of American ingratitude. The col. was allowed an hour for his answer; that he might, if he thought proper, save the town, by a compliance with the terms of the address; but he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He, nevertheless, returned a spirited answer. The militia gave the enemy some annoyance, as they were advancing; but were soon obliged to retreat. On the approach of the British, most of the inhabitants quitted the town. A few women, imagining their sex would protect them, remained, in expectation of being able to save their property; but they had reason to repent of their conduct. The soldiers plundered the deserted houses, before they committed them to the flames. They robbed the women of their buckles and rings, and even of their bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs; abusing them, at the same time, with the foulest language; presenting their bayonets to their breasts, and threatening to deprive them of their lives. The women, together with Mr. Sayre, an episcopal clergyman, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, besought Tryon to spare the town; but their joint supplications were disregarded. The British burned the meeting house and episcopal church, and the buildings in general, to the distance of two miles, around the town, including the greater part of Green's farms. The militia, though joined by numbers from the country, were not sufficiently numerous for an effectual opposition. The British concluded their scenes of devastation in this quarter, by the total destruction of the flourishing town of Norwalk. The inhabitants feared that the whole coast, 120 miles in extent, would share the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk; but after the enemy had rioted in the most wanton destruction of property for ten days, they were suddenly stopped in their career, by an order from sir Henry Clinton, to repair immediately to New-York.

The loss sustained by the Americans on this occasion was great. Besides their dwelling houses, and the effects contained in them, a con-

siderable number of ships, some finished and others on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. The number of houses and barns burned was upwards of 300, among which were five houses of public worship. The loss of the British, during the expedition, did not exceed 150 men.

These devastations, particularly the burning of the houses, were loudly complained of by the Americans. The only apology offered by the British was, that the houses gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired upon them; that the burning of them served in some instances to conceal the retreat of the troops, and was therefore justifiable, upon the principle of military necessity. Certain it is, however, that no such necessity could with truth be urged, either to excuse or palliate the burning of the greater part of the houses. General Tryon attempted to justify the measure, upon principles of policy. In a letter to general Clinton, he said, he should be very sorry, if it were thought less reconcileable with humanity, than with the love of his country, duty to his king, or the law of arms, to which America had made her appeal; that the usurpers had professedly placed their hopes of severing the empire, in avoiding decisive actions, upon the impoverishment of the British treasury, and the escape of their own property, during a tedious war; that their power was supported by the general dread of their tyranny, and the artifices practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in the forbearance of the royal forces; and that he wished to detect this delusion.

These devastations were the subject of an elegant and pathetic poem, entitled "The burning of Fairfield," written on the spot, a few days after the mournful catastrophe, by col. Humphries.

Congress, on receiving satisfactory proofs of the ravages of the British, in this and other expeditions, of a similar nature, resolved (July 19) that their marine committee should be directed to take the most effectual measures, for retaliating upon the enemy, agreeably to their manifesto of the 30th of October, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns of the British, in Europe and the West-Indies. This resolve, however, was never carried into effect.

In this desultory mode of warfare, the British had great advantages. By means of their marine force, they could command the numerous rivers, harbours, and bays of the united states; and make descents where they pleased, with such rapidity, and in so many different quarters, nearly at the same time, that it was impossible for the American land-forces to march and counter-march with sufficient expedition to cover the country, or check the depredations of the enemy. The invaded citizens, as well as those whose local situation exposed them to the ravages of the British, incessantly pressed general Washington to detach continental troops from the main army for their protection; but he could spare very few. Besides, he was apprehensive that the enemy wished to draw off a part of his army from the defence of West-point, with a view to make an attack upon that important post. He was moreover aware of the impolicy of dividing his army into several bodies; since this would render his whole force liable to be cut to pieces in detail. It was

therefore his uniform practice, to attempt no more towards covering any particular part of the country, than appeared consistent with the general safety. He was at this time posted with the main army at some distance from New-York, on both sides of the north-river; a position to which he had marched, from his late encampment at Middlebrook, soon after sir Henry Clinton's capture of the posts at Stoney-point and Verplank. The security of West-point being a principal object of his attention, he was by no means desirous of hazarding the loss of any part of his army, either by a general or partial engagement. At the same time, he kept a strict watch upon the enemy. For this purpose, a party of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, commanded by col. White, patrolled constantly in front of the British lines, for several months. This corps had frequent skirmishes with parties of the British; and rendered essential service, by checking their excursions, and procuring intelligence of their movements.

*(To be continued.)*

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## EULOGIUM *on* MODERN IMPROVEMENTS.

*(Intended to have been spoken at a late Commencement.)*

THE improvements in modern times are so great, and so superior to what our forefathers could pretend to, that they ought not to be passed over, without their deserved eulogium. We live in the reign of philosophy and the sun-shine of the sciences; and our advance in the arts and the happiness of life bear a proportion to this grand illumination. I have, for some time, wished for an opportunity to display our superiority in these respects—and as I have now the good fortune of possessing a clear stage, with a respectable audience before me, it is my purpose to attempt it. I could wish, indeed, that my abilities were more equal to the arduous task which I have undertaken; that I might celebrate as it deserves, our happiness, my countrymen and fellow-citizens, in being born in these latter ages, when human sagacity, refined by long experience, produces fruits of a most delicious pulp. Yet what I can, I will attempt; but O for the hundred mouths of Fame, with each an hundred tongues, which honest Virgil describes, that I might proclaim the gigantic strides, which we at present make towards perfection, beyond what was ever seen in the world before! Indeed I know not how sufficiently to congratulate my hearers, upon the excellence and sublimity of our discoveries and improvements, both natural and artificial, beyond what has ever been seen in ancient times. Our superiority in knowledge, taste, ingenuity, politics, virtue, and religion, cannot be modestly contested.

I know some four philosophers, and visionary men, will be ready to spurn at any idea of this sort; and resist that full blaze of evidence

which may be poured upon the ſubject. I am well aware that they will ſcuffle hard for their favourite ancients, and kick up no little learned duſt to blind the eyes of their antagoniſts. Such people, when preſſed cloſely in argument, fly to recrimination and ſilly reproach, inſtead of reaſon and proof—and, when we oblige them to confeſs that we excel the ancients in wiſdom and ingenuity, very ſagaciouſly diſcover, that we alſo advance in depravity; and thus, what we gain or eſtabliſh in one point, we loſe in another. Our fathers, ſay they, after their oracle Horace, were worſe than theirs, and we are more corrupt than they. But with the good leave of theſe muſty objectors, I think their ſhallow aſſertion is not ſupported by fact and experience—and that, on the moſt moderate allowance in favour of modern virtue, we muſt oblige them to confeſs, that our anceſtors, we, and our poſterity are pretty much alike, being all of one kindred, and of a very bad family to boot.

However, not to enter further into diſpute about this matter at preſent, I beg your attention to our improvements of another kind: and here I think it will be eaſy to eſtabliſh our decided ſuperiority over the ancients, in ſcience, taſte, ingenuity, and various other particulars which we may have occaſion to mention.

They boaſt, it is true, of Homer, Pythagoras, Euclid, Solon, Plato, Ariſtotle, and others, whom they impudently aſſert, to be the originals of every uſeful branch of ſcience, and that we only repeat their diſcoveries, and plume ourſelves upon what is at beſt only borrowed;—but were they to appear amongſt the philoſophers, poets, hiſtorians, romance-writers, and politicians, of Europe and America, how would they ſhrink back from the luſtre of our glory?

Homer had the art perhaps of ſwelling to the ſublime in poetry, but he wanted *depth*; he was not acquainted with the profound, the bathos of many modern poets, who ſhall be nameleſs, leſt they ſhould be diſgraced in the compariſon; who, as Pope luckily hits it off,

> True to the bottom, ever careful creep
> The cool, long-winded, natives of the deep.

And whoſe works, as they ſuit the comprehenſion of the great majority, poſſeſs an excellence in this moſt important reſpect, that is unrivalled. The poetical morſels in our muſeums, magazines, and news-papers, are ready at any time, to be produced in compariſon with the odes of Horace, or the trifles of Anacreon—and our witty eſſays, with the humours of Lucian.

Pythagoras is highly celebrated as a philoſopher by the ancients, and it is pretended that all our modern improvements in commerce, agriculture, and mechanical arts, are founded on principles diſcovered by him;—but alas! he was as far from ſome modern lecturers on philoſophy, and modern remarkers on the appearances of nature, as from this earth to the tail of the laſt comet. Did he know that the earth was twenty thouſand years old? or would he have thought of proving it by the antiquities near the Miſſiſippi? Would he ever have dreamed of ſailing to the moon in balloons, or mounting by art beyond the orbit of the earth, to ſail between worlds and worlds, and with eagle-flight to approach towards the centre of our ſyſtem, and gaze upon the ſun? Did it ever enter into his heart to conceive that

moral evils were to be corrected by phyſical cauſes, and that the vice of lying, ſo prevalent in many ages, could be annihilated by a due expoſure to a freezing atmoſphere—a moſt important diſcovery of recent date? Would he have believed it, that the time would arrive when ſlander and lies might be baniſhed from the parties of the gay and rich by a few doſes of ice, duly adminiſtered; and that for this reaſon, the wealthy and public-ſpirited inhabitants of this metropolis, ſhould multiply contrivances for the preſervation of ſo choice a medicine through all ſeaſons of the year?

The ancients boaſt much of the profound reſearches and concluſive reaſoning of Euclid, Ariſtotle, and ſome other long-winded champions of that ſort; but I fancy we ſhould confound them and their reaſoning too, by the more conciſe and pithy mode of aſſertion. This cuts matters ſhort, and precludes the neceſſity of tedious diſcuſſion—and in addition to this, we boaſt of the argumentum ad crumenam, or, the argument of the purſe; by which, in a ſummary way, we reſolve queſtions of the greateſt depth in every ſcience, without difficulty. Yes, the modern invention of deciding diſputes by a wager, was reſerved for theſe ages of invention and improvement! In this way we get rid of a world of trouble, where we meet with oppoſition; and beſides, not only does it free us from the labour of underſtanding ſubjects of debate, but it reſtores that natural pre-eminence to the wealthy, of which, for a period of ages, they had been deprived, by the abilities of poor fellows, who can always parade more arguments than caſh upon any point:—For want ſharpens the wits;—

> And, as the tuneful Flaccus ſings,
> It is the very beſt of things
> To give the true inventive fire,
> And ſcrew the peg of genius higher.

As to taſte and refinement of manners, there ſurely can be no compariſon. Who is ſo blind as not to ſee how vaſtly, nay how infinitely I may ſay, the taſte of the moderns exceeds the ancient ſimplicity, or rather ruſticity of manners! Their clowniſhneſs was ſuch, that they had no word, in any of their languages, which could be tranſlated Gentleman or Lady. They had, to be ſure, philoſophers, orators, hiſtorians, legiſlators, patriots, heroes, demigods, nymphs, and goddeſſes; but alas, they had not one fine gentleman or fine lady! There were a few indeed, who ſhot above the manners of the reſt; ſuch as Cataline, Piſo, Claudius, and Mark Anthony, amongſt the men; and Julia and Meſſalina, amongſt the women; who would have been allowed to be very pretty gentlemen and ladies in modern times: for they could dreſs, and dance, and drink, and game, and ſwear to perfection. But thoſe booriſh people had ſo little reliſh for ſuch a character, that they ſcrupled not to call them drunken, gambling, cheating, lying, and lewd wretches. Unfortunate people! they happened unluckily to be born in times when merit ſuffered an eclipſe, and was diſcouraged by an infernal ſpirit of perſecution! Had they lived amongſt us, they might have ranked with the foremoſt—they might have riſen to the height of the beau monde, and ſhone with a ſuperior luſtre at our aſſemblies, routs, and ſunday even-

ing parties. They might have handled their cards with the fine ladies in our polished circles at present—and speculated and debauched, to admirable advantage, with our very fine gentlemen;—yet as it happened, circumstances were not favourable to their advancement in their own times—and their sinking into infamy among their cotemporaries, sufficiently proves the dulness of taste which generally prevailed. Our prevailing taste, in dress and amusements, in equipage and ornaments, in luxury, and the haut ton of living, beggars all description, and leaves all antiquity behind.

In those rude, unpolished days, their old-fashioned notions were such, that they prided themselves upon a fear of the gods, a reverence for religion and its ministers, a respect for their parents and other superiors, and a scrupulous observance of the laws, and regard to the duties of morality.—But what a pitiful, groveling set must they not have been? Where is any liberality of sentiment in all this? Are we not born free? Free as the winds—and what right have any to insist upon the subordination of others, or to attempt to controul them? Such are the sentiments of liberal men in the present age, who are the ornaments of human nature.—They free us from the shackles of constraint in education, and inculcate an utter contempt of every thing that would cloud mirth, and hinder enjoyment. They destroy those dykes and mounds which imaginary fears and squeamishness of conscience had raised for the guarding of morality and religion. They demonstrate to us that the deity can make no great difference between virtue and vice without crying injustice, and pour salvation upon us like a flood.—Thus we learn to live without constraint, and to die without fear. Happy ages, so long foretold! You have begun to roll upon the world.—How silly would Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero appear amongst modern philosophers! *They* talked of the soul and its capacities—of being like the gods, and of the excellence of piety and virtue. But modern philosophy has dealt so much in matter, and developed so minutely its subtle properties, as sufficiently to prove universal materialism, and triumphantly to evince that there is no soul at all—and I suppose the inference would be clear enough from this, that there is neither god, angel, devil, nor spirit.—Our celebrated philosophers have sufficiently ridiculed the idea of sin, and assured us that even female infidelity is but a pecadillo when it is known, and when not known, it is nothing at all—that the doctrine of a providence which particularly regards the virtuous, or remarks the vicious with disapprobation, is an impious tenet, as far as impiety can exist—and that the clergy or ministers of religion, are the great disturbers of the public repose, and as such ought to be rejected from society, with the utmost abhorrence. In this last respect, our modern philosophers have gloriously freed the world from bondage—As they can easily demonstrate, that God has no rights, of consequence it is ridiculous to pay any duties, and therefore our enlightened patriots and scholars, agree to treat those who pretend to inculcate the contrary with the most sovereign contempt. By shewing the clergy to be a set of pragmatic fellows, not worth minding, they rid us at once of a deal of trouble, which would ensue from attending or believing their lectures, and smooth the principal rub in the road

of free and liberal manners. A few chain-ſhot which have not been levelled at a ſingle mark, but with an enlarged compaſs of aim, have ſtruck at the character univerſally, have knocked down, not only the men, but the buſineſs. And now, it is expected the halcyon days are taking place, when we may all do as we pleaſe, without conſcience or account—that we may range through every ſcene of pleaſure unconſtrained, and conſcience be totally ſubdued.

Our principal characters have ſet the example of a total diſregard to the public, but now antiquated inſtitutions of religion—and have recommended the pleaſing ſuccedaneum of the ſtage, and theatrical exhibitions, in their room. Plato, indeed, was fool enough to ſay, that "plays raiſe and pervert paſſions, and are dangerous to morality;" and Cicero, that "comedy ſubſiſts upon lewdneſs, and the pleaſure which it encourages is the root of all evil." Seneca, under a fit of the ſpleen, complained, that "while the play-houſes were open, nobody would apply to the ſtudy of nature and morality,"—and Tacitus audaciouſly records a reflexion, that would ſeem to imply a brutiſh cenſure upon our female attenders on the theatre; his remark is, that "the German women were guarded againſt danger, and kept their honour ſafe, by having no play-houſes amongſt them." But our legiſlators, more diſcerning and better acquainted with human nature, have pronounced theſe ſame ſtage-plays, the pleaſing and liberal amuſement of the polite, and the promoters of all the virtue that is neceſſary in the world.

It would be uſeleſs in this place to enlarge upon our advances in the ſcience of politics and government;—Theſe are ſo obvious and inconteſtable, that I ſhould but mock your diſcernment to ſtate them at large. The wheels of government run ſo ſmoothly—the well-born have ſuch due and natural weight—the balances are ſo trimmed—our rights are ſo many, ſo well aſcertained, and ſo diſtinctly enumerated—our obligations ſo few—our departments all ſo virtuouſly managed, and the auri ſacra fames ſo utterly baniſhed, that antiquity may forever be blotted from our remembrance, or be brought forward to view, only as a foil to our ſuperior excellence, in this important ſcience.

Upon the whole, therefore, I hope I have elucidated the point in hand, with ſufficient clearneſs, and I preſume on the patience of this reſpectable audience further, only to repeat the ſong of a modern bard; which, though it is not exactly in agreement with ſome of the ſentiments which I have delivered, yet ſupports the opinion which I have inculcated, that the preſent are the beſt and happieſt of times:

Of all the ages ever known,
The preſent is the oddeſt;
For all the men are honeſt grown,
And all the women modeſt.

No lawyers now are fond of fees—
No clergy of their dues;
No doctors now charge heavy fees—
At church no empty pews.

Our rulers, heaven defend us all!
I'll nothing say about 'em;
For they are great, and I'm but small,
So let's jog on without 'em.

Our gentry are a virtuous race,
Despiling earthly treasures;
Our youth are sober, temp'rate, chaste,
And quite averse from pleasures.

The ladies seem so plain indeed,
You'd think them quakers all—
Witness the dresses on their head,
So comely and so small.

No races now to drain the purse,
No bets on cards are laid;
And as for dice, so long our curse,
They all are burnt 'tis said.

No drunken sot neglects his spouse,
For bowls of brimming nappy;
Nor taverns tempt him from his house,
Where all are pleas'd and happy.

All cuckold-making is forgot,
No ladies now in keeping:
No batter'd beaux now go to pot,
Whose wives are kill'd by weeping.

No gentlemen now take a freak,
To crowd the roads on sunday,
So horses, lab'ring thro' the week,
Obtain a rest for one day.

Happy's the nation thus endow'd,
So void of wants and crimes;
Where all are rich, and none are proud;
O these are glorious times!

I see you all, with wond'ring stare,
Think this is mighty high, sir;
But pray forgive us, if we dare,
To say 'tis all a lie, sir.

If you think thus, pray do not frown,
But take another light on't;
Just turn the picture upside down,
And this will be the right on't.

## *On the* BEAUTY *of* EPISTOLARY WRITING.

ITS first and fundamental requisite is, to be natural and simple; for a stiff and laboured manner is as bad in a letter, as it is in conversation. This does not banish sprightliness and wit. These are graceful in letters, just as they are in conversation; when they flow easily, and without being studied; when employed so as to season, not to cloy. One who, either in conversation or in letters, affects to shine and to sparkle always, will not please long.

The style of letters should not be too highly polished. It ought to be neat and correct, but no more. All nicety about words betrays study; and hence musical periods, and appearances of number and harmony in arrangement, should be carefully avoided in letters. The best letters are commonly such as the authors have written with most facility. What the heart or imagination dictates, always flows readily; but where there is no subject to warm or interest these, constraint appears: and hence, those letters of mere compliment, congratulation, or affected condolence, which have cost the authors most labour in composing, and which, for that reason, they perhaps consider as their master-pieces, never fail of being the most disagreeable and insipid to the readers.

It ought, at the same time, to be remembered, that the ease and simplicity which I have recommended in epistolary correspondence, are not to be understood as importing entire carelessness. In writing to the most intimate friends, a certain degree of attention, both to the subject and the style, is requisite and becoming. It is no more than what we owe both to ourselves, and to the friend with whom we correspond. A slovenly and negligent manner of writing, is a disobliging mark of want of respect. The liberty, besides, of writing letters with too careless a hand, is apt to betray persons into imprudence in what they write. The first requisite, both in conversation and correspondence, is to attend to all the proper decorums which our own character, and that of others, demand. An imprudent expression in conversation may be forgotten and pass away; but when we take the pen into our hand, we must remember, that "Litera scripta manet."

The most distinguished collection of letters in the English language, is that of Mr. Pope, Dean Swift, and their friends; partly published in Mr. Pope's works, and partly in those of Dean Swift. This collection is, on the whole, an entertaining and agreeable one; and contains much wit and ingenuity. It is not, however, altogether free of the fault which is imputed to Pliny's epistles, of too much study and refinement. Those of Dr. Arbuthnot, in particular, always deserve praise. Dean Swift's also are unaffected; and as a proof of their being so, they exhibit his character fully, with all its defects. Several of Lord Bolingbroke's, and of Bishop Atterbury's letters, are masterly. The censure of writing letters in too artificial a manner falls heaviest on Mr. Pope himself. There is visibly more study, and less of nature and the heart in his letters, than in those of some of his correspondents. He had formed himself on the manner of Voiture, and is too fond of writing like a wit. His letters to ladies are full of

affectation. Even in writing to his friends, how forced an introduction is the following, of a letter to Mr. Addiſon: "I am more joyed "at your return, than I ſhould be at that of the ſun, as much as I "wiſh for him in this melancholy wet ſeaſon; but it is his fate too, "like yours, to be diſpleaſing to owls and obſcene animals, who "cannot bear this luſtre." How ſtiff a compliment is it, which he pays to biſhop Atterbury: "Though the noiſe and daily buſtle for "the public be now over, I dare ſay, you are ſtill tendering its "welfare; as the ſun in winter, when ſeeming to retire from the "world, is preparing warmth and benedictions for a better ſeaſon." This ſentence might be tolerated in an harangue; but is very unſuitable to the ſtyle of one friend correſponding with another.

## *On the* IMPROVEMENT *of the* MEMORY.

THE only infallible method of augmenting the powers of the memory, is frequent, regular, and well-directed exerciſe.

In order to improve the memory, it is neceſſary to acquire a confidence in it. Many render it treacherous by fearing to truſt it; and a practice has ariſen from this fear, really injurious, though apparently uſeful. It is the practice of committing to writing every thing which the ſtudent remarks, and deſires to remember. Nothing is more common, and nothing more effectually fruſtrates the purpoſe it means to promote. It is better that many things ſhould be loſt, than retained in the table-book, without confiding in the memory. Like a generous friend, the memory will repay habitual confidence with fidelity.

There are injudicious and illiterate perſons, who conſider the cultivation of the memory as the firſt object in education. They think it is to be loaded with hiſtorical minutiæ, and with chronological dates. They entertain a mean opinion of the ſcholar, who cannot recite matters of fact, however trivial, and ſpecify the year of an event, however doubtful or inſignificant. They expect to have the chapter and verſe mentioned on every citation, and are more pleaſed with that little accuracy, than with a juſt recollection of a beautiful paſſage, or a ſtriking ſentiment. But to labour to remember unideal dates, and unintereſting tranſactions, muſt ever be an irkſome ſtudy to a lively genius; and he who ſhall train young perſons in this laborious track, will give them a diſguſt for literature. It is to feed them with the huſks of learning, which, as they are both dry and hard, afford neither pleaſure nor nouriſhment. Let the reading be pleaſant and ſtriking, and the memory will graſp and retain all that is ſufficient for the purpoſes of valuable improvement.

There is one circumſtance, which has had an unfavorable influence on aſpiring at the excellence of a retentive memory. An idea has prevailed, that memory and genius are ſeldom united. To be poſſeſſed of memory in a great degree, has led ſome to conclude, that genius was deficient; and all pretenſions to memory have been readily ſacrificed for the credit of poſſeſſing genius. Pope's famous lines,

in which he says, that the beams of a warm imagination dissolve the impressions on the memory, seem to have induced those who wished to be thought to possess a fine imagination, to neglect their memory, in order to possess one symptom of a fine imagination.

In giving great attention to the cultivation of the memory, there is danger lest it should be overladen with minute objects; a circumstance highly injurious, especially in the course of education. Let it therefore be considered, that a good memory, according to a similitude of Erasmus, resembles a net, so made as to confine all the great fish, but to let the little ones escape.

## *A general* VIEW *of* SIBERIA *and its* INHABITANTS.

[*By M. Patrin.*]

A DESIRE to become acquainted with the northern part of Asia, and to bring home useful knowledge, and interesting productions, has induced me to reside eight years, amidst all the rigour of those severe climates, and to study nature in the vicinity of the pole.

This vast country, to us so little known, offers to our view some curious objects in plants and minerals. To these I principally directed my researches, and had the happiness to bring home some collections highly valuable. These are materials proper for extending our knowledge in natural history. But before I enter into any detail respecting them, it may be proper to give a general notion of the country, and its inhabitants.

Siberia, which is subject to the Russian empire, is separated from it by a long chain of mountains, which extend north and south for near five hundred leagues. The Russians emphatically call it, 'The Girdle of the Earth.' It is the natural limit between Europe and Asia. Towards the south it is bounded by an immense cluster of mountains, extending from west to east as far as the frontiers of China; north and east by the frozen sea, and the streight which separates it from America.

This vast tract is traversed from south to north, by many of the largest rivers in the world.

The inhabitants of this country, as dismal as it is extensive, in which the frost continues for nine months in the year, are not numerous. In a space of fifteen hundred leagues long, and six hundred leagues broad, they scarcely amount to 1,200,000 souls, which consist of Russians and hords of Tartars.

As to the Russians, there appears the most singular uniformity. In the extremity of Siberia, the human race appear precisely the same as at Moscow; the same language, the same kind of clothing, and the houses on the same plan.

The physical constitution of the Russians is well known; they are the most robust and vigorous people on the earth. The Russian women are not elegantly made, but their faces are of a beautiful carna-

tion; their language, the ſound of their voices, and all their manner, have ſuch a bewitching ſoftneſs, and are ſo ſtrongly attractive, that few men can be near them with indifference. To a Ruſſian it is impoſſible; for though born in a frozen climate, their conſtitutions are extremely hot. The electric fluid, which abounds ſo much towards the poles, produces the ſame effect on them, as the rays of the ſun do in the tropical climates.

The Ruſſian women, who are extremely fond of dreſs, although their education is rather ſtrict, know how to uſe the advantages nature has given them; they are ſcarcely out of their infancy, before they are able, by the price of their charms, to ſatisfy their vanity; and the luxury of their cloathing, among the inferior claſs, would aſtoniſh, if we were not able to judge by what means they procure them.

All their cloathing is of ſilk or cotton, of the moſt brilliant colours, never of woollen or linen, although Ruſſia has thoſe commodities in great plenty. Theſe remarks will alſo apply to Siberia, except for a very few who inhabit the moſt retired villages.

The Ruſſians ſpeak French, and many foreign languages, with aſtoniſhing facility. Their tongue, which we ſhould believe to be equally rude as their climate, is, on the contrary, ſoft, flexible, and one of the fineſt exiſting. The diminutives which abound in it, give it an infinite grace in the mouths of the women. Its mechaniſm is much like the Greek, and is ſo eaſy, that few languages are learned in ſhorter time.

The language of the Tartars is, on the contrary, of a moſt diſguſting nature.—Theſe people are diſperſed in tribes through Siberia, and live under the protection of Ruſſia; part of thoſe which inhabit the frontiers of Europe are Mahometans, and apply themſelves to agriculture and commerce; their language is a dialect of the Arabic; thoſe which inhabit the eaſtern part of Siberia are *nomades*, or wanderers, and live in tents; they ſpeak the Mogul language, and are idolaters.

The Mahomedan Tartars, who inhabit the Ruſſian villages, live in quarters by themſelves, which are always the beſt built and moſt agreeable. They appear to enjoy eaſy circumſtances. They give tea and other refreſhments in veſſels of ſilver.

During my reſidence in Siberia, I had an opportunity to ſee a great many of theſe Tartars, and found many of them remarkably honeſt.

All the hords of Tartars have great reſemblance to each other. The religion of the wandering Tartars appears to be idolatry, but they acknowledge a Supreme being. They have a Delai Lama, who is ſovereign and pontiff of a large ſtate on the frontiers of China. Their prieſts, whom they call lamas, are men better informed than they are generally thought to be.

On the tops of hills, in the deſarts inhabited by theſe Tartars, I have ſeen places for prayer, a kind of temple, of the ſimpleſt ſtructure; they are in the ſhape of cones, about thirty feet high, formed from young trees, brought from the neighbouring foreſts, hung round with the ſkins of animals. Theſe are offerings to the Deity, whom they emphatically call the GREAT BEING. Wherever I ſaw theſe re-

ligious monuments, I obſerved that there extended from the cone, for ſeveral toiſes each way, four heaps of ſtones, directed to the four cardinal points of the compaſs.—This was not the effect of chance. I obſerved many of them with a compaſs in my hand, and found them very correct.

I once aſked a lama the meaning of this. 'Does not the Great Being,' ſaid he 'breathe on us from the four points of the compaſs, and ought we not to anſwer him each way by our prayers? Look at theſe ſtones, they are written on.' I admired the ſublimity of the idea, and obſerved ſome characters on the ſtones.

Among theſe people adultery is very rare, and is puniſhed in a very ſingular manner: the guilty perſon is carried into the middle of a foreſt, and left there, with a bow and ſome arrows, but no horſe, and is left to his deſtiny. A Tartar, uſed to be on horſeback from his cradle, knows not how to walk; none of theſe unfortunate beings were ever known to appear again.

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their manners, no people are more hoſpitable than the Tartars. Wherever I went I was received like a friend. I was fond of living in their tents, as I there breathed an air of liberty. The haſte theſe people make to receive ſtrangers, ariſes partly from a natural curioſity. At night, when I have employed myſelf in arranging my collection of plants, I have obſerved the family ranged round me, in profound ſilence, attentive to my plants. I aſked them what they thought? They told me they perceived I was preparing offerings to the GREAT BEING. The notes I wrote and faſtened to the different ſpecies, confirmed them in this; they thought they were prayers. When I endeavoured to undeceive them, they would ſcarcely believe me.

The wandering life of theſe people is proper for hunting, it forms one of their principal occupations; but they do not much quit the plains. They cannot climb the mountains, where the fineſt ſables are to be found. The exiles in Siberia were formerly employed in hunting this animal, but they have lately become ſcarce, and theſe unfortunate wretches are employed in the mines. Some few free Ruſſians, actuated by a hope of gain, alone employ themſelves in theſe huntings; the occupation is truly frightful.

Furniſhed with a ſack of meal, ſome ſalt, a kettle to dreſs his meat, and two long ſnow-ſhoes and a muſket, the hunter ſets off in the midſt of winter, at which time the fur is the fineſt. Thus equipped, he goes for three months into the moſt frightful and retired ſolitudes, acroſs rocks and precipices, paſſing the nights in huts of ſnow, and expoſed all day to the rigour of a moſt piercing cold.

## DETRACTION *and* GOOD-NATURE. A VISION.

I FOUND myſelf, during the ſlumbers of the night, in a very extenſive region, which was ſubject to the juriſdiction of a fury named Detraction. The fields were wild, and carried not the leaſt appearance of cultivation. The tops of the hills were covered with

ſnow; and the whole country ſeemed to mourn the inclement ſeverity of an eternal winter. Inſtead of the verdure of the pleaſing herbage, there ſprang up to ſight hemlock, aconite, and other baneful plants. The woods were the retreats of ſerpents; while on the boughs were perched the birds of night, brooding in doleful ſilence.

In the middle of the plain was a bleak mountain, where I diſcovered a group of figures, which I preſently made up to. The ſummit preſented the fury of the place. There was a peculiar deformity attending her perſon. Her eyes were galled and inflamed; her viſage was ſwoln and terrible; and from her mouth proceeded a two-edged ſword. A blaſted oak was the throne which ſhe ſat on: her food was the fleſh of vipers, and her drink was gall and vinegar.

At a little diſtance from her, I obſerved Ignorance talking loud in his own applauſe, Pride ſtrutting upon tiptoe, Conceit practiſing at a mirror, and Envy, like a vulture, preying upon herſelf.

The multitudes who paid their adreſſes to this fury, were a compoſition of all nations and profeſſions, of different characters, and various capacities. There was the mechanic, the tradeſman, the ſcholar; but the moſt zealous votaries conſiſted principally of old maids, antiquated bachelors, diſcarded courtiers, and the like. Each ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with the fury, by ſacrificing the moſt valuable of his friends; nor could proximity of blood move compaſſion, or plead exemption from being victims to her inſatiable paſſion. Some addreſſed this infernal Moloch with the very fruits of their bodies, while others were triumphantly chaunting forth the extent of her power, and expatiating on the numbers of her conqueſts. At this inſtant aroſe in my breaſt all the tender ſentiments of humanity that I had ever cultivated; and I began to blame my criminal curioſity, which had prompted me to aſcend the mountain. But in a few moments the whole ſcene was very agreeably reverſed: for, towards the ſouthern boundaries, I obſerved the clouds parting, the ſky purpling, and the ſun breaking forth in all its glory; when immediately there appeared marching towards us Good-nature, in all her pomp and ſplendor, arrayed like a ſylvan nymph, and blooming with unſtudied graces. She was of a fair and ruddy complexion, which received additional beauty from the frequent ſmiles that overſpread her countenance. On her right hand ſhone Good-ſenſe, with much majeſty and diffidence in her mien. She was an eſſential attendant on the young lady, who never appeared to ſuch advantage as when ſhe was under her more immediate direction. On her left was Generoſity, carrying a heart in her hand. The next that preſented was Modeſty, with her eyes fixed on the ground, and her cheeks ſpread with roſes. Then followed a train of beauties, who, by the unaffected charms of their perſons, made me deſirous of a nearer inſpection. Upon a cloſe approach I diſcovered that they were a tribe of amiable ladies, who were always fond of appearing in the retinue of the goddeſs, from whoſe indulgent ſmiles they received an additional luſtre to their charms. I then turned my eyes towards the monſters I have above deſcribed; the principal of which turned pale, and fell down in a ſwoon from her throne. Pride ſhrunk into a ſhade; Envy fell proſtrate and bit the ground; while Igno-

rance vaniſhed like a morning cloud before the riſing ſun. As the goddeſs drew near, the whole collection of fiends diſappeared. The baſiliſk ſkulked into the glade, and the oak, on which the fury was ſeated, budded forth afreſh. Wherever the goddeſs walked, the flowers ſprang up ſpontaneous at her feet. The trees, animated with new-born life, diſplayed the enamelled bloſſom. The tender roe was ſeen bounding over the mountains, and the little lamb ſporting on the hills. Inſtead of the briar and the thorn, there ſhot forth the myrtle, and every odoriferous ſhrub. The voice of the turtle was heard in the groves, and the dales reſounded with the melodious harmony of the nightingale. In a word, the whole region confeſſed the happy influence of the deity, and charmed in all the genial ſoftneſs of the ſpring.

## *A* VINDICATION *of the* FAIR SEX, *againſt the Charge of preferring* COXCOMBS *to Men of* WORTH *and* GENIUS.

IT has frequently been obſerved, by the petulance of wit, and the peeviſhneſs of unſucceſsful lovers, that genius and learning are ſmall recommendations to the favour of the fair; and that the ſex, ſo far from holding in due eſtimation the ſuperior endowments of the mind, are always ready to prefer the flimſy tribe of ſycophants and coxcombs, to thoſe whoſe labours have tended to advance the happineſs of ſociety, or whoſe talents have given ſplendor to their age and country. 'If you mean,' ſay they, 'to conciliate the favour of theſe children of affectation and frivolity, you muſt renounce at once the deportment and dignity of a rational being, conſult their fantaſtic whims, flatter, with inceſſant praiſe, their ſilly vanity, and devote your whole attention to the moſt unmanly and degrading trifles; in ſhort, you muſt aſſume the pliancy of a ſpaniel, and the pert vivacity of an ape.'

But this heinous charge, however generally admitted, and however apparently ſupported by the frequent diſappointments, in their tender attachments, of literati and men of genius, I am inclined to conſider as deſtitute of ſolid and rational foundation; nay I will venture to aſſert, that when facts are properly examined, we ſhall find that the want of ſucceſs, in this particular, of which men of letters ſo frequently complain, is chiefly to be aſcribed to their own folly, (to give it no harſher name) and is, in many inſtances, rather a proof of the good ſenſe, than of the weakneſs of the ſex ſo unjuſtly ſatiriſed.

That mere coxcombs are ſometimes careſſed, is undoubtedly true; and ſo are lap-dogs, and monkies: but what is the proportion, or the deſcription of females, who beſtow their careſſes upon either? The queſtion is eaſily anſwered. There are undoubtedly fribbles and idiots of either ſex; and it is fit that they ſhould keep each other in countenance. But if we conſult the conduct and ſentiments of females, whoſe underſtandings are not greatly below the common ſtan-

dard, we ſhall find them almoſt univerſally prepoſſeſſed in favour of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their learning, their genius, or their good ſenſe: and if they who are fortunate enough to procure favour by their reputation, forfeit it afterward by their conduct, it cannot be difficult to aſſign the cenſure to its proper cauſe.

The annals of gallantry, could they be fairly preſented to our view, would convince us that men are generally ſucceſsful, in proportion to the extent of their capacities; and if we are obliged to make a mortifying exception, with reſpect to men of ſuperlative talents, ſhall we not alſo be compelled to aſſign a cauſe for this exception, ſtill more degrading to literary pride; and to confeſs, that, if even fribbles and coxcombs ſometimes ſucceed, while poets and ſcholars are rejected, there is but too much reaſon to ſuſpect, that the latter are ſometimes leſs calculated to make a rational being happy; ſince innumerable facts will ſupport the aſſertion, that they are frequently more ſullen, more tyrannical, and unſocial; more devoted to ſelfiſh pride, and even leſs communicative and entertaining (within the circle of their own families) than their moſt illiterate rivals? And what degree of happineſs can ſuperior talents confer, if the ſoothing graces of a ſociable, affable, accommodating diſpoſition are entirely wanting?

'I underſtand you,' cries the ſurly ſtudent. 'It is not for the ſuperiority of our capacities; it is not for our talents and acquirements that we are to expect regard; it is by ſacrificing theſe endowments at the ſhrine of female vanity. The cauſe of our failure is ſufficiently evident: we cannot ſubmit to thoſe little, idle, fribbling, and ſervile attentions, with which other men conciliate their favour, by degrading themſelves.'

Nor is it neceſſary. Civility, common reſpect, tenderneſs, good humour, and ſome little vivacity, will be more gratifying to the female mind, than all the flattering ſervility of fools, or the light impertinence of fops: and the man of learning or of genius, who cannot *condeſcend* thus far, has no right to complain, if the eſteem of his talents is not able to ſubdue the diſguſt which his manners muſt inſpire; nor is the fair one to be cenſured for the rejection of a man, who is too proud of his talents to treat her with tenderneſs and eſteem, or whoſe ſcholaſtic roughneſs renders him neglectful of all the ſocial ſoftneſs, which gives to life its ſweeteſt charms, and without which conjugal happineſs, or even the pleaſures of friendſhip, muſt be ſought in vain. Learning and genius, like beauty and feminine vivacity, are to be conſidered but as the ornaments of life, the eſſentials of which are good temper and virtue; and wherever theſe latter, or either of them, are wanting, no talents, however brilliant, can give their poſſeſſor any genuine title to love, or even to eſteem.

I do not mean to inſinuate, that moroſeneſs and ill-humour are neceſſary concomitants of genius; or that great mental acquirements unfit a man for happineſs and ſocial enjoyment. There are certainly many, who blend the greateſt learning with the moſt engaging good humour, and to the fire of genius add the brilliancy of elegant manners; and ſuch are ever ſecure of the moſt gratifying reception from

the fair. All I mean to insinuate is, that when men of letters are neglected by the sex, they owe not their disgrace to the eminence of their abilities, but to some qualities or habits, which, as they might remove them without injury to their talents, it is their duty to themselves and society to reform, instead of cherishing them with irrational pride.

## *The* ADVANTAGES *of* ECONOMY, *illustrated in the Character of* FRUGAL.

MY neighbour Frugal orders his family to bed so early, that they may rise with the sun the year round. Thus he saves candles; for the sun lights him for nothing; and he reckons the sun affords a better light than a candle. Morning drams, and flip before dinner, he has disused for many years. This is a considerable saving: and he now enjoys better health, and eats with a better appetite, than when he used them. He keeps a plenty of wholesome food—good beer and cider; and requires of his labourers no more work than they can perform with the strength of these. Ardent spirits, he thinks, ought to be reserved for occasional use. And he says, his people do more work, and do it much better, than they did four years ago, when he indulged them in the free use of rum. Besides, they seldom quarrel with one another. When he sees a young fellow turn down two or three glasses of rum in quick succession, "There," says he, "is a fellow who will always be poor: he will be a drunkard before he is forty years old." As he was once on a visit to a friend's house, in a town at some distance, he saw a man in a poor habit, with a bottle in his hand, passing the street before sun down, on saturday. He observed that the man went into a retailer's shop, and soon returned, and went into a small house. "There," says Mr. Frugal to his friend, "is a miserable family, soon to be maintained by the town. They waste the earnings of the week in rum. They cannot keep sunday without a bottle. They never go to meeting. I dare say, the women and children are as nasty and ragged as Hottentots, and almost as ignorant. They plead, I suppose, in excuse for not going to church, or sending their children to school, that they are so poor, and have so many rates to pay, that they cannot procure clothes. If one of the family happens to be sick, I presume the neighbourhood must be called upon, to supply them with the necessaries of life. And all this for rum."—"You have hit it exactly," says the gentleman of the house: "And this is the case of several other families among us. Rum is the ruin of them."

Frugal never goes to a tavern without business, nor tarries longer than to finish the business that called him there. If he meets a friend, whom he is glad to see, instead of treating him at the tavern, he invites him to his house; for he says, he can better give a friend a dinner or supper at home, than half a mug of flip at a tavern; and can enjoy more social chat. He observes, that some men invite their

friends to the tavern, because they love the place themselves; and then, by tavern-expenses they are become so poor, that they cannot entertain a friend at their own houses. At the tavern, they can go upon tick, and pay off all by and by, in a lump, with a cow or a piece of land.

Frugal is punctual to pay his debts; and never contracts more than he can pay in a season. Thus he saves interest, the expense of suits, and the vexation of contentions with his neighbours. I need not tell you, that Frugal is a thriving man; and there never was a better neighbour.

## *On the* MISAPPLICATION *of* FRUGALITY.

THE economist recommends *saving*, as the way to make *gain*. But he will be asked, whether a man's *gains* are always in proportion to his *savings?* Certainly they are not so, unless he saves with discretion. There is an extreme in saving, as well as in spending. The former may be as inconsistent with thriving, as the latter. "There is that withholdeth more than is meet; but it tendeth to poverty." Parcus is a husbandman. His father, twenty years ago, left him in possession of a good farm, which he has industriously occupied ever since; but he has made no progress. He has only just kept his ground; and the only difficulty is, he is afraid of every thing that looks like expense. He carries all his savings to an extreme.

If he buys a coat, he aims at the cheapest cloth in the shop, and thus always gets the poorest. The trimmings, the taylor's bill, and the time spent in going half a dozen times to the taylor, before the coat is finished, are about the same, as if he had bought a good substantial coat; but it does not afford half the service.

There is not a farmer in the town, who, with the same quantity of hay, keeps so numerous a stock. But though he seldom sells or kills a beef, or a mutton, he only just keeps his number good. His sheep shed half their wool before shearing time; his cattle arrive not to their growth, until they are five or six years old; and then they are but dwarfs: and his yard, every spring, is the rendezvous of all the neighbouring crows; and all because he is too saving of his hay. If he can make his creatures live through the winter, he thinks he does well. His object is to keep a large stock on a little hay.

If he buys a breeding mare, what he principally regards is a low price. He does not consider that a low-priced animal will eat as much as any other; and that her foals are not of half the value. His buildings fall into ruins, because he dreads the expense of repairing: and the very timbers are roting, while he tries to make the old covering last as long as possible. Rather than be at the expense of convenient implements for his husbandry, he depends on borrowing; and the time lost for want of them, and spent in borrowing and returning, every year amounts to five times the value. Thus

Parcus carries on his buſineſs, and, with great induſtry, on a good farm, he juſt ſupports a moderate family; while ſeveral of his neighbours, on farms no better, and with leſs labour, are growing rich, only by *diſcretion* in ſaving, and *judgment* in ſpending.

## *On the* FOLLY *of* ENGAGING *in* TRIFLING STUDIES.

IF ſome perſons be prevented from acquiring uſeful knowledge, by their intellectual incapacity, there are others, who, poſſeſſing talents, fail of important attainments, by wearing away their time in trivial ſtudies. A perſon generally ſuppoſes he gives a ſatisfactory account of employing himſelf, when he can ſay, he has been engaged in reading. He may, however, deceive himſelf, as well as others, in this reſpect. It is not more common, or more diſagreeable, to find men deficient in their ideas, from a neglect of books, than it is to obſerve them bloated with falſe and frivolous notions, by an injudicious choice of authors. An acquaintance of mine, who is celebrated for his literary taſte and ingenuity, invited me, the other morning, to look at his library, which is ſaid to be an excellent one. If ſingularity can give a claim to merit, my friend deſerves great praiſe for his collection of books; for he has certainly filled his ſhelves with ſuch performances, as ſcarcely any man but himſelf would ever think of purchaſing. After expatiating upon a variety of authors I had never heard of, and a ſtill greater number I had never read, he told me he had taken immenſe pains to aſcertain every minute circumſtance relative to the building of Noah's ark. No hiſtory, either ſacred or profane, that threw any light upon that intereſting ſubject, had eſcaped his notice. "It is," he ſaid, "to be regretted, that the particulars, of that celebrated work of antiquity, are not more generally known." The vaſt delight he had found in his reſearches, he aſſured me, were not to be deſcribed. As I conſidered myſelf uſeleſsly employed in hearing his deſcriptions, my readers would make the ſame remark, if this eſſay communicated a converſation ſo unimportant. My friend informed me of many other equally curious diſcoveries or attainments; and his pride ſeemed to conſiſt in knowing, what none of his acquaintance knew, or had any inclination to know.

The deſign of reading, is not ſo much to increaſe the quantity of our knowledge, as the quality and utility of it. Men of leiſure, who have patience of inveſtigation, may, perhaps, employ themſelves in uſeleſs enquiries, without producing any hurtful effects: indeed they may happen to ſtrike upon ſome diſcovery from which benefit will reſult. But where ſuch an ardour of curioſity prevails, as to induce people to reſearches, from which no practical advantage is derived, it diſqualifies them for active purſuits in life.

It ſhould be an eſtabliſhed rule with every perſon, who reads, to enquire of himſelf, when he lays aſide his book, whether he have gained any ideas at all; and whether they be juſt and uſeful. To read, and yet to acquire no ideas, is, at any rate, a deſtruction of time: but the mere loſs of time is not ſo pernicious, as to catch ſentiments that are fallacious or trifling.

## EXTRACT *from a "Practical Eſſay on raiſing* APPLE-TREES *and making* CIDER;" communicated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, by Mr. A. CROCKER.*

THE buſineſs of the cider-maker comes next under conſideration; and therein much labour and attention muſt be employed, or the nurſery-man has been working in vain.

About the beginning of October he will find his apples, in general, ſufficiently ripe for gathering; this he will know by ſlightly ſhaking a loaded bough of an apple tree; for if the apples fall freely it is an indication of their being ſufficiently matured for his purpoſe.

He muſt then progreſſively ſhake the boughs of his trees, (but not pole any, leaving the unripe apples for further maturation,) and gather into heaps this golden harveſt of *Pomona*, keeping each kind of fruit by itſelf. Theſe heaps of apples (which ſhould not be more than a foot deep) muſt remain in the orchard, or ſome other open place, for a fortnight or more; in which time they will, in general, acquire a ſufficient degree of melioration to be made into cider. Should ſevere froſt ſet in, theſe heaps of apples muſt be covered with ſtraw.

His mill, preſs, and veſſels being previouſly cleaned, † he muſt now grind his apples to a pretty fine pumice, and, without much delay, proceed to the expreſſing of the juice; putting the pumice, for that purpoſe, into very clean horſe hair cloths, or making a cheeſe thereof with bandages of ſweet, clean, wheat reed; taking care not to mix the pumice of various kinds of apples in one cider-cheeſe, eſpecially of ſweet and ſour fruit.

The juice thus expreſſed muſt be ſtrained through a fine hair-ſieve into an open veſſel, and from thence conveyed to the caſks, which ſhould previouſly be placed in an open cellar: the bungs of which muſt be left unſtopped, that the groſs fæces of the firſt fermentation may be diſcharged thereat.

Very particular attention muſt now be paid to the cider, to catch (as it were) the very moment of the firſt fining thereof,‡ and immediately to rack it off into a clean, open veſſel; where it muſt remain eighteen or twenty hours; after which it muſt be tunned into another caſk, properly cleaned, and, if need be, matched.§ This firſt

* It is propoſed to publiſh the whole eſſay in the Memoirs of the Academy.

† "In none of which muſt any *lead* be uſed, leſt a poiſon be thereby adminiſtered to thoſe who drink the cider."

‡ This is beſt obſerved by drawing out a glaſs-full frequently, and holding it to the light: Or it may pretty accurately be known by the diſcharged fæces becoming brown, and beginning to crack.

§ Matching a caſk is intended either to ſuppreſs an improper fermentation in the cider; to give ſome particular flavour thereto; or to increaſe the ſpirit thereof; and is thus performed. Take a ſtrip of canvaſs cloth, about eighteen inches long and two broad; one half of which muſt be dipped in brimſtone, [melted in an earthen pan] whereon ſome pounded Oris root, grains of Paradiſe, Coriander ſeeds, Winter's bark, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, or other pungent aromaticks have been ſtrewed.

fining of the cider, made at this ſeaſon of the year, from ſour fruit, will happen within thirty or perhaps twenty hours after making; that of ſweet fruit in not leſs than forty or fifty hours. Hence appears the neceſſity of keeping the different kinds of apples ſeparate: For ſhould a commixture of fruit be admitted, the juice of the ſweet apple will not get fine until the ſecond fermentation of that of the ſour has begun, and a perpetual, unnatural fermentation will enſue, and continue perhaps for months, robbing the cider of its ſaccharine parts, and converting the whole into an acid liquor, unpleaſant to the palate, and far leſs wholeſome than it would have been if duly managed.*

In a very ſhort time after the cider is become fine, if it be not racked, as before directed, the acid fermentation begins. This may be perceived by a hiſſing noiſe, very diſtinctly heard on applying the ear to the bung of the caſk; and its effects can only be remedied (and that but in part) by drawing it off, as ſoon as perceived, into an open veſſel, and ſuffering it there to remain for thirty or forty hours, before it be again turned into a freſh caſk, and by mixing therewith ſome good French brandy, about the quantity of a quart to a hogſhead of cider; or by matching the caſk, in manner ſpoken of in a preceding note.

But permit it to be ſuppoſed that the cider-maker has been cautious enough to catch the firſt fining above mentioned, and to have managed it according to the preceding directions, he will then have nothing more to do therewith until the February or March following, when it will be proper, in a mild ſeaſon of fair weather, to give it another racking; and, if need be, to commix that which was made from ſour fruit (which may be too pale) with that which was made from ſweet fruit, (which is generally dark coloured) thereby giving it as well a proper flavour, as that high amber-colour, which, in the glaſs, is pleaſing to the eye.†

When this match is dry, it muſt be lighted, and put into a caſk, [pendent from the bung] in which a few gallons of cider have been before hand tunned; where it muſt remain until it be burnt out. The caſk muſt remain cloſe ſtopped for an hour or more, and then rolled to and fro, to incorporate the fumes of the match with the cider: After which it muſt be nearly filled with the remaining cider. If the matching be intended merely to ſuppreſs an improper fermentation, the brimſtone alone will be ſufficient; but if an additional flavour and ſpirit be required, take ſuch of the other ingredients as may be liked beſt. For increaſing the ſpirit, it ſeems unneceſſary to be over curious in the choice of the ingredients; for "all the pungent aromaticks have a ſurpriſing property of increaſing the quantity of ſpirit." [Shaw's *Chymical Eſſays.*]

* Chymiſts inform us, and experience confirms the poſition, that vegetable juices undergo *various fermentations*, very different in their effects: The firſt is called *vinous*, and ſo changes the property of the *muſt*, that, by diſtillation, an inflammable ſpirit may be extracted; which, before, could not be done: The ſecond is called *acetous*, converting the liquor into vinegar: All the ſucceeding fermentations are of the *putrefactive* kind, forming mucilage, volatile alcali, &c. Hence appears a philoſophick reaſon for attending particularly to the cider in its early ſtages; that the acetous and future fermentations may be prevented, and the firſt only permitted.

† Should the colour be ſtill too pale, ſome lump ſugar, melted in an iron ſtew-pan and commixed with ſome cider, whilſt in a fluid ſtate, will heighten it to any degree of colour required.

The vessels should, at this time of racking be placed in a close cellar. At the return of the season, when apple trees are again in bloom, the cider will be found in a slight fermentation: Until this operation of nature is past, the vessels must remain unstopped; but as soon as this this is perfected, the cork may be placed on the bung, and daily pressed more and more tight. Should the cider be intended for bottling, it will be best to do it in the beginning of April, leaving the bottles uncorked, for eighteen or twenty hours after their being filled.

Thus, by the month of June or July, the cider-maker will be possessed of a sparkling, vinous, animating liquor; fit for the best subjects of "the free and independent states of America" to regale themselves with.

## DESCRIPTION *of the* MISSISIPPI RIVER.

[By THOMAS HUTCHINS, Esq. late Geographer to the United States.]

THE great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. It may be shortened at least 250 miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide.—Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupee, (or Cut Point) the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved 14 leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since sounded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding bottom.

In the spring floods the Missisippi is very high, and the current so strong, that with difficulty it can be ascended; but that disadvantage is compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which always run in the bends close to the banks of the river, with nearly equal velocity, against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles; but it is rapid in such parts of the river, as have clusters of islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals

* In a half-pint tumbler of this water, has been found a sediment of two inches of slime. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year: the rowers, who are then employed, drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of the river, which, by keeping in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous, than in the spring.—The merchandise necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Missisippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by 18 or 20 men, and carrying about 40 tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks.—A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse this mighty river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville, never return within them again: These singularities distinguish it from every other river in the known world.—Below New Orleans the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. This point of land which, in the treaty of peace in 1762, is mistaken for an island, is to all appearance of no long date; for digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well as inlets, which arose out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs, that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Missisippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the stream; one of which, stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place.—Such collections of trees are daily seen between the Balize and the Missouri, which singly would supply the largest city in Europe with fuel for several years. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height.—In less than ten years time, canes and shrubs grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted, with certainty, respecting its length. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the sea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's fall, it glides with a pleasant clear stream, and becomes comparatively narrow before its junction with the Missouri, the muddy waters of which immediately discolour the lower part of the river to the sea.—Its rapidity, breadth, and other peculiarties then begin to give it the majestic appearance of Missouri; which affords a more extensive navigation, and is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Missisippi. It has been ascended, by French traders, above twelve or thirteen hundred miles! and, from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Missouri river to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Missisippi is (some few places excepted) higher than the

eastern. From Mine au-fer to the Ibberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence, the distance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the sea, there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the higher of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminished in height, to the mouths of the river, where they are not two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The slime which the annual floods of the river Missisippi leave on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which deposits a similar manure, and, for many centuries past, has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America will, at some future period, depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Missisippi.—This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all ifluing into a sea, that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and south by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican bay is by North and South America.—The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of those floating trees with which the river, during the flood, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left, would probably grow deep, as well as the bar.

An objection has been often made by misinformed men, otherwise of great abilities, who too credulously believed that the navigation of the Missisippi river, on account of its rapid current, was more difficult than it is in reality. It appears, from the calculation made by several skilful and experienced travellers, that in the autumn, when the waters are low, the current descends at the rate of about one and a half or two miles in an hour; and that the waters are in this state more than one half of the year. In the spring, when the freshes are up, or at their greatest height, the current runs at the rate of five or six miles. It is true, that the navigation would be difficult at that season, to those who sail or row up against the stream; but there is no example of such folly. When the waters of this river are high, the commodities and produce of the interior country are gathered, and prepared for exportation with the descending current; and, when the waters are low, the produce of the interior country is growing to maturity. This is the time for the navigator's importation. Great advantages are likewise taken then from eddy currents. At present, there are few builders skilful enough to construct vessels better calculated for that navigation, than those already mentioned. Time and experience will doubtless produce improvements, and render the navigation of this river nearly as cheap as any other.—But that the Missisippi can answer every purpose of trade and commerce, is proved to a demonstration, by the rapid progress the French, German, and Acadian inhabitants on that river, have made. They have attained a state of opulence never before so soon acquired in any new country; and this was effected under all the discouragements of an indolent and rapacious government. It may be further asserted, that

no country in North America, or perhaps in the univerſe, exceeds the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi, in fertility of ſoil and temperature of climate. Both ſides of this river are truly remarkable for the very great diverſity and luxuriancy of their productions. They might probably be brought, from the favourableneſs of the climate, to produce two annual crops of Indian corn, as well as rice; and with little cultivation would furniſh grain of every kind in the greateſt abundance.—But this value is not confined to the fertility and immenſity of champaign lands; their timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live and other oak, aſh, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypreſs, and cedar, are aſtoniſhing.—The neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi, beſides, furniſhes the richeſt fruits in great variety; particularly grapes, oranges, and lemons in the higheſt perfection. It produces ſilk, cotton, ſaſſafras, ſaffron, and rhubarb; is peculiarly adapted for hemp and flax, and in goodneſs of tobacco equals the Brazils; and indigo is at this time a ſtaple commodity, which commonly yields the planter from three to four cuttings. In a word, whatever is rich or rare in the moſt deſirable climates in Europe, ſeems natural to ſuch a degree on the Miſſiſippi, that France, though ſhe ſent few or no emigrants into Louiſana but decayed ſoldiers, or perſons in indigent circumſtances, (and theſe very poorly ſupplied with the implements of huſbandry) ſoon began to dread a rival in her colony, particularly in the cultivation of vines, from which ſhe prohibited the coloniſts under a very heavy penalty; yet ſoil and ſituation triumphed over all political reſtraints, and the adventurers at the end of the war in 1762, were very little inferior to the moſt ancient ſettlements of America in all the modern refinements of luxury.

The Miſſiſippi furniſhes in great plenty ſeveral ſorts of fiſh; particularly perch, pike, ſturgeon, eel, and cats of a monſtrous ſize. Crawfiſh abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chuſe a diſh of them they ſend to their gardens, where they have a ſmall pond dug for that purpoſe, and are ſure of getting as many as they have occaſion for. A diſh of ſhrimps is as eaſily procured; by hanging a ſmall canvas bag with a bit of meat in it to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the ſurface of the water, in a few hours a ſufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Miſſiſippi as far as the Natchez, 348 miles from the ſea.

## A CURIOUS ACCOUNT *of* DRESS, *in* ENGLAND, *in the Fourteenth Century.*

[From Dr. HENRY'S Hiſtory of Great Britain.]

WHAT would exhibit a more fantaſtical appearance than an Engliſh beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long pointed ſhoes, faſtened to his knees by gold or ſilver chains; hoſe of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; ſhort breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and diſcloſed the

ſhape of all the parts included in them; a coat, one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a ſilk hood, buttoned under his chin, embroidered with groteſque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and ſometimes ornamented with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. This dreſs was the very top of the mode, in the reign of Edward the Third.

The dreſs of the gay and faſhionable ladies, who frequented the public diverſions of thoſe times, was not more decent and becoming. It is thus deſcribed by Knyghton, A. D. 1348. Theſe tournaments are attended by many ladies of the firſt rank and greateſt beauty, but not always of the moſt untainted reputation. Theſe ladies are dreſſed in party-coloured tunicks, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another. Their lirripipes or tippets are very ſhort; their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and ſilver, and they wear ſhort ſwords, called daggers, before them, a little below their navels; they are mounted on the fineſt horſes, with the richeſt furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in queſt of tournaments, by which they diſſipate their fortunes, and ruin their reputation. The head-dreſſes of the ladies underwent many changes in the courſe of this period. They were ſometimes enormouſly high, riſing almoſt three feet above the head, in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves, with ſtreamers of fine ſilk flowing from the top of them to the ground. Upon the whole, I am fully perſuaded, that we have no good reaſon to pay any compliments to our anceſtors of this period, at the expenſe of our cotemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency of their dreſs.

## *Account of a ſubterraneous Paſſage, and the ſudden Deſcent of a very large Current of Water from a Mountain, near* Carliſle; *alſo of a remarkably large Spring, near* Reading, *in* Pennſylvania.

[By Benjamin Lincoln, Eſq. F. A. A.]

ON the 2d of Auguſt, being at *Carliſle*, in the ſtate of *Pennſylvania*, I went to view a ſubterraneous paſſage, which had its entrance near a river into a rock. I followed it about two hundred and fifty feet: to this diſtance it was, in general, from ſix to ſeven feet high, and about the ſame in width. At the end of two hundred and fifty feet it divided into three branches.—As they were ſmaller, and more difficult to follow, and finding myſelf exceedingly chilled (which coſt me one of the ſickeſt nights I ever ſuffered) I gave up the purſuit, though I had proceeded but about half the diſtance, as I was informed by Col. *Butler*, who had been near the end. It appeared to me that it was a water-courſe, as the rocks were worn ſmooth, and indented in the manner they uſually are by a long running of water over them. The appearance overhead was curious; ſome parts were ſmooth like the ſides; other parts repreſented various figures, form-

ed by the water which had penetrated through the pores of the rock, and was now petrified and petrifying on its ſurface. The bottom was apparently earth and ſmall ſtones.

About three years ſince, the people in the vicinity of this town, who lived near the mountain, which is about ten miles from the village, were alarmed by a current of water overflowing the banks of the river. The cauſe they could not inveſtigate, as there had been, the night before, but a ſmall rain: however, they ſoon found the firſt effects of the water appeared within about twenty feet of the top of the mountain. Whether it burſt forth from the mountain, or was a column of water from the clouds, has not yet been aſcertained. The courſe in which it ran down the mountain was dry the next morning. It was confined to the width of twenty feet, perhaps leſs. It appeared to be about thirty feet deep, as could be diſcovered by its effects on thoſe trees which were not carried away by the water. It cut a paſſage in the ſide of the mountain, of about ſeven or eight feet wide, and near that depth. The traces of it are ſeen from the town, though, as I ſaid before, it is ten miles diſtant. One rock, of a very conſiderable weight, was thrown into the crotch of a tree, twelve feet from the ground, in which it remained for ſome time. When the water came into the valley, its impetuoſity was ſo great that it was not immediately diverted, but reached a ſmall riſing ground, through which it cut a paſſage; then followed the valley, and ſo on to the river, which was at ſome conſiderable diſtance. In its courſe, it carried off all the fences, and came upon the floors of ſome of the houſes. I have had ſome converſation with Mr. *Rittenhouſe* on the ſubject, who has been twice to ſee the effects of the water. It is his opinion, that it was not a column of water which burſted forth from the mountain, as it was near the top of one of the higheſt.

On my return to *Philadelphia*, in the neighbourhood of *Reading*, I came to the greateſt ſpring of water I had ever ſeen.—It is about fourteen feet deep, and about one hundred feet ſquare. A full mill-ſtream iſſues from it. The water is clear and full of fiſhes. To account for this body of water, was my enquiry. I ſoon found, that it was probably the riſing and burſting forth of a very conſiderable river, which ſunk into the ground and totally diſappeared, one mile and an half or two miles diſtant from this place.

## *The raiſing of* MULES *recommended to Farmers.*

A PERSON well acquainted with the emoluments ariſing from Mules, recommends the raiſing of that laborious and lucrative animal to the more general attention of American farmers. Mules command a ready ſale, at forty or fifty dollars each, at one year old, though produced from mares of not half that value. They would be a valuable article of export to the Weſt-India iſlands, where they are much uſed, on the ſugar eſtates, and ſell for twenty, and from that to thirty guineas. For drudgery, they are far ſuperior to horſes; and require not one ſixth of the keeping, as they live upon the very refuſe of a farm. Their ſtrength and longevity ought to recommend them to the huſbandman, for the cultivation of the earth.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

# IMPARTIAL REVIEW

## *Of American Publications.*

*An* ENQUIRY *into the* CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY *of the* SUPREME FEDERAL COURT, *over the several States, in their political capacity. Being an answer to Observations upon the Government of the United States of America; by* James Sullivan, *Esq. Attorney-General of the State of Massachusetts. By a* Citizen of South-Carolina.—— Charleston, 1792—price 25 cents.

ALTHOUGH we have laid it down as a rule, to exclude from our review of new publications, every production which aims at no higher object than the propagation of religious or political feuds and animosities; yet it affords us no small degree of pleasure, to announce to our readers, from time to time, the dispassionate observations of men of talents on constitutional questions, or on political subjects, which appear to be so general in their nature, as to render them interesting to our fellow-citizens.

Of Mr. Sullivan's ingenious "Observations upon the government of the united states," we have already taken notice, in our review for September last. He appears to have been actuated by a keen republican jealousy, for the sovereignty of the individual states, consistently with which, or with the constitution of the united states, he contends that they cannot be called, directly, to answer to a plaint preferred against them in the federal courts.

The author of the enquiry now before us, espouses the contrary opinion; and enters into an able and elegant discussion of the subject, which he introduces by the following observations on the importance of guarding against pernicious precedents, in the outset of our national government.

The discussion of constitutional questions will always be matter of general concern; but it is peculiarly interesting at this period, when the constitution itself is new, its various modes of action undefined, its relative powers not fully unfolded, its principles not drawn out into practice, nor its virtues and defects compleatly ascertained. As every movement under it must be considered almost as an experiment, so every thing established under it will form a precedent, which may ripen into a rule.

Precedents established in the infancy of government will have their lasting effects. Bad ones may vitiate and even destroy the best constitution; good ones may mollify and almost reconcile the worst.

Mankind have always been found disposed to submit to the authority of precedent; and from whatsoever principle, in human nature, this proneness may arise, it cannot be denied to be productive of very beneficial effects. It stands a barrier against *versatility* in general, which, in every department of life, and particularly in government, is radically dangerous. For since human nature is ever struggling to accommodate herself to her situation, the struggles would be endless, if the situation were always changing. Indeed, a constitution cannot be said to be fully established, until this desirable conformity is effected—its best security lies in the settled habits, the manners, the sentiments, and the confirmed acquiescence of the people. The river flowing in its ancient channel, which time has worn into uniformity, glides majestically on with

an eſtabliſhed momentum; but frequently conducted into new meanders, it becomes a noiſy boiſterous ſtream; or ſplitting into petty rivulets it loſes both its force and beauty The benefits of uniformity are not leſs obſervable in government, than in the broad expanſe of nature's works, in the ſyſtems of morals, or the regions of ſcience. It operate to harmonize the parts into a correſpondence with each other, to adjuſt and proportion them to the whole, keeping them conſiſtent in their proper ſtation; and, on the other hand, to make the whole a homogeneous ſyſtem, capable of being analyſed into its parts, and of preſerving equability of action throughout. This principle, co-operating with others, will ere long, I hope, ſettle our preſent conſtitution firmly upon its baſe; that it ſhall be recognized by the next generation, not as a ſyſtem to be tried by experiments, to be altered or repaired, but as one already ripened into uſe and approved—to be enjoyed by them, and tranſmitted down in ſucceſſive ages. Nor is it a gratification unworthy of being indulged, to view in anticipation, its future proſperity; when beſides its intrinſic excellence, it ſhall, by the the hoary honours of antiquity, collected about it, attract the love, command the veneration, and enſure the obedience of generations long to come.

The benefit of good precedents, and the danger of bad ones, muſt bear an exact proportion to this promptitude in human nature to be thus influenced; and by an obvious conſequence, the importance of examining well all inſtitutions, at the outſet of the government, muſt correſpond in degree with both. Like a young man juſt upon his entrance into life, whoſe character will be fixed by his firſt tranſactions, our inceptive government will carry down into futurity the habits, the tone, and the diſpoſition which it may now receive.

To the gentleman whoſe principles and arguments our author oppoſes, he gives the moſt unqualified credit for purity of intention, and for patriotic virtue.

He, no doubt, believed as he wrote—and had it occurred to him, that in placing every ſtate ſuperior to the juriſdiction or controul of the ſupreme court of the union, he had left them without any conſtitutional umpire to decide their differences, but *arms*, or had rendered a civil war almoſt inevitable, whenever thoſe differences ſhould happen; he would have drawn his concluſion with reluctance, and perhaps have been impelled to teſt with a ſeverer ſcrutiny, the arguments which induced it.

This being a conſtitutional queſtion, our author draws his arguments from the *principles*, the *ſpirit*, the *tenor*, and the *words* of the charter itſelf. Ours being a government *ſui generis*, he contends that the deciſion of the queſtion, ought not to be influenced, in any degree, by examples taken from the political inſtitutions of other countries. Aware that the mode of reſolving conſtitutional queſtions, by arguments drawn from the *ſpirit* of the charter, might be objected to, by ſome, as dangerous and indefinite, he endeavours to ſhew that objections ought not to be made againſt the *uſe* of this mode of diſcuſſion, but only againſt the *abuſe* of it.

They conclude, that it is dangerous to truſt to ſo enlarged a ſcope of conſtruction. Theſe ſcruples have their foundation in the exceſs of republican jealouſy, rather than in ſolid reaſoning. While men are to legiſlate without the aid of inſpiration, much muſt be confided to their virtue, their wiſdom, and their patriotiſm. To theſe we muſt truſt in the end, let our conſtitution be framed as it may. If paſſion, prejudice, faction, and intereſt protrude themſelves into the ſyſtem, or if perſons of weak minds, or graſping ambition, are entruſted with the adminiſtration, the fault muſt be ſought for elſewhere than in the conſtitution. Againſt theſe no conſtitution can effectually guard. While the people are not wanting to themſelves, the errors or evils ſpringing from theſe ſources cannot be apprehended, or if they caſually occur, may be corrected.

Our author, in elucidating his ſubject, from the principles of the conſtitution, ſtates the diſtinction between a *confederation* and a *government*, and infers "that the conſtitution of the united ſtates is excluſively neither the one nor the other, but a compoſition of both."

Like the old confederation, the *ſtates* are repreſented by delegates choſen by their reſpective legiſlatures; and they form one branch of the federal legiſlature in the ſenate. Like an original and ſimple government, the *people* are repreſented by delegates biennially choſen by them; and they form the other branch of the federal legiſlature in the houſe of repreſentatives.

Thus conſtituted and thus balanced, we may ſay that the *ſtates*, in their political capacities, deliberate in one houſe, and the *people* in the other. In the ſenate, the rights of the ſtate governments, ſo eſſential to their own exiſtence, and to the peace and harmony of the whole, will be peculiarly conſulted and protected; in the houſe of repreſentatives, the rights of the *people*, whom they repreſent, will always be the pole-ſtar of their deliberations.

And here one might pauſe for a moment, to obſerve and to admire this ſkilful combination of principles; as new in its nature as it is wiſe and profound. *A confederation of the ſtates, and a conſolidation of the people.* Thirteen ſovereignties made to blend and harmonize in one ſovereign unity—or in other words, leaving in the ſtates ſeverally, their favourite independence, as to all the objects about which they ought to cultivate any great ſolicitude; and clothing the general government with complete ſovereignty, as to all the objects which the general weal requires ſhould be placed under their agency. And all this without engendering the political monſter of *imperium in imperio.* Warned by the fruitful examples of the Grecian confederacies, the framers of the government have ſteered clear of thoſe ſources of anarchy, which ſubſiſt in a mere confederation of unequal ſtates; while on the other hand, aware of the genius of the people of America, they have cautiouſly avoided intrenching too much upon the cheriſhed doctrine of ſtate independence. By drawing the power from the primary fountain, the people, they have infuſed into the ſyſtem all the vigour which is neceſſary for its ends; while that power happily tempered by defining the objects, and ſkilfully diſtributed between the ſtates, and the people repreſented in their reſpective branches, leaves the one nothing to fear, and the other nothing to complain of.

The diſtribution of the powers ſeems to contemplate theſe three variations, 1. With regard to ſome particular objects, the federal power is original, excluſive and ſupreme. 2. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtate powers, as to ſome other objects. 3. The power is co-equal and concurrent between the two, as to ſome other objects. The ſovereignty of the individual ſtates, is as complete in the ſecond claſs, as that of the united ſtates is in the firſt. With regard to the third, it is evident, that there is no definite ſupremacy in either; but as they may alternately occupy the objects of it. Thus the united ſtates are ſovereign as to peace and war, alliances, coinage, the making uniform rules of naturalization, and the like; each ſtate is ſovereign, as to all the objects of its internal police; and concurrent with the federal government, as to all the forms of direct tax tion

We are brought to this concluſion, that the *ſtates*, being repreſented as well as the people, form an integral part of that mixed ſyſtem which we have adopted. This is the great principle that runs through the conſtitution, and muſt be adhered to for the conducting of our enquiries as to conſtitutional points. It teaches us that the *ſtates*, as well as the *people*, are made the ſubjects of *federal legiſlation.* Now it is a truth, too evident, and too generally recognized to need demonſtration, that in all governments, the judicial department muſt be co-extenſive with the legiſlative. What the one commands, the other muſt decree the obedience of, and the executive muſt enforce it. All conſtitutional acts of power, proceeding from the executive and judicial, have as much legal validity, and import as much obligation, as thoſe proceeding from the legiſlative department. Thus *treaties* made by the one, and no doubt ſolemn deciſions or adjudications by the other, become the ſupreme law of the land.

He next adduces a variety of arguments, from the *ſpirit* and *tenor* of the conſtitution, to prove, "that the ſtates, in their collective or political capacity, are and ought to be amenable to the federal judiciary; where they ought to be decreed to do juſtice." With reſpect to the *ſovereignty* which the ſeveral ſtates poſſeſs, it cannot, he obſerves, be a *ſovereign* power to do as they pleaſe; for the conſtitution contains both poſitive and negative injunctions upon every ſtate.

Our author, in the laſt place, ſupports his opinion by the *words* of the conſtitution. The arguments arranged under this diviſion of his ſubject, are plain and forcible. The following extract will give our readers ſome idea of the ſubſtance of them.

The *words* of the particular clauſe, which conſtitutes the judicial power, with obvious fitneſs to the principles, the ſpirit and tenor, expreſsly declare, that the judicial ſhall have cognizance, not only of caſes, where the united ſtates may be a party, but of all *controverſies between* two or more ſtates, a ſtate and citizens of another ſtate, citizens of different ſtates, and of the ſame ſtate, claiming lands under different ſtates. The import, ſpirit, and neceſſary conſtruction of which words are, that as on the one hand, every ſtate may apply to this tribunal for juſtice againſt any ſtate, any individual, or any corporate body, in the nation; ſo they, in their turns, poſſeſſing reciprocal rights, may appeal to this great and paramount ſource, and obtain *juſtice* when it is unconſtitutionally witheld by any ſtate; on every of which its obligations are equally binding.

Our author ſhows the impropriety of applying the term "corporations" to the ſtate governments. The following are detached extracts from his obſervations on this ſubject.

It may be demanded, is the preſent ſyſtem then not a confederation? Is it true, what has often been vehemently aſſerted by its oppoſers, that the conſtitution adopted by the united ſtates, concentrating within itſelf all the efficient power of America, has ſtripped the individual ſtates of all their prerogatives, and reduced them to the contemptible ſtandard of ſubordinate corporations?

The want of proper diſtinctions, has often cauſed the people to be alarmed with language like this. The term *corporations* has artfully, or injudiciouſly, been made uſe of, while in fact it has not the ſmalleſt application. What is a corporation? In the general it no doubt applies to the idea of government, in as far as it is compoſed of organized bodies with privileges defined and duties enjoined. All governments may, in this view, be called by that name But what is underſtood by the term in its ordinary ſenſe; in that which is contemplated by thoſe who employ it to repreſent the individual ſtates, and to excite alarms about the general government? It is an inferior dependant body, veſted with particular immunities for particular purpoſes; deriving its exiſtence from the government, and liable to be diſfranchiſed by that government, whenever its good pleaſure ſhall ſo determine. Now do the ſtate governments derive their exiſtence from the federal? The reverſe is more true—and if the term could ever apply to either, it would be to the federal government itſelf.

The ſtate and the federal governments are co-ordinate in ſome caſes, and reſpectively ſupreme in others; the ſtate governments are no more ſubject, within their reſpective ſpheres to the general authority, than the general government is ſubject to them in its own ſphere. Like the principle of gravitation in the planetary ſyſtem—each orb has its proportionable agency in fixing the common centre, round which each of them, and the ſun himſelf, conſtantly revolves.

Our author concludes with anſwers to ſuch objections of Mr. S. as appear to militate againſt the doctrine he contends for. Theſe anſwers are no leſs ingenious than candid. Our author never deſcends to thoſe petty quibbles, for which ſome gentlemen of the bar are remarkable. Inſtead of ſifting out trivial inaccuracies of thought or expreſſion, magnifying apparent contradictions, or treating his antagoniſt, or his arguments, with diſreſpect, he ſtates the ſubſtance of the objections with fairneſs, and delivers his anſwers, like a man of dignified ſentiments and poliſhed manners. Such ought ever to be the manner of diſcuſſing a ſubject, if truth be the author's object. Controverſy is generally managed with too little either of decency or of candour; and this may be one reaſon, why few become proſelytes even to the true doctrines of controverſial writers. Aſperity never yet convinced an opponent, nor failed to excite the diſguſt of every ſenſible reader.

THE

# Columbian Parnaſſiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The following verſes were written by a lady, on the anniverſary of her marriage. She had been obliged to flee from Philadelphia, with her huſband and children, when the city fell into the hands of the Britiſh; and was juſt returned, after their evacuation of it. Sundry elegant productions, with the ſame ſignature, and from the ſame pen, have, at different times, adorned our Parnaſſiad. Such of our fair readers as are nobly ambitious to ſhine as wives and mothers, will, we doubt not, be gratified by the peruſal of a performance, the glowing ſentiments of which, muſt be, in ſome meaſure, congenial with their own. It is to be lamented, that the amiable writer lived but a ſhort time after, to partake of thoſe domeſtic enjoyments, which ſhe ſo feelingly deſcribes, and of which ſhe appears to have formed ſo juſt an eſtimate.*

HAIL, honoured Wedlock! ſource of fond delight!
*Nature's firſt law*, and *Eden's* ſacred rite!
Oh! let the muſe, on each returning day,
Wake at thy ſhrine her long forgotten lay!
This day which ſaw us, in thy bliſsful bands,
Unite our hearts, and join our willing hands.
Nor pomp nor grandeur dignified the ſcene;
But *Conſtancy* and *Laura* bleſſed the green.
Beneath her friendly roof our vows were ſealed,
And ſure I boaſt they have been ſtrict fulfilled!
Three ſuns have now their annual courſes run,
Since Hymen's tender joys have made us one;
Yet each ſucceeding year more ſweet does glide,
And meets the *wife* more happy than the *bride*.
Our fond affection, oft ſeverely tried,
Surmounts each ſtorm, and ſtems each adverſe tide;
Remains unchanged mid direful war's alarms,—
Softens its horrors, and its ſhafts diſarms.
When forc'd by *Britiſh* arms abroad to roam,
Far from our humble roof and native home,
My *Damon's* love each anxious fear repreſt;
Huſhed every ſorrow, and compoſed to reſt:
With him, the dear companion of my way,
Each object pleaſed, and every ſcene looked gay—
Yon wood-crowned hills,* you mountains rudely great,
Where nature reigns in wild majeſtic ſtate.
Charmed by the native grandeur of the ſcene,
Beyond the *ſloping lawn* and *level green*,
By *Lehigh's* ſylvan ſtream † I happy ſtrayed,
While *love* and *liberty* ſtill bleſſed each ſhade.
We lived contented in the peaceful grove,
With the dear pledges of connubial love;
And, far remote from all the world calls joy,
Taſted thoſe pleaſures which could never cloy.
But heaven has ſince vouchſafed, with powerful hand,
To ſend from hence Britannia's martial band;
To us our homes and much loved friends has given,
And diſtant far the claſh of arms has driven.
Great are theſe bleſſings. May they juſtly raiſe
Our hymns of gratitude, and warmeſt praiſe!
Great as they are, to me they'd taſteleſs prove,
Unleſs to them were added *Damon's* love.
Unſhared by him, *wit*, *muſic*, loſe their power;
Dull's the gay dance, and grave the feſtive hour.
Tis his dear preſence makes my heart rebound,
And fondly flutter at each well-known ſound;

* *Lebanon.*
† *Bethlehem.*

Gives *life*, and *health*, and friends, their power to charm;
Can heighten pleaſure, and e'en pain diſarm.
And Oh! thou moſt beloved of all below!
How does my grateful heart with joy o'erflow;
That we together are again reſtored,
To the loved circle, and the ſocial board;
Where honeſt joy, and guiltleſs mirth are found,
And friends and dear connections ſmile around!
For this my muſe ſhall raiſe her grateful ſong,
And pray that heaven theſe happy ſcenes prolong;
Secure our freedom, and our peace reſtore,
And drive ſtern war to earth's remoteſt ſhore.
Theſe golden moments may we ſtill improve
To the bleſt purpoſe of a virtuous love!
And while the tender objects of our care,
Hang round our knees, and our attention ſhare,
The taſk be ours to ſtamp the infant mind
With ſeeds of *knowledge* and *religion* joined.
And may kind heaven its needful grace impart,
To fix each youthful bleſſing on the heart;
Reward our cares, and raiſe their grateful love,
As they in virtue's paths each day improve!
So ſhall thy goodneſs to thy ſon deſcend;
Like thee he'll ſhine, as *huſband*, *brother*, *friend*.
May Providence his choiceſt favours ſhed,
In pureſt bleſſings, on my *Damon's* head;
Secure his life 'gainſt danger and diſeaſe,
And grant thy *Sylvia* ſtill the power to pleaſe!
Bleſſed in thy preſence, tenderneſs, and health,
I aſk no other joy, no other wealth;
But, whilſt I live, my favoured home thy breaſt;
And may I ſink on that to endleſs reſt!
But huſh, my *muſe!* nor one ſad thought impart;
Touch not a ſtring to wound my *Damon's* heart:
Enough that bleſſings crown the preſent hour,—
The *future leave* to *Heaven's protecting power*.

SYLVIA.

*Philadelphia*, 30*th Nov.* 1778.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* SENSIBILITY.

*(Written by a Lady, in* 1770.)

COME, Senſibility, divine!
Thy vivid joys impart
Let thy bright beams extatic ſhine,
To animate my heart.

Tis thou that wav'ſt the mantling bluſh,
Quick through the azure veins;
Swift as the wand of magic touch,
Which wondrous ſpells contains.

A vital ſpark of heaven's own ſoil,
Is this keen ſenſe of heart:
Tis this which heightens *pleaſure's* ſmile,
And ſharpens *ſorrow's* dart

Language here fails to ſhew thy force;
Words are a medium faint:
The ſoul alone contains that ſource,
Which eloquence can't paint.

Is it the nerves fine texture wrought?
Or dwells it in the brain?
Is it abſtract etherial thought,
Which does the ſpark retain?

Thy joys near verge upon diſtreſs;
Thin barriers form the line.
We almoſt wiſh thy raptures leſs;
Thy beams leſs keen to ſhine.

In ſocial iſe, how ſoft thy charms,
When kindred ſpirits meet!
Thy thrilling joy each boſom warms,
In bowers of calm retreat.

E'en *beauty's* ſelf's a lifeleſs *form*,
If thou grace not the whole;
Thy touch can plaineſt features warm,
And draw their ſpeaking ſoul.

Without thy influence, what is love?
Groſs, ſenſual, unrefined!
But rouſed by *thee*, the heart does move
To hail its kindred mind.

As *chaos* lay, a fordid heap,
When firſt creation ſprung;
A dark abyſs, profound and ſteep,
Then lighted by no ſun;

God's ſpirit darted forth a ray—
Earth inſtant felt delight:
At once ſhone forth refulgent day,
Diſpelling gloomy night.

Thus doſt thou wake us from the ſleep,
Which dull *Indifference* ſheds
May ſhe remote her manſion keep,
Nor hover o'er our heads!

Yet if in future 'tis my lot
To meet some gloomy mind,
Be every former scene forgot,
Where joy and peace were joined.

For sure the height of human woe,
Is to compare the past,—
(If soft did soothing moments go,
Short *moments!* not to last.)

To view lost bliss and present pain,
And mourn the change severe——
The mind cannot the task sustain,
Without a bitter tear!

The view swift steals all peace away;
Keen feelings prove our curse;
Our *peace* the poisoned dart does slay,
And former joys reverse.

Then *Sensibility* no more
Breathes forth her group of joys;
She, the dread portress, bars our door,
And every scene annoys.

If *thorns* and *brambles* strew our road,
A coat of *mail* let's wear,
(Best fitted for the harsh abode,)
Lest darts our bodies tear.

Then in thy room, *celestial* power!
Let cold *Indifference* stay;
Drag heavy through life's tasteless hour,
And saunter time away!

So if I breathe no raptured wish,
I shun each pang severe;
I shall each keen vexation hush,
With dull *Indifference* near.

LAURA.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* AUTUMN *and* HUMANITY.

*(By the same.)*

SEE! bounteous *Autumn* pours his goods,
In rich profusion round!
What various tinges dye the woods!
What plenty decks the ground!

The dulcet apple's sprightly juice,
The purple loaded vine,
With joint consent their wealth produce,
And in thronged clusters twine.

The bursting barns, with *Ceres'* grains,
Unlock their golden stores;
Reaped from the mellow, fertile plains,
Where earth her treasure pours.

*Taste, colour, form,* at once combine,
To cheer the heart of man;
Declare Jehovah's fond design,
His grand paternal plan.

Let mild *Humanity* appear,
And tenderly impart
Some social good, some action dear,
To heal misfortune's smart.

We all one general parent claim,
Which should unite our race:
Those souls that from the Eternal came,
Should all, in love, embrace.

Each favour sent is but a hint,
To raise the sluggish mind.
Since heaven does not its bounties stint,
Shall mortals prove unkind?

*Montgomery County.* POMONA.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES *written near the* GRAVE *of a* YOUTHFUL FRIEND.

FORLORN, from shade to shade I rove,
By Friendship's sacred spirit led,
Where horror wraps the twilight grove,
That, glooming, seems to mourn the dead.

Dear youth! tho' hence I wander far,
Thy fate will cloud each rising morn;
And, lo! with evening's dewy star,
My tears shall bathe thy distant urn.

Remembrance often, with a sigh,
Shall view the spot where many a maid,
And many a swain, with swimming eye,
The tender rite of sorrow paid.

How few the sighs of Virtue mourn!
For few, alas! the friends she knows—
Yet, here she moves, a pilgrim lorn,
To bid her son in peace repose.

With sculpture let the marble groan,
Where Flattery mocks the lifeless ear——
How nobly far thy nameless stone,
Embalmed by Pity's simple tear.

W.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE *to* LOUISA; *on* SPRING.

SEE, Louisa! spring appears
In our western climes again——
Now each prospect doubly cheers,
That was bound in winter's chain.

See yon joyful ſun ariſe,
And expand his genial ray!
Soft the breezes fan the ſkies,
From each morn to cloſe of day.

Yonder amaranthine flowers,
Scent the air with ſweet perfume;
And are viſited by ſhowers,
Which reanimate their bloom.

Yet how oft have we obſerved,
Many a garden flower decayed,
That due caution had preſerved,
Ere its honours yet did fade.

Thus, dear girl! does Danvil grieve,
When he's ſevered from thy arms;
Nought his ſorrows can relieve,
But his fair Louiſa's charms.

Thou, his boſom's better part,
Art more ſweet to him than ſpring.
Bud of beauty! void of art,
Still could he thy praiſes ſing.

When, ah when, ſhall ſpring return,
To that boſom, cold as ſnow!
When ſhall Danvil ceaſe to mourn,
And forget each riſing woe!

Shall he ne'er thoſe ſmiles regain,
That his longing eyes forſook?
Or ne'er join the feſtive train,
Where thoſe ſmiles he once partook?

Fond *Remembrance* brings to light,
Bliſs that he oft uſed to ſhare,
(Scenes of youth, and fond delight!)
And oft tells him "Such things *were!*"

Yet if e'er, in ſpring's fair morn,
Thou ſhouldſt thro' theſe vallies rove,
May, oh may *Remembrance* warm
Thy cold heart, with Danvil's love!

LYRICUS.

*Philadelphia, April,* 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EPIGRAMS; *addreſſed to a* LADY *who* PAINTED.

*(From the French.)*

I.

CANDOUR ſaid I did my duty,
Cloris! when I praiſed your beauty;
But the druggiſt overhearing,
Said it was beyond all bearing—
Her beauty! ſaid th' aſtoniſhed wight,
You deprive me of my right!
It ſhall be her's, I'll grant your will,
When, for the paint, ſhe pays my bill.

II.

Let low bred cits of their finances boaſt,
Yours muſt by far exceed all common coſt;
Tho' they oft ſport new liveries, and new lace,
You every day can ſport a ſpan new face.

III.

Tranſcendent artiſt! matchleſs ſkill is thine,
To do thee juſtice mocks my weak deſign;
Since to thy ſkill the faint attempt muſt fail,
Who'rt copy, painter, and original.

IV.

Cloris! 'tis juſt we on your charms beſtow
The roſe's coral, and the lily's ſnow;
With ſuch as theſe they muſt relation claim,
Their birth, their beauty, and their fall the ſame;
Like thoſe they flouriſh with the morning light,
And fade at noon, or diſappear at night.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* BRIDEGROOM.

FLY ſwift, ye lazy minutes! fly,
With love's impetuous ſpeed;
And bring the happy hour, when I
A huſband's right ſhall plead:—
To airy hope, ſubſtantial joy
Shall rapidly ſucceed.

Yes! when I ſeize thoſe various charms,
Of all I hoped ſecure,
I'll claſp my treaſure in my arms,
And think a monarch poor.—
Hymen ſhall ſound to ſoft alarms,
While Cupid guards the door.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*To* MIRA, *who wiſhed to be accompliſhed.*

TO make thee in external beauty ſhine,
Neatneſs in dreſs may all its powers combine;
But to confirm thee beauteous, good, and wiſe,
Nature and virtuous precepts will ſuffice.
Still be their tenets on thy mind impreſſed;
And thus be fair, be honoured, and be bleſt.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the ſeſſion which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

WE have already preſented our readers with the moſt important official papers laid before congreſs, during the late ſeſſion, by the preſident of the united ſtates; and alſo, with ſuch reports, of the heads of departments, as were of a general or public nature. And, in doing this, we have exhibited a view of the moſt material objects of legiſlative diſcuſſion. In the laws of this ſeſſion, which we have alſo publiſhed, the reſult of the deliberations of congreſs, ſo far as they terminated in legiſlative acts, has already appeared. In order to complete our *congreſſional hiſtory*, it remains that we give a view of the intermediate progreſs of the buſineſs, through both houſes of congreſs. This will neceſſarily occaſion us to introduce a ſketch of the debates, in the houſe of repreſentatives, particularly on ſuch ſubjects as may be deemed the moſt intereſting to the public. The ſenate having hitherto perſevered in keeping their doors ſhut, the public muſt not expect much information reſpecting the deliberations of that branch of the federal legiſlature. Like the myſteries of free-maſonry, the reaſons of their conduct, it ſeems, are never to be divulged. Even the arguments againſt opening their doors, (if any ſuch arguments have been uſed,) have not been made public; although this would ſeem proper, for the ſatisfaction of that numerous claſs of citizens, who have publicly expreſſed their diſapprobation, of the ſecret manner in which legiſlative queſtions are decided upon in that houſe. May not a greater part of thoſe murmurings, and of that want of confidence in the government, which have, for ſome time paſt, been gaining ground amongſt us, be juſtly aſcribed to this myſterious conduct of the ſenate. We apprehend they may—And, if ſo, the evil will probably increaſe, while its cauſe is ſuffered to exiſt. It is, indeed, impoſſible that a free government ſhould long be maintained, in any country, the citizens of which are kept in the dark, with reſpect to public meaſures. If rulers will exact obedience from the people, they muſt not treat them like ſlaves; they muſt convince them of the reaſonableneſs and propriety of the laws, or they will not continue to reſpect and obey them. If they ſhould, they would be unworthy of freedom. If, like the idolaters, who erected an altar "To the unknown God," a people are content *ignorantly* to obey, they are ſlaves, in the worſt ſenſe of the word——ſlaves, of their own choice. We feel too deep an intereſt in the freedom and welfare of our country to ſuppreſs theſe ſentiments. We, however, advance them with the more confidence, becauſe we are convinced that they are not our ſentiments alone, but thoſe of a large majority of our fellow-citizens, throughout the united ſtates*. If, as it has been contended by many, the ſtate-governments are likely to have their powers encroached upon, by that of the union, it would be an injuſtice to the ſtate-legiſlatures, to ſuppoſe, that they will be ſo negligent of their own or the people's rights, as to re-elect any of their federal ſenators, who have voted againſt opening the doors of that body. The houſe of repreſentatives might, with equal propriety, ſhut their doors alſo; but this they will ſcarcely attempt, while they are immediately reſponſible to the people, by being rendered dependent upon them for their ſeats, at the end of every two years.

The narrow limits within which we muſt compriſe this ſketch, will oblige us to omit all debates on ſubjects of a private or trivial nature, that we may be enabled to dwell longer upon thoſe of primary importance. It might, in general, be ſufficient to ſtate the ſubſtance of the arguments, on both ſides of a queſtion; but as it is of material conſequence, that the people ſhould be made acquainted with the principles and conduct of their particular repreſentatives, we ſhall, occaſionally, introduce the individual ſpeakers, on ſubjects of general importance, and alſo give liſts of the *yeas* and *nays*.

* *Beſides the numerous popular complaints on this ſubject, in the public prints, the legiſlatures of ſeveral of the ſtates, have paſſed reſolutions, expreſſive of their diſapprobation of the ſecrecy obſerved in the ſenate of the united ſtates, when acting in a legiſlative capacity.*

On the 24th of October, 1791, the day appointed, by law, for the firſt meeting of the ſecond congreſs, under the preſent frame of government, a quorum of both houſes attended. This punctuality was the more laudable, and worthy of notice, on account of the great diſtance at which many of the members reſide, from the ſeat of government, and from each other. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, was elected ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, and John Beckley, clerk.

On the 25th, both houſes met in the ſenate-chamber, where they were addreſſed by the preſident of the united ſtates, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he deſcanted upon the proſperous ſituation of the united ſtates—ſtated a variety of objects which had engaged the attention of the executive, during the receſs, and concluded by recommending a number of important ſubjects to their attention. He particularly inſtanced the rapidity with which the ſubſcription to the bank of the united ſtates had been filled, as a proof, "not only of confidence in the government, but of reſource in the community." He mentioned the various meaſures which had been taken, to conciliate the friendſhip of the Indians, and the partial ſucceſs with which thoſe meaſures had been attended. He lamented that the perſeverance of ſome of the ſavage tribes, in their hoſtile conduct, had rendered offenſive operations neceſſary, on the part of the united ſtates; but overtures of peace, he obſerved, were ſtill continued. He concluded this part of his ſpeech with ſundry propoſals, for promoting the happineſs of the Indians, and attaching them to the united ſtates, in which he obſerved, that "a ſyſtem correſponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy, towards an unenlightened race of men, whoſe happineſs materially depends on the conduct of the united ſtates, would be as honorable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of ſound policy." He obſerved, that ſome diſcontents had ariſen, in conſequence of the exciſe law, and recommended the ſubject to the further deliberation of congreſs. "If there are," ſaid he, "any circumſtances in the law, which, conſiſtently with its main deſign, may be ſo varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections, that may happen to exiſt, it will conſiſt with a wiſe moderation to make the proper variations. It is deſirable, on all occaſions, to unite with a ſteady and firm adherence to conſtitutional and neceſſary acts of government, the fulleſt evidence of a diſpoſition, as far as may be practicable, to conſult the wiſhes of every part of the commuuity, and to *lay the foundation of the public adminiſtration in the affections of the people.*"—The laſt ſentence of this extract ought never to be forgotten, by thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, ſo long as they continue to diſcharge the important truſt committed to them, as legiſlators. The preſident further informed congreſs that a diſtrict, for the permanent ſeat of government, had been fixed, during the receſs, and a city laid out; that the cenſus of the inhabitants of the united ſtates, (of which formal returns had been received from all the diſtricts, except that of South-Carolina) afforded the pleaſing aſſurance, that the population of the country bordered on four millions of perſons; that a foreign loan had been negociated, on favourable terms, and another was depending; that two treaties, which had been proviſionally concluded, with the Cherokees, and ſix nations of Indians, would be laid before the ſenate, for their conſideration and ratification; that the ſubſcriptions to the loans, in the domeſtic and ſtate debts, had been ſo conſiderable, as to ſhew, at once, the ſatisfaction of the public creditors with the terms which had been propoſed, and their diſpoſition to conſult the convenience of the government; that, as the time limited for receiving ſubſcriptions was expired; that part of the debt of the united ſtates, which remained unſubſcribed, would naturally engage their further deliberations; and that the revenues which had been eſtabliſhed, promiſed to be adequate to their objects, and would ſuperſede the neceſſity of laying any new burthens on the people, if no unforeſeen exigency ſhould occur. He referred, generally, to former communications, for ſeveral objects, upon which, in conſequence of the urgency of other affairs, no definitive reſolutions had been taken; but particularly mentioned the militia, the poſt-office and poſt-roads, the mint, a ſtandard of weights and meaſures, and a proviſion for the ſale of the vacant lands of the united ſtates, which were pledged as a fund for redeeming the public debt. He made ſome remarks on the importance of theſe ſeveral objects. A liberal and comprehenſive plan for the eſtabliſhment of the poſt-office and poſt-roads, he conſidered as greatly deſirable, as well on account of the expedition, ſafety, and facility of communication, as of their "inſtrumentality in diffuſing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government; which, while it contributes to the

ſecurity of the people. ſerves alſo to guard them againſt the effects of miſrepreſentation and miſconception."

On the following day, the houſe of repreſentatives formed itſelf into a committee of the whole, on the preſident's ſpeech. MR. VINING moved a reſolution to the following effect:

"*Reſolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the preſident of the united ſtates, by the houſe of repreſentatives, in anſwer to his ſpeech, to congratulate him on the proſperous ſituation of the united ſtates—expreſſive of the approbation of the houſe, of the wiſe and prudent meaſures he has purſued during their receſs, in the execution of the duties committed to his charge; promiſing ſpeedy attention to the important and momentous objects recommended to their conſideration, and expreſſing their approbation of the humane and effectual ſteps taken, under his direction, for the defence of the weſtern frontiers."

This reſolution was objected to by Meſſrs Lawrance and Sedgwick, Smith (S. C.) and Livermore, upon the principle, that it expreſſed the ſenſe of the houſe upon points which required further information and inveſtigation, before the houſe could, with propriety, determine. It was difficult to ſay, before proper documents were laid before the houſe, whether the meaſures adopted for the defence of the weſtern frontiers were the moſt prudent that could be adopted. It was impoſſible, poſitively to aſſert, that the preſident, in the execution of the duties aſſigned him in carrying into effect the exciſe act, had done all for the beſt. Every member that ſpoke agreed in expreſſing his individual opinion, that no doubt the preſident had acted with his wonted prudence and wiſdom, in the execution of the truſts repoſed in him; but alſo agreed that it was improper, indeed that it was no compliment paid to the preſident, to approve before a formal examination.

In anſwer to theſe objections it was obſerved, that ſo far as circumſtances had been known to the members, relative to the ſteps taken by the preſident during the receſs of the federal legiſlature, ſo far they claimed the approbation of the houſe, and that the opinion of the houſe was only meant to be given, as far as they were informed. It was urged, that the anſwer of the houſe ſhould be a candid expreſſion of their feelings; feelings which the proſperous ſituation of the country undoubtedly called forth, and which the iſſue of the meaſures adopted could not fail to excite.

Several modifications were propoſed to the reſolution, which was finally agreed to, in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

"*Reſolved*, That an anſwer be returned to the preſident's addreſs, containing aſſurances of ſpeedy attention to the important objects recommended to the conſideration of the legiſlature." Thus modified, the reſolution was reported to, and adopted by the houſe.

An anſwer, correſponding, in ſubſtance, with this reſolution, was accordingly prepared, and preſented to the preſident. The anſwer of the ſenate was nearly ſimilar.

The ſeveral objects recommended to the deliberation of congreſs, by the preſident, were referred to committees, that which reſpected the operation of the exciſe law excepted, which was referred to the ſecretary of the treaſury.

One of the earlieſt as well as one of the moſt important ſubjects of diſcuſſion, in the houſe of repreſentatives, was the cenſus lately taken, and the apportionment of repreſentatives, agreeably thereto, among the ſeveral ſtates. No queſtion involved a greater variety of local and diſcordant intereſts than this. Although the moſt convenient ratio of repreſentation for the union ought to have been principally taken into view, yet it is evident, from the debates, that the queſtion was not altogether conſidered upon general principles, abſtracted from ſtate intereſts. Various calculations were made, to ſhow the advantages or diſadvantages that would reſult to particular ſtates, according to every ratio of repreſentation that was propoſed. Whatever might be the proportion fixed upon, it was evident that inequalities in the fractions, or unrepreſented remainders of population, in the ſeveral ſtates, muſt inevitably take place. But, then, it was an object with members, who were influenced by partial intereſts, that their reſpective ſtates ſhould ſuſtain the leaſt poſſible diſadvantage in this way. It was probably owing to this difficulty, that the repreſentation bill underwent a very tedious diſcuſſion; was ſeveral times reſumed in the courſe of the ſeſſion, and was not finally decided upon till it had been before congreſs upwards of five months.

On the 31ſt of Oct. Mr. Lawrance moved, in committee of the whole, that, till the next enumeration, the numbers of repreſentatives ſhould be in the proportion of *one* to every *thirty thouſand* inhabitants.

Mr. Livermore ſaid he was apprehenſive the motion would be premature, till the fate of an amendment to the conſtitution propoſed to the people, was known; that amendment ſays that the ratio of repreſentation ſhall be one to every 30,000 perſons, till the number of repreſentatives amounts to 100—after which the ratio is to be one to 40,000——If this amendment is agreed to, the reſolution on the table will contravene its operation; if the amendment is not adopted, and, ſaid he, I heartily wiſh it never may be, we ſhould on the propoſition now moved, have a larger houſe than that amendment contemplates: he was oppoſed to ſo large a number of repreſentatives as would be conſequent on the plan propoſed, and concluded by enquiring, whether the above amendment had been adopted by the requiſite number of the legiſlatures

On examination, it did not appear that a ſufficient number of the ſtates had made returns reſpecting the amendments, to determine the queſtion.

Mr. Sedgwick ſaid, the conſtitution provided that the number of repreſentatives ſhould not exceed one for every 30,000, but congreſs might increaſe the number of conſtituents of each member; he read the reſult of a calculation of the number of repreſentatives which would be returned, on a ſuppoſition of there being one to 30, 33, 34 and 40 thouſand perſons; according to the preſent cenſus, ſuppoſing South-Carolina to contain 240,000 perſons, 30 thouſand would give 110; 33, 104, 34, 10., and 40 thouſand, 82 members.

Judging from the ſenſe of the people, ſo far as it could be collected from what had been done reſpecting the propoſed amendment on this ſubject, he was of opinion, that the ratio which would meet the general approbation, was that which would give about 100 members in the houſe of repreſentatives.

Mr. Livermore was in favour of a ratio, which would give the ſmalleſt number that was mentioned by the gentleman.

Mr. White ſaid, that the general ſentiment of the people was perhaps more fully known on the ſubject before the committee, than on any other that could come before them. Among the objections to the conſtitution, the ſmallneſs of the repreſentation was very generally one. An increaſe of the number of this houſe is expected. It has been ſaid by the enemies of the conſtitution, that congreſs will never conſent that there ſhall be a repreſentative for every 30,000 perſons. The time is now come when the queſtion is to be determined; and I hope, ſaid Mr. White, that congreſs will act with the utmoſt liberality on the occaſion; and that they will not diminiſh the number of repreſentatives

Mr. Dayton ſaid, he conſidered the ſubject in a different light from the gentleman laſt up. He ſuppoſed the ſenſe of the people, at the preſent day, was oppoſed to a great increaſe of the number of repreſentatives. He thought that one to 40,000 perſons would give the moſt eligible number, but was willing to meet the gentleman half way, and propoſed to inſert the word *five* between "thirty" and "thouſand," in the reſolution.

Mr. Sevey obſerved, that the ſubject was too important, in his opinion, to come to a ſudden deciſion upon, eſpecially as many of the members of the houſe had not arrived.

He moved, therefore, that the committee ſhould riſe, report, and aſk leave to ſit again The committee accordingly roſe.

On the 3d of November, this ſubject was reſumed, in committee of the whole, and was very fully diſcuſſed, on this and ſeveral ſubſequent days.

Mr. Dayton moved, as an amendment to Mr. Lawrance's motion, that the word *thirty*, before thouſand, ſhould be ſtruck out, leaving the blank to be afterwards filled up.

Mr. Clark obſerved, that it was well known that great uneaſineſs prevailed among the people, in various parts of the union, on account of the ſalaries and compenſations to the officers of government; the expenſe of ſupporting the government was increaſing, and it muſt therefore be contrary to the general wiſhes of the people, to enlarge the repreſentation, which would add to the public burthen, without being productive of any advantage He was in favour, therefore, of the motion for ſtriking out *thirty*, and would then move to inſert *forty*.

Mr. Williamson, after a few preliminary remarks on the several calculations that different members had made, and applying the various results to the population of the small states in particular, observed, that such a ratio should be adopted, as would leave the fewest fractions, and at the same time do as much justice as possible to those states. With respect to the general question, he thought the people were divided in opinion; some were in favour of a large representation, others were opposed to a great addition to the present number. The expence of supporting the government is great; the people realize that in the nature of things it must increase. This consideration should lead to adopt a medium, and, if possible, to fix on a ratio that might give general satisfaction. At all events, he wished that congress would reserve to itself the power of encreasing the number of representatives, in case the sentiments of the people should be in favour of the measure. He observed, that the lowest number of constituents which had been mentioned, was thirty thousand, and the highest forty—if gentlemen could not agree in either, he hoped they would adopt the medium.

Mr. Lawrance objected to striking out *thirty*. This subject, said he, has been canvassed throughout America; innumerable are the pamphlets and newspaper publications which have appeared, in all parts of the united states. The smallness of the representation was early objected to; and it was very generally expected, that, when the amendments to the constitution took place, one representative to every 30,000 persons would be the established ratio. The majority of the publications on this subject, the various amendments proposed by the states, all plainly declare that the sense of the people is in favour of one for every 30,000.

And what, said he, are the objections? It is said that the public business will be impeded by a large number of members in the house, and that the expence will increase the public burthens of the people. With respect to the first objection, it seems to be a general idea of gentlemen, that about 100 members would be the most eligible number: the proposed ratio will give about 112; an addition of ten or twelve cannot embarrass the public business. The objection on account of an increase of the expense, he did not consider as well-founded. The increase of the representation will be in proportion to the increase of the people, who pay for the support of the government. The objection he could not consider, therefore, of sufficient weight, to deter congress from establishing such a ratio, as would give a representation fully competent to doing full justice to every part of the union.

The government, said he, is a government by representation, and it is of the last importance that the confidence of the people should be inspired, by feeling that their interests are fully represented. He observed, that increasing the ratio would undoubtedly excite uneasiness and complaint in some of the states, by diminishing their present representation.

Mr. Gerry observed, that in all the decisions of the legislature, they ought to follow, as far as possible, the opinion of the great body of the people. If this opinion, said he, should be found to be against the ratio of thirty thousand, the amendment ought to be adopted; but if we refer to the amendments proposed by the conventions to the constitution, we shall find that five states were in favour of one representative to every thirty thousand persons, till the number shall amount to two hundred. None of the propositions now moved as amendments to the motion of the gentleman from New-York, amount to that number. Several others of the conventions were of opinion, that the representation was too small to secure the liberties of this country. This government, said he, is a government of representation; the people may control their representatives, but their influence is small in respect to the senate and the executive, and still less over the officers of government. On what then do the people depend for checking encroachments, or preventing abuses? On their representatives. If these should be too few, or if they should fail them, they never can redress their grievances without having recourse to violence. If the number is small, a majority may be the more easily corrupted; on the other hand, too large a number will be attended with difficulties; a medium then is most eligible. An adequate number is absolutely necessary. To shew that one to thirty thousand would not produce more than an adequate number, he referred to the ratio of representatives in England and France, in which there was a greater proportion of representatives than in the legislature of the united states.

It had been objected to an increaſe of repreſentatives, that it would lead to encroachments on the part of the general government, over thoſe of the individual governments. He thought that the reverſe of the objection was true, and inſtanced the opinion and plan of gov. Hutchinſon of Maſſachuſetts, who propoſed and adviſed a reduction of the repreſentation of Maſſachuſetts, as a neceſſary ſtep, in order to effect the deſigns of Great-Britain. Decreaſing the number, therefore, would be leſſening, in proportion, the ſecurity of the liberties of the people.

He then adverted to the objection ariſing from the additional expenſe; but, he obſerved, after congreſs ſhall have paſſed a few more of the moſt important acts, it is not probable that the public buſineſs will in future require, that the ſeſſions ſhould be for more than four months annually—this would reduce the expenſe greatly, in the firſt inſtance; and, agreeably to a late calculation, an addition of forty-ſeven members to the preſent number, would make the aggregate expence but about one eighteenth part more than at preſent, ſuppoſing the ſeſſions to be four months long—But he conſidered the objection on account of the expenſe as merely ſpeculative.

Although congreſs is not poſitively bound by the conſtitution to give one member for every thirty thouſand inhabitants, yet he would aſk, whether the citizens of the united ſtates did not expect that this ratio would be adopted? and whether they would not conſider it as an abuſe of power, if congreſs, inſtead of one to thirty thouſand, ſhould ſettle the repreſention at one to forty thouſand? Eight ſtates had already adopted the firſt article of the propoſed amendments to the conſtitution; and if the houſe ſhould either ſettle the number of the repreſentative body, as it now ſtands, or reduce it, or eſtabliſh it at one hundred, perhaps they might, before the end of the ſeſſion, be obliged to repeal their act; as they would be bound by the amendment, as ſoon as it was ratified by a ſufficient number of ſtates. If gentlemen thought it probable, that the propoſed amendment would be ratified by the ſeveral ſtates, they ought already to conſider it as a rule for their conduct, and be reſtrained by it, from giving leſs than one repreſentative for thirty thouſand inhabitants. When the repreſentation ſhould amount to one hundred, congreſs would no doubt, have a right to fix it there, until it ſhould be increaſed by the ratio of one to forty thouſand: but that was a power, which, he preſumed, congreſs would not exerciſe; but that they would then eſtabliſh ſome ratio, by which the increaſe of repreſentation might be made to keep pace with the increaſe of population, until the houſe ſhould conſiſt of two hundred members.

Mr. Boudinot was convinced of the propriety of ſtriking out the word *thirty*. The houſe ought to conſider what would be an adequate number, for doing the buſineſs of the union; and that number ought not to be exceeded, except to anſwer ſome very valuable purpoſe. Buſineſs would proceed with difficulty, if the repreſentation was ſo numerous, as it would become by the ratio of one to thirty thouſand. The preſent repreſentation of the united ſtates was in a ratio very different from that of one to thirty thouſand; and yet he thought it fully adequate. From a rough calculation, he ſaid, that the ratio of thirty thouſand would produce one hundred and thirteen members; thirty-five thouſand would give ninety-ſeven; and forty thouſand would produce eighty-one. If the number once ſettled, was to reſt there, he would not be over anxious to oppoſe the increaſe; but if gentlemen would take into view the increaſe conſequent on the next enumeration, they would find that the number muſt by far exceed the due bounds.

The increaſe of expence had been mentioned. He thought it would greatly exceed the calculation of the gentleman, and, for his part, although he was willing to tax the people for the neceſſary purpoſes of government, yet he would never conſent to ſubject them to unneceſſary burdens. Every man muſt ſee, that if the number was doubled, it would take almoſt double the time to do the buſineſs, as every member would have an equal right to deliver his ſentiments, and thus protract their deliberations.

He thought the people of the united ſtates would be duly repreſented, and to their entire ſatisfaction, if the ratio was ſet higher than thirty thouſand; nor could he imagine that ſuch an exact proportion, between the repreſentatives and the repreſented, was at all requiſite to ſecure their liberties, or to do the neceſſary buſineſs of government. This, indeed, might be the caſe, if the power veſted in congreſs was proportionate to their number: but ſince the houſe would poſſeſs the ſame powers, whether it conſiſted of a greater or a ſmaller number, he thought the people

equally ſecure in either caſe. The ratio of thirty-five thouſand, which would produce ninety-ſeven members, would, in his opinion, be a very proper one. If, however, the people ſhould think otherwiſe, they had it in their power to correct the miſtake, by ratifying the propoſed amendment. Their not having as yet ratified it, was to him an argument, that they thought the ratio too low; or, at leaſt, that they conſidered the queſtion as doubtful. Some of the ſtates, he obſerved, had poſtponed the conſideration of the amendment; and eight only had agreed to it. On the whole, the houſe might ſafely adopt the ratio of one to thirty-five thouſand; for that the increaſing population of the united ſtates would ever ſupply a repreſentation, ſufficiently numerous to anſwer every good purpoſe.

Mr. Steele was in favour of the motion for ſtriking out *thirty*. In diſcuſſing the important ſubject before the committee, he obſerved that there were two enquiries to be attended to. What is the proper number to conſtitute a repreſentative body for the united ſtates, and what ratio will leave the feweſt fractions in the reſpective ſtates? One member to thirty thouſand, he conceived, would give too numerous a repreſentation; according to the preſent number of inhabitants, it would almoſt double the preſent number; it would divide and diminiſh the reſponſibility, make the houſe too unwieldly, retard public buſineſs, and increaſe the public expenſes unneceſſarily. An adequate repreſentation, he thought, might be compriſed within a much ſmaller number.

Gentlemen, ſaid he, have called our attention to the houſe of commons in Great-Britain, and the national aſſembly of France; but God forbid that we ſhould draw our precedents from ſuch examples as may be cited from European repreſentation.

He was oppoſed to thirty thouſand as the ratio—it would, in fractions throughout the united ſtates, leave above three hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand citizens unrepreſented. Thirty-five thouſand, he thought the moſt eligible number, as it would leave the feweſt fractions.

Some gentlemen, continued he, ſeem to favour the ratio of thirty thouſand, becauſe that number has been recommended by ſome of the conventions, in their propoſed amendments to the conſtitution; but he hoped that no deciſion would be founded on thoſe ſubſequent amendments—It would be well to recollect the ſentiments of gentlemen in the ſeveral conventions; in many of them, they were agreed to, without any wiſh or expectation that they ſhould ever be taken into conſideration, and therefore, he thought, that no argument ought to be drawn from them—neither ought congreſs to be influenced by the example of the ſtate governments. Buſineſs is ſo tranſacted in moſt of them, on account of their numerous repreſentation, that there is very little permanency, or conſiſtency in their ſyſtems. Too numerous an aſſembly is perpetually liable to diſorder—and when that is the caſe, government becomes contemptible—this conſideration, he ſaid, had greater weight with him than an additional expenditure of a few dollars. He again objected to any example from Great-Britain or France; their aſſemblies, he ſaid, were too numerous and unwieldly to tranſact buſineſs without confuſion—and, compared with what he conſidered as an adequate number, were mere mobs.

With reſpect to the propoſed amendments, he ſaid, they had not been adopted by three fourths of the ſtates; and thence he inferred that they would be finally rejected.

He thought the amendment reſpecting the ratio of repreſentatives, not ſo good as the original clauſe in the conſtitution—and ſaid he would not heſitate to declare, that it ought never to be adopted as a part of it. It had been ſaid, that the voice of America was in favour of the ratio of thirty thouſand; were this the caſe, he would obey the voice of America—but he believed that the opinion of enlightened America was, that forty or fifty thouſand would not be too high a ratio. He ſhould prefer either of thoſe numbers, to thirty or thirty-five thouſand, were it not on account of the fractions that would remain. He concluded, by ſaying he ſhould vote for thirty-five thouſand.

Mr. Lawrance agreed that an adequate number was the great object to be attended to; but he contended that the original motion would give this number more completely than a larger ratio; and it ought to be conſidered, that before the next enumeration, it would not be, probably, more than one to fifty thouſand. As to the increaſe of expenſe, he obſerved that the great objects being accompliſhed, the future ſeſſions will be ſhort; beſides which, the compenſation of the members may be diminiſhed; but he conſidered a neceſſary increaſe in the expenſe, to be fully coun-

terbalanced, by affording greater ſecurity to the liberties of the people. The firmneſs of a government depended on a ſtrong executive; but this executive ſhould be founded on a broad bottom—and the broader the baſis, the more ſecure would be the public freedom under a vigorous executive.

The exiſtence of the union may depend on the fulneſs of the repreſentation. The inequality in the proportional increaſe of the number of inhabitants, in different ſtates, ought alſo to be taken into conſideration: for it was very probable, that, in a ſhort time, while ſome of the ſmaller ſtates had a repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, others would not have one to forty thouſand. He ſaid he was governed by general principles, and not by any calculations of fractional numbers. The conſtitution contemplated the ratio he had propoſed, and therefore he hoped the motion for ſtriking out would not obtain.

Mr. Goodhue obſerved, that the ſituation and circumſtances of the government of the united ſtates were ſo different from thoſe of France or Great-Britain, that no parallel could be drawn reſpecting them. Nor is there, ſaid he, an abſolute ſimilarity between this government and thoſe of the ſtate governments. The objects of legiſlation which come under the cognizance of congreſs, are but few, compared with thoſe which engage the attention of the Britiſh houſe of commons and the national aſſembly of France. A much larger repreſentation for them, and in our ſtate legiſlatures, is therefore proper, than is neceſſary for us in the general government. He doubted the juſtice of the opinion, that a large repreſentation was leſs liable to corruption than a ſmall one: ſome facts appeared to confirm the oppoſite ſentiment. He did not conſider the expenſe as a material objection, if an increaſe of the number was neceſſary to doing more ample juſtice, or for the greater ſecurity of the liberties of the people; but as he thought this was by no means the caſe, he was in favour of ſtriking out *thirty*, in order to inſert a larger number.

Mr. Barnwell agreed with the gentleman laſt up; he ſaid he ſhould vote for ſtriking out thirty, in order to ſubſtitute the largeſt number that had been mentioned. He entered into an abſtract and philoſophical diſcuſſion of the principle of repreſentation in government—the leading ſentiment was, that a large proportion of repreſentatives was not neceſſary to obtain the beſt objects of legiſlation, in expreſſing the will of the people, or to ſecure the liberties of the conſtituent body. The great point, he obſerved, was to combine the greateſt portion of honeſty, with a due degree of activity. That number which would compriſe a due proportion of theſe, would be competent to all the purpoſes of legiſlation, whether the number for which it legiſlated was ten thouſand, or five hundred thouſand. On this principle he was decidedly againſt a large number, and in favor of a ſmall one. Adverting to the Britiſh houſe of commons, and the national aſſembly of France, with reſpect to the former, he ſaid, their corruption was in a great degree owing to their numbers; as to the latter, he obſerved, that the national aſſembly had acted in his opinion politically and wiſely—they ſet out with a large repreſentation, in conformity to the ſentiments of the people at the moment; but, on experience, finding the number too great, they had reduced it from twelve hundred to about two hundred and fifty. He believed, he ſaid, that the general ſenſe of the people was againſt a large repreſentation in congreſs—the inconveniencies experienced from numerous bodies, in the ſtate legiſlatures, had led ſeveral of the ſtates to leſſen the number. He inſtanced Georgia, South-Carolina, and Pennſylvania.

Mr. Baldwin was oppoſed to the motion. One repreſentative for thirty thouſand appeared to him by no means a great repreſentation. The opinion that, of late, had been ſo often advanced from the preſs, and in public diſcuſſion, for reducing the repreſentative branch in government to a ſmall number, he held to be full of dangerous error. He was ſenſible, that the terms great and ſmall were ſo merely relative in their ſignification, that it was difficult preciſely to underſtand each other in the uſe of them. Perhaps they might, moſt properly, both of them, be conſidered as extremes. No doubt, repreſentation, which of late ſeemed to be uſed as the character of republican government, was a great improvement upon democracy, or legiſlation by the whole body of the people. He could conceive that a repreſentation might be ſo large, as to partake of the evils of aſſembling the whole body of the people; but it was a very improbable, and not a dangerous extreme: the other extreme was full of danger. Theſe obſervations, ſaid he, acquire much force, when applied particularly to the governments of this country; enfeeble the repreſentative part of them,

and you ſap the very principles of life. They ſtand on a different baſis from the governments which have gone before them, and may juſtly be ſaid to be new experiments in government; time, as yet, has ſcarcely given room to judge of the probable iſſue; but this we may pronounce, with much certainty, let the principles of repreſentation languiſh, and they have no chance of ſucceſs.

It had not been found practicable to ground repreſentation, in the federal conſtitution, upon any other principle than that of numbers—but extent of territory was unqueſtionably one of the natural principles on which it reſted, and would, if poſſible, be regarded. One for thirty-four or thirty-five thouſand might be deemed a proper repreſentation, in the kingdom of France, or of Great-Britain. The four millions, which compoſed the united ſtates, if compactly ſettled, where there was great ſameneſs in the country, and pretty equally diſtant from a common center, would be properly repreſented by a ſmaller number than in their preſent ſparſe ſettlement: But ſtill farther, the ſettlement of the united ſtates was a fillet, ſtretched along the ſea-coaſt for ſeventeen hundred miles, comprehending as great a variety of climate and intereſts as one of the other quarters of the globe. It was difficult to conceive of a ſituation which called for a greater extenſion of the principle of repreſentation.

It had been ſaid that one for thirty thouſand would make too large and unwieldy a body; he was ſenſible that was a point that did not admit of being determined by any concluſive reaſoning; it was a mere matter of opinion; ſound judgment only could be uſed—time and experience would come on, and confirm or correct the opinion. In ſuch a caſe, ſaid he, it is wiſe to enquire how this has been judged of by others, who have had a repreſentative body. In France, 1200 was not thought too great a repreſentation in forming their national aſſembly, and the number eſtabliſhed by their new conſtitution, for the ſtated legiſlature, was not 250, as the member laſt up had ſtated—but if he had not been miſinformed, by the publications in this country, it was nearly 750.—In the kingdom of Great-Britain, 500 is not thought too great a repreſentation; and can 113, which is the greateſt number contended for, be conſidered, in this country, as a huge and impracticable maſs of repreſentation.

It had ever appeared to him, to be among the ſtrongeſt marks of our youth and inexperience, that we grew wiſe too ſuddenly. He was afraid this inſtantaneous wiſdom, which ſprung up ſo at once, and ſet at nought, or moved to the extreme of abſurdity and folly, the deliberate and tried opinions of the moſt profound and enlightened among men, in circumſtances peculiarly favourable to honeſt deciſion, would itſelf be left by time on that extreme.

And how does this conſiſt, he aſked, with the opinions and experience of this country in the ſtate governments? The idea had before been called up, but, in his opinion, juſtice was by no means done to the compariſon. It had been ſaid, that the ſtates in general had found their repreſentation too large, and were diminiſhing it. Let another view be taken of the compariſon; a ſtate will not ſuffer the ordinary buſineſs of its own internal legiſlation to be intruſted to fewer repreſentatives, than from one to two hundred, and in ſome inſtances more; and yet, in the federal government, they are obliged to ſubmit to a legiſlation, which can much more ſubſtantially affect their happineſs and property, and perhaps they have there but a ſingle repreſentative, or at moſt but five or ſix. The ſlighteſt compariſon ſhews that there is no manner of proportion between them, that they are irreconcilably diſtorted; ſurely gentlemen of the oppoſite opinion will not have the effrontery, to attempt to draw an argument from that ſource, for diminiſhing the preſent repreſentation.

The ſeveral ſtate conventions, which had thought proper to animadvert at all upon the federal conſtitution, had pretty uniformly expreſſed their wiſh that the repreſentation ſhould be increaſed. Theoriſts in government, ſo far as he had been informed, had generally given their opinion, that this part was too ſmall, and out of proportion. He was as far from venerating mere theories of government as any man, and was ſenſible they muſt adjuſt themſelves to the times and circumſtances of the people; but it would not be uſeleſs to enquire, how does this appear in practice? He could ſay for himſelf, that it brought his own mind to the ſame concluſion, that it was the part of the federal conſtitution, of all others, moſt defective and inſecure. Thirty-three members had formed the houſe, ſeventeen was a majority, and equal to the deciſion of any queſtion. Queſtions had already occurred, involving property to the amount of from fifty to eighty millions of dollars, and much of it in the hands of the

moſt daring individuals, rendered deſperate by their ſpeculations. He did not ſay there had been any foundation for uneaſy apprehenſions from that quarter; but he did ſay, that, in other countries, it would be ſuppoſed to be a moſt dangerous experiment upon the paſſions and imperfections of human nature. But it had been ſaid, and with an unexpected aſſurance, that increaſing the numbers did not increaſe the ſecurity againſt theſe evils. If ſo, why not reduce it at once to the venerable number thirteen, or indeed three, which would give us as great a ſecurity as the whole body of the people? It is idle to purſue obſervations on ſuch a point—the mind that can aſk for reaſoning upon it, can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed in a ſituation to be benefited by reaſons.

The federal government, it muſt be admitted, is in fact pretty highly ſeaſoned with prerogative—practice has already evinced the neceſſity, in many inſtances, of increaſing it, by devolving much of the legiſlative power upon the executive department, ariſing from the difficulty of making particular proviſions and details in our laws, and accommodating them to the various intereſts of ſo extenſive a country. The other branch of the legiſlature has many traits of a perpetual, at leaſt of a very ſolid conſtituent part of the government.

He did not mention theſe as imperfections in the government, they were perfections, if the other parts could be in due proportion; but it was ſurely a ſound reaſon againſt taking poſitive meaſures at this time to diminiſh the repreſentative branch; for his own part, he was not well ſatisfied as to the intention. If there was any reaſon to apprehend that the government would depart from the point on which it was firſt placed, he could ſcarcely ſuppoſe that any one could be honeſtly alarmed, with the fear that the departure would be towards democracy. He concluded, by expreſſing his hopes, that the repreſentation to the next congreſs would be fixed at one for thirty thouſand, as it had hitherto been, and that the motion for ſtriking out would not prevail.

Mr. Findley declared himſelf to be in favour of one repreſentative for every 30,000 perſons. The opinion of the people, he ſaid, ſhould be the guide of the committee; that opinion he conceived to be in favour of the ratio he had mentioned. The repreſentation ought, as nearly as poſſible, to expreſs not only the will, but to participate in the wiſhes and intereſts of the people. A large repreſentation would embrace theſe intereſts more fully, and be more competent to giving and receiving information. The objects of legiſlation were ſuch as came home to the doors, to the feelings of every man; the government ought therefore to ſecure the confidence of the people, by a large repreſentation. The expenſe he conſidered as trifling, compared to the benefits. The people expected, and were willing to pay for being well governed, and having their liberties ſecured. An increaſed repreſentation, he conſidered as an additional ſecurity againſt corruption. As to delays occaſioned by a numerous body, he obſerved, that the repreſentatives were choſen to deliberate, and to mature every ſubject before deciſion. He inſtanced the advantages derived from the numerous repreſentations in France and Ireland; the former had framed a conſtitution in two years, for twenty-ſix millions of citizens, and provided for ſecuring the liberties of their country; and the latter had proved a ſucceſsful barrier, againſt the encroachments of the arbitrary power of England. He concluded, by aſſerting that the voice of the people was in favour of the amendment propoſed to the conſtitution, which would give one repreſentative to every 30,000 perſons.

Mr. Giles ſaid, this ſubject had ſtruck him in two points of view: Whether congreſs were not precluded from exerciſing any diſcretion on the ſubject; and whether, if they were not, it was expedient for them to exerciſe that diſcretion at this time. The ratio of repreſentation was, he ſaid, a conſtitutional, and not a legiſlative act. He referred to the conſtitution, in which it is ſaid that there ſhall be one repreſentative to every ſtate; and, ſecondly, that, until the enumeration, the number ſhould be as therein appointed to each ſtate: after the enumeration, the number is mentioned below which it ſhall not be placed; but there is a negative power to increaſe the ratio, and from this negative power, a poſitive diſcretionary power is inferred. But, he obſerved, that congreſs had precluded itſelf from a right to exerciſe this diſcretionary power, by ſending out to the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures an amendment on this very ſubject. This amendment he conſidered in a ſerious point of view; and had this idea been attended to, at the commencement of the diſcuſſion, he conceived that it would have prevented the opinion from being brought forward,

whether it was expedient that any change in the ratio of the representation should take place. The idea of one to 30,000, he considered as fully settled in the minds of the people; and a change on the part of the government, would indicate a changeable disposition, and a mutability of counsels, which is but another name for weakness.

The sense of the people had been resorted to, by gentlemen on both sides of the question. This, if it could be ascertained, would undoubtedly be the best guide; and he thought those in favour of one to 30,000 had, with great propriety, referred to the conventions, and to the acts of congress itself. But the amendments were said to have been a matter of compromise, insincerely acceded to by the majority; but even on this ground, he conceived that the sense of the people was equally as well declared. He, however, differed from gentlemen, in respect to the motives which produced those amendments. In the state he came from, both federalists and antifederalists were fully of opinion, that further security, as to the representation, was requisite. The numerous representations of the states, whatever inconveniencies might attend them, plainly shewed the sense of the people on this subject.

He then took a view of the objects of legislation of the state assemblies, and of those of the general government: in the former, he said, above 1000 persons were employed, though their attention was confined to their internal police; those of the general government, on the other hand, were on the great objects of the whole finance of the union, a sum of more than eighty thousand millions of dollars, &c. &c.

It is said that we shall want abilities; but I should be sorry if a representation of ten times the present number of this house, should comprise the abilities of a single state.

He assigned different causes, from numbers, for the corruption in the British house of commons: among these were the frequent mortgages of the funds, and the immense appropriations at the disposal of the executive—the mode of their elections &c. A large number, he observed, is not so easily corrupted as a small body.

An inequality of circumstances, he then observed, produces revolutions in governments, from democracy to aristocracy and monarchy. Great wealth produces a desire of distinctions, rank, and titles. The revolutions in property in this country, have created a prodigious inequality of circumstances. Government has contributed to this inequality. The bank of the united states is a most important machine, in promoting the objects of this monied interest. This bank will be the most powerful engine to corrupt this house: some of the members are directors of this institution, and it will only be by increasing the representation, that an adequate barrier can be opposed to this monied interest. He next adverted to certain ideas, which he said had been disseminated through the united states; and here he took occasion to observe, that the legislature ought to express some public disapprobation of these opinions. The strong executive of the government ought to be balanced by a full representation. He hoped the motion to strike out 30,000 would not be adopted.

Mr. Page. I can no longer refrain from expressing my sentiments, respecting the question before the committee; not only because I wish, if possible, to remove the error, which I think several members, for whom I have the highest respect, have fallen into, but because I feel myself more interested in the question, than I ever was in any one I have had to decide on.

Sir, it gave me pain to see those worthy members calculating, and coldly applying the rules of arithmetic to a subject beyond the power of numbers, to express the degree of its importance to their fellow-citizens. I was distressed, sir, to find, that in their honest zeal for securing order, dispatch of business, and dignity of members in the general legislature, they used arguments which have been applied in other countries to the establishment of insolent aristocracies; in some, tyrannical despotisms, and in others, kings; those countries which were most on their guard, with the semblance of a free government.

Sir, the errors I wish to correct are these: They think that because it is *proposed*, by a *proposed* amendment to the constitution, to authorise them to interfere in the business of ascertaining, and fixing the ratio of representation to the population of the united states, that congress ought, without any hesitation, to enter on that business; but I humbly conceive, that congress, as this is a delicate question, in which their own weight and importance must unite with the weight and substantial interest of their constituents, ought to listen to the suggestions of delicacy, and leave its dis-

cussion to a disinterested convention of the states. I say it appears to me no small error, to quit the plain path of legislation, marked out for us by the constitution, needlessly to wander into the field of political speculation, respecting its supposed defects.

Let me therefore advise, to leave the restriction of the numbers of members of this house to the people, or to some future congress, which can see more plainly than can now be descried, the evils of a too numerous representation. By so doing, we shall avoid, if not an improper measure, at least a rash step; at least we shall stand clear of a charge of indelicacy, and deprive our enemies of the triumph they expected in the completion of their predictions, that congress would never propose any amendments to the constitution, but such as would be subservient to their own views and aggrandizement. Let us not give the enemies of our new government cause to exult, and its friends to sigh and mourn. Let us not give our friends occasion to repeat what many have said, that so many of our citizens have been led away by theoretical writers on government, as to render it problematical, whether the American states are not at this time as much indebted to the national assembly for its remains of republican principles, as France was to congress in 1776, for their first ideas of that liberty which they now enjoy. Let us not, in this moment of general exultation of the friends to the rights of man, take a step which may damp their joy, and lead them to fear that Americans, who were foremost in the glorious career of liberty, have stopped short.

But, sir, granting that we were now sitting in full convention, convened for the sole purpose of altering that article of the constitution which respects the number of representatives, would it not become us to consider rather what was the sense of the members who framed that constitution, and what was and is the sense of their constituents and ourselves respecting it, than what may be the result of our own enquiries concerning the speculative opinions of writers on the subject of government, or even the real consequences of the most plausible theories reduced to practice in other countries.

But not to take up the precious time of this house, with relations of facts, to show what was and is the opinion of our fellow-citizens on this interesting subject, I will only state a few arguments, which have weight with me, as being in themselves evident truths, viz. Our constitution being framed by the people, and introduced to us in their name, and congress being the creatures of their will, spoken into existence by the word of their power; for congress, to lessen *their* weight, to diminish their importance, and to exclude them from as full a share in their own government, as can be consistent with the nature of it, and indeed from that share which they claim, must be impolitic and dangerous.

But granting that the people wished not a greater share in the general government than proposed by the amendment, as it is impossible, in a country like the united states, that one man can be sufficiently informed of the opinions, wishes, and real interests of thirty-five thousand of his fellow-citizens, therefore laws might be enacted contrary to the opinions, wishes, and interests of the people, in which they might nevertheless acquiesce, sacrificing their interests for the sake of peace and quiet, to the wills of their representatives, one thirty-five thousandth part of their own number. What friend to his country would wish to see such a dangerous influence on the one hand, and such a blind submission on the other? How long could an enlightened people remain in such a state of insensibility and torpor? and what might not be the consequence of their awaking from their lethargy? If not an expensive revolution, an expensive repeal of laws. And here I will remark, that the smallest number of legislators, and they too well selected, for their wisdom and respectability, if unacquainted with their constituents, might pass well-framed laws, founded on the wisdom of other countries, and yet find them disagreeable to their constituents, and be under a necessity of repealing them; but this could not be the case, if the people had in that legislature a sufficient number of representatives, on whose fidelity, attachment, and disinterestedness, they could rely. This, sir, is a truth worthy of our attention—an ignorance of which, or inattention thereto, I suspect, has been the occasion of much political evil in the world. Happily for France, the people had such a number of representatives in the national assembly, as could engage their feeling, inform their judgment, attach their interest, and establish their confidence in

their fidelity and disinterestedness: had that number been much smaller, it is probable France would never have been delivered from oppression by their exertions.

I believe the national assembly have judged about 750 members sufficient to represent their people, which, on a supposition that they amount even to 26 millions, will be 1 representative for every 34,000; a larger representation than is proposed by the amendment before us; but, sir, it is not, and cannot be, the interest or wish of the people at large, to have a small representation in congress, under the present government. We are told, however, that, to avoid expense, the people wish it, and that, to avoid confusion in this house, we should comply with that wish. With respect to the article of expense, I think we may with propriety make use of arithmetical calculations, to find how much at 6 dollars per day paid to 1 representative, it would cost the 30,000, the number of citizens—and we have 1-50 of a cent per diem, the expense of each citizen, if to be equally divided amongst them—that is 1 cent for every 50 citizens per diem, or which must be the same thing, a cent must be paid by each citizen for every 50 days session of their representative in congress: Sir, I have the consolation to find that if our constitution had 1 representative for every 15,000 instead of 30,000, they could well afford to pay them, and that if it were even more expensive as to the payment of members, yet the people would most certainly be better satisfied with the laws, which they would then have so great a share in framing. The people see that if their interests are not well guarded, by a sufficient number of their fellow-citizens, who have a fellow-feeling, a common interest, they may be sacrificed to the ambition of some, or the vanity of others. I trust, sir, that they know too well the high price they have paid for the purchase of their liberties, to be unwilling to pay a few farthings for the only possible means of preserving them. They see now, that the monarchical and aristocratical part of government is to be restrained; the former, from absolute tyranny, and the latter from an insufferable insolence, by a very numerous body of the representatives of the people alone. Americans know, sir, that monarchical governments were necessary, for the protection of weak, ignorant people, against the encroachments of ambitious and ferocious neighbours, and for the preservation of order amongst themselves; that an aristocratical form became convenient, to protect them against the oppression of tyranny, springing up out of monarchy—that this form was adapted to a small progress, in the science of government; and that these two forms, properly checked and controled by the democratical form, are still better suited to a general knowledge of that science; that a representative government, such as their own is, every part of which is more or less pervaded by the spirit of representation, cannot by any other means be so perfectly secured, as by their having at least as full a share as they have claimed, in the democratical branch of their government.

I know, sir, that many friends of our constitution, thought that the convention did not pay a sufficient attention to the interests of their constituents, when they restrained them from having more than one representative for every 30,000 citizens. I know that there is a report, that the people are indebted to their president, even for this share of their government; and I believe, sir, if this report be true, that whatever has been so justly said of him, as compared to Fabius, to Hannibal, to Alexander, may be forgotten, when this instance of his wisdom, disinterestedness, and attachment to the interests of his fellow-citizens, will be more and more known and applauded, and be for ever engraved on the hearts of their posterity. Shall we then, Mr. chairman, the direct representatives of the people, be less attentive to their interest, and that too respecting their share in the deliberations of their own house of representatives, than the president of their convention was? I trust not.

I will not pretend to say, however, whether, in an assembly where attempts are frequently made, to carry into effect the projects of monarchical or aristocratical juntos, the virtuous struggles of patriotic members may not produce mob-like disorders: but in an assembly like congress, where I should suppose no such question can be agitated, none which may not be discussed with temper and decency, such disorder need not be apprehended. I should suppose there would be less danger of animosities and disorderly debates in congress, amongst 1200 members, than in the British parliament, if it consisted of but 100. Where we have all but one and the same great object in view, the happiness of our country, (not the interests of a particular body of men, born with privileges insulting to the feelings and the rights of freemen,

nor the whims of an individual, born to trample on his fellow-creatures) we can have no cause to be dissatisfied with one another.

Surely, sir, unless these gentlemen suppose the members of congress void of sense, or of every idea of decency and propriety, they cannot suppose that even 500 members would not be easily restrained within the bounds of order.

Upon the whole, sir, I conclude, that neither an apprehension of expense, nor of disorderly debates, ought to induce this committee to run the risk of being charged with indelicacy, if not, of sacrificing the interests of their constituents. I hope, therefore, that the worthy and ingenious members, who, by supporting the amendment, have produced a full discussion of the question, will now join with me, and a great majority, in voting against it.

Mr. Steel said, he should not have troubled the committee again, if his observations had not been distorted, by the remarks which had been made on them; he hoped that, what he should offer, on some of the opinions which had fallen from gentlemen, in opposition to him, would be received with that candor with which he should deliver them. He professed to be as warm a friend to the liberties of the people as any man, but he differed in his ideas respecting the measures which would most effectually secure them; the present question, he thought, was not particularly interesting to the liberties of the people, as the point of difference would not make a very great variation in that number of the representative body, which appeared to be the most eligible to the majority of the committee; but the principle contended for, he conceived, had a very important aspect on the stability of the government; the subject, therefore, should be considered principally with respect to legislation; the great and essential principles of which, he observed, were involved in the discussion: and here he thought that our own experience was the best instructor; for the examples quoted from Great-Britain did not, in his opinion, apply to this country in all respects, the circumstances of the people of the respective countries being essentially different.

The states, experiencing the difficulties arising from numerous representative assemblies, had, in several instances, diminished them; the endless divisibility of power consequent on such numbers, had fully satisfied the people, that the want of responsibility was the pernicious effect of a large representation; they were therefore reducing those unwieldy bodies, as fast as they could. Pennsylvania, he said, appeared to be far happier since the reduction of its assembly.

A large sphere of representation gave the people a fairer opportunity to select the best characters; they could exercise their own judgments, unbiassed and uninfluenced; the trust conferred was greater, and, in proportion to its magnitude, would be the public solicitude, that it should not be improperly delegated—besides which, it is, said he, impossible, in a large sphere of representation, for candidates to practice those little arts, so common at elections; nor can they go round, and take every little demagogue of the district by the hand, to secure his vote.

As European examples had been recurred to, he would mention one circumstance, which confirmed the justice of his remarks. Those parts of Great-Britain, which are divided into the largest districts, send the smallest number of representatives, such as London and the county of Yorkshire. The latter, though containing more inhabitants than the ancient dominion, sends only two members to parliament; and the members of those two districts, it is remarkable, have always been the staunchest friends of the liberties of the people. In noticing the remarks of Mr. Giles and Mr. Findley, he said, that the object of representation was different from that of giving information to their constituents; legislation was their great business, and not making up weekly large packets, to send off to the influential characters in the districts, which the members represented on the floor of that house. The people, it is true, have a right to be informed of public measures, and it is the indispensable duty of government, to make provision for that purpose; and this ought to be done through the medium of the post-office: this medium is the only competent one, as it will open the way for that general information, which is necessary to the security, and to the liberties of the people.

With respect to security from corruption, by means of a numerous representation, he still retained his former opinion; he did not anticipate evils from that quarter.

He cited some examples, to shew what excesses a very numerous representative body may be guilty of. He then related a fact, which occurred in Virginia; the legislature of which, on a certain time, had acted in a legislative, executive, and judicial capacity, on the same occasion. He also instanced a more recent fact, in the secession from their duty, of a considerable body of the representatives of Pennsylvania: these facts demonstrated, that a numerous representative body was liable to a mobbish spirit.

He concluded, by saying, that if the ratio were at this time fixed at 30,000, it must hereafter be increased; in doing which, some serious difficulties might take place, especially in respect to those states, whose number of representatives must in that case be reduced. He thought it best, therefore, to agree at the present time on a larger ratio.

Mr. Clark said, he did not rise to trouble the house with a lengthy discourse, for he had always believed that long speeches answered no valuable purpose; he meant only to offer a few remarks on what had been said, in opposition to his former observations, and he hoped, that, although gentlemen contended for the ratio of 30,000, as the only basis whereon to found the liberties of the people, he should not be stigmatised with the name of an aristocrat, for voting in favour of a large ratio. Hitherto, he had not borne that character, and he could not suppose himself yet infected, unless he had caught the disorder since he became a member of the present house.

In reply to Mr. Findley's observation, that more wisdom would be brought into the house by increasing the ratio, he asked whether this would not also bring in more folly? for the probability is, that the ratio of both wisdom and folly will increase with the increase of numbers, and likewise of honesty and dishonesty; and with respect to the smallness of the district, or that it was safer for a small number to send a member than a greater, he was of a different opinion, as he believed, that if ever the practice of bribery should come into play in America, it would be easier for a representative to purchase a small district than a large one: if ever the liberties of the people are endangered, it will not be by the smallness of the representation, but by the corruption of electors and elections.

A gentleman from Georgia had observed, that the disposition of a great many millions of dollars had been in the hands of a quorum of the house, of whom it required only 17 to form a majority: on this Mr. Clark observed, that the old congress, which was composed of a much smaller number, were entrusted with the disposal of larger sums, and no complaint was heard of their conduct.

But there is an argument which ought to have weight in the present question. The senate, although a much smaller body than this house, are fully competent to judge of our proceedings, and of the safety of the country: indeed, said Mr. Clark, it appears very evident to me, that we are not in want of a larger number, in the house of representatives, to debate any question, if it be considered how much has already been said on the subject now before us.

Mr. Vining expressed much surprise, that the subject, which to him appeared perfectly definable, should have occasioned the debate to travel so widely from the line marked out by the constitution. The pendulum seemed to vibrate between the numbers 81, 96, and 113; and should that pendulum rest on any one of them, in preference to the others, he could not suppose that it would affect the liberties of America. Why, therefore, all this extraneous argument, about a point of so easy decision? We are sent here to administer the government; the first principles of which are already fixed, so that neither branch can encroach on the other. The senate, the house of representatives, the president, have each defined powers; and whilst those remain, I shall always believe the liberties of America are inviolable.

Under this impression, Mr. chairman, I shall vote for striking out 30,000, in order to accommodate the question to a medium. But I shall do this on different principles from some other gentlemen; notwithstanding, I at the same time confess, that the ratification of the first amendment to the constitution ought to govern us in deciding this question. The spirit of the amendment appears to me clearly to imply, that we should not suffer the number of representatives to exceed one for 30,000. I am here, not as a person who shall exercise discretionary opinions, but judge by the letter of the constitution; and in this case, we may increase the number, but we cannot make it less after the enumeration. In the mean time, until that enumera-

tion is complete, the repreſentation remains as it has been hitherto, which, I believe, may be about one member to every 40 or 41 thouſand.

If we go upon theory only, I would enlarge the repreſentation to its greateſt extent, and hand down the principle to futurity, in letters of gold; that a very great repreſentation—that democracy, is the very beſt government that can poſſibly be deviſed, provided it were practicable to give it ſtability. Next to a government, as free as theory could extend, we have the freeſt in the world; a government of repreſentation, which will increaſe with the population of the country; but if you increaſe it to an extreme, you may render it tumultuous, although it may be ſafe.

Mr. chairman, a great deal has been ſaid, of the neceſſity of planting ſtrong guards againſt the invaſions of influential characters. Sir, I fear no corruption; neither can I ſee the ground on which it can make an entry into theſe walls. In the Britiſh parliament I will admit that corruption has planted her ſtandard; but that is the natural conſequence of a very large repreſentation, and a conſtitution widely different from ours. But to what end would corruption be attempted in this government, which is, in itſelf, perfectly rotatory? The preſident is elective every four years; the ſenate, by interlocations, from two to ſix years; and the houſe of repreſentatives every two years. Then, ſurely, ſir, there is no need of guards to prevent the encroachments of corruption; and the argument is not in the leaſt applicable to the preſent ſyſtem of our affairs. The difference between the ſtate legiſlatures and the national one, affords another ſecurity to the citizens. They have the power of life and death, of making laws, &c. &c. and congreſs have a concurrent legiſlation in ſuch affairs as are proper. Election forms another barrier, in favour of the liberties of the people; for whilſt elections are kept pure and free, there is double ſecurity.

I agree with the gentleman from Pennſylvania, that a trifling expenſe is no object, compared to the ſecurity of the people; but I am ſorry to hear any thing of locality, or the paſſions of the people introduced, for the voice of the people; for if locality and paſſion were to govern this houſe, inſtead of *vox populi* we ſhould ſoon have occaſion to term it by another name, the *vox diaboli*.

I am under no apprehenſions from the ſtock-holders of the bank, or the ſpeculators in the funds; for it is their intereſt to have a wiſe and good repreſentation. The people, who are employed in the more ſimple path of agriculture, removed at a great diſtance, are not more intereſted in the ſecurity of the government, than the more informed ſtock-holder.

The ſtate which I repreſent contains 59,000 inhabitants, and yet I ſhall feel myſelf acting in the line of my duty, by voting for a ratio of 34,000, as coming neareſt to the ſpirit of the amendment.

The queſtion was now called for, on the amendment, to ſtrike out "thirty," which was negatived. The original reſolution, that *thirty thouſand* ſhould be the ratio of repreſentation was then carried, and reported to the houſe. On the queſtion, will the houſe adopt the reſolution, as reported by the committee? the yeas and nays being called for, it was carried in the affirmative—

*Yeas*—Abraham Baldwin; Egbert Benſon; John Brown; William Findley; Thomas Fitzſimons; Elbridge Gerry; William B. Giles; James Gordon; Andrew Gregg; Samuel Griffin; Daniel Heiſter; Daniel Huger; Iſrael Jacobs; Aaron Kitchell; John W. Kittera; John Laurance; Amaſa Learned; Richard Bland Lee; James Madiſon; Andrew Moore; Frederick Auguſtus Muhlenberg; William Vans Murray; John Page; Joſiah Parker; Joſhua Seney; Upton Sheridine; Thomas Sumpter; Peter Silveſter; Thomas Tredwell; Thomas Tudor Tucker; Abraham Venable; Jeremiah Wadſworth; Anthony Wayne; Alexander White, and Francis Willis.

*Nays*—Fiſher Ames; John Baptiſt Aſhe; Robert Barnwell; Elias Boudinot; Shearjaſhub Bourne; Benjamin Bourne; Abraham Clarke; Nicholas Gilman; Benjamin Goodhue; William Barry Grove; James Hillhouſe; Samuel Livermore; Nathaniel Macon; Nathaniel Niles; Theodore Sedgwick; Jeremiah Smith; Iſrael Smith; William Smith; John Steele; Jonathan Sturges; George Thatcher; John Vining, and Artemas Ward.

Yeas, 35—nays, 23—majority, 12.

A committee was then appointed to bring in a bill, agreeably to ſaid reſolution.

# The CHRONICLE.

## FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.

WAR having been declared againſt the king of Hungary, the French miniſtry reſolved that ſundry bodies of troops ſhould penetrate into the Auſtrian Low Countries. The following have ſince been ſtated as the motives for this procedure, by the miniſter at war, in a communication to the national aſſembly.—1ſt. That the war might be withdrawn from a frontier, but fifty leagues from Paris.—2d To prevent the aſſembling of the force of the enemy; and to act before they had formed their plan of operations, fixed their magazines, and taken their ground.—3d. To ſeize ſo favourable a moment for ſeconding the ardour of the troops, who were eager for an attack.—4th. To give the inhabitants an opportunity of declaring their diſpoſition, which was ſuppoſed to be friendly to the cauſe of liberty; and to drive from the frontiers the troops of the enemy which had forced the nation to arm.

Though the troops, he ſaid, wanted many of their ſtores, it was not thought adviſeable to retard them in their march, and it was thought, at the ſame time, that the want of that diſcipline, ſo neceſſary to regular action, was not an obſtacle that ought to ſtop their motions; for if it were true that the country was diſſatisfied, diſcipline was the leſs neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the troops, a regular war not being the object. The movements of the army of M. Luckner, at Straſbourg and its vicinity, were to be merely defenſive, that frontier being oppoſite to ſtates with whom France was not at war. The army of M. la Fayette was to be detached towards Givet, and that general was to attack Namur, in concert with M. Rochambeau.

The plan for penetrating the country was, that lieutenant-general Biron, with the advanced guard of Rochambeau's army, conſiſting of about 10,000 men, ſhould appear before Mons, in order to found the diſpoſition of the Auſtrian ſoldiers, and of the inhabitants.—A body of cavalry, conſiſting of ten ſquadrons, commanded by M. Theobald Dillon, marechal de camp, was directed to march from Liſle, at the ſame time, for Tournay. M. Carl was to march to Furnes, with a detachment of 1200 men. The motive for making all theſe movements at the ſame time was, to divide the attention and forces of the enemy. M. Rochambeau's army, at Valenciennes, was intended to ſupport M. Biron.

M. Biron left Valenciennes on the 28th of April, in the morning, took poſſeſſion of Quievrain that evening, diſlodged the Auſtrians from all the poſts which they occupied between that place and Mons, and arrived on the 29th, within a ſhort diſtance of that city. He then perceived the Auſtrian army upon the heights, occupying an advantageous poſition, and appearing more formidable than had been expected. Nevertheleſs, M. Biron paſſed the night, between the 29th and 30th, in the preſence of the enemy, and took care to inform M. Rochambeau of his ſituation. His army appeared to be in the beſt poſſible diſpoſition; notwithſtanding this, he ſoon learned that the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons had retired. He immediately ſet off alone, and brought them back to the army, which he now found in the utmoſt agitation. The fugitives had propagated the news on their retreat, that the general had gone over to the enemy. The diſorder which this falſe intelligence had thrown the troops into, did not fail to be perceived by the Auſtrians, who immediately commenced an attack, and M. Biron was forced to retire, although with bravery and firmneſs on the part of the French, who prevented the enemy from gaining any conſiderable advantage. M. Biron attempted to regain the poſt which he had occupied the night before at Quievrain, but this was taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy, whom he found it impoſſible to diſlodge; he was obliged therefore to puſh for Valenciennes. M. le Marchal de Rochambeau advanced, with three regiments, to ſecure the retreat of the troops. M. Biron was the laſt perſon who entered Valenciennes.

The Auſtrian accounts ſtate M. Biron's loſs to be 250 killed, beſides a number taken priſoners; and alſo that five pieces of cannon fell into their hands, with a large quantity of baggage and camp equipage.

M. Dillon marched from Liſle on the 28th of April, in the evening, with the intention of appearing before Tournay early next morning. He was met, three leagues from Tournay, by the enemy, who were much ſtronger than had been ſuppoſed.

His troops betrayed a total want of diſcipline; and fled in the moſt precipitate and diſorderly manner, crying out that they were betrayed, that Dillon was an ariſtocrat and a traitor, and had purpoſely led them into an ambuſh. He was accordingly maſſacred in the moſt barbarous manner, by his own men; who, to ſatiate their brutal vengeance ſtill further, committed his body to the flames, and, like barbarians, exulted in the deed.

The cry of treachery was alſo raiſed againſt M. Rochambeau, who, upon finding that he could not command the confidence of the army, and that the miniſters paid no attention to his information, but iſſued orders directly to M. Biron, and other officers who were under him, without informing him thereof, reſigned his command. He complained, in his letter, of the offenſive operations which had been commenced, contrary to his advice, under the miſtaken notion that the Auſtrian troops were ready, as ſoon as an opportunity was offered, to join the French ſtandard. He had all along, he ſaid, informed the miniſters, that he ſaw no ſymptoms of ſuch a diſpoſition. M. Biron, who had been in view of them for two days, declared that he found the country entirely hoſtile. Not one patriot joined him, or gave him intelligence; not one deſerter came in.

It appears that the army afterwards acknowledged the injuſtice they had done M. Rochambeau, and were very deſirous that he ſhould retain his command, that they might have an opportunity of atoning for their conduct. M. Luckner was appointed to ſucceed him; but it was expected that M. Rochambeau would be prevailed upon to continue in command, agreeably to the wiſhes of M. Luckner, as well as of the national aſſembly. The detachment which marched for Furnes was kindly received by the inhabitants, and, after taking ſome refreſhment, returned to Dunkirk. The diſaſters which attended the French troops before Mons and Tournay, ſeem to have diſcouraged them from making any further incurſions at preſent. M. Fayette has halted his army in the vicinity of Namur, where he is receiving continual reinforcements. The enthuſiaſm of the French ſoldiers appears to be aſtoniſhingly great; but they are wretchedly diſciplined, impatient of control, and the armies are badly provided with proviſions and military ſtores The marquis has addreſſed his troops in an animated and forcible ſpeech, on the neceſſity of their attending to order and diſcipline, for the eſtabliſhment of which his endeavours are unremitting. The national aſſembly have addreſſed the citizens who have taken up arms, on the ſame ſubject.

We have not heard of any incurſions into the French territory, by the Auſtrians. They ſeem to be waiting till their forces are united, and joined by the Pruſſian army, which is to be commanded by the king in perſon Even when united, it is probable that they will be cautious how they venture far within the confines of France, leſt they ſhould find it a difficult matter to return. It is fortunate for France that no deciſive battle has taken place. The defeats ſhe has experienced in ſkirmiſhes may have a good effect. It is poſſible to beat a people into diſcipline. This was the caſe with the Americans, in the beginning of their conteſt with the veterans of Britain; and it is not improbable that the ſame conſequence may be the reſult of the defeats which the French troops have experienced.

M. de Grave has reſigned his office of miniſter of war, and M. Servan has been appointed in his room. A court-martial has been ordered for the trial of thoſe dragoons of the 5th and 6th regiments who called out "treaſon," in the action with the enemy before Mons. Meaſures have been taken to bring the murderers of Dillon to juſtice. The miniſter of war has informed the national aſſembly that the deſertions to the enemy are exceedingly numerous, and that great injury is done to the ſervice by the continual reſignation of officers Great-Britain has given aſſurances, of a pacific diſpoſition. Upon the whole, however, the complexion of French affairs is rather gloomy; but animated as the people are by the love of liberty, there is little room to doubt but that they will be ultimately triumphant over the mercenary armies that are employed againſt them, by deſpots who are endeavouring in vain to ſtifle that unquenchable flame of liberty, which is probably deſtined to extend its influence, ere long, over every part of Europe.

## P O L A N D.

Such is the abhorrence with which European deſpots view every thing that looks like civil liberty, that the empreſs of Ruſſia is preparing to invade Poland, with a

large army, for the purpose of obliging the people to relinquish their new constitution, although it was formed in peace, and agreeably to the wishes of all orders of men in the kingdom. This, to be sure, is the height of tyranny and injust ce. The king having informed the diet of the expected invasion, measures have been taken to place the nation in a situation, which may enable the people to repel every attack upon their liberties.

## GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Late accounts from England state, that, in consequence of a disagreement in politicks between Mr. Pitt and the lord chancellor Thurlow, the latter has been informed of his majesty's wish that he should relign—that, in consequence of the murder of a soldier, in a house of ill-fame, at Birimingham, fresh riots had broken out at that place —That Mr. Paine has published a third pamphlet, entitled the Crisis—That a royal proclamation has been issued against seditious writings and meetings; which appears to be levelled not only at Paine, but at the different societies which have been instituted, for the purpose of effecting a reform of the abuses in government, and particularly a parliamentary reform. New societies, however, have since been instituted, with this avowed object in view. A *reform* of the constitution, and not *innovations* seems to be the extent of the general wish But even against a *reform* both ministers and parliament appear to have taken a firm stand. The king has received the thanks of parliament, and of the city of London, for his proclamation. A motion made by Mr Fox, for the repeal of some odious penal statutes against dissenters, was negatived, in the house of commons, by a large majority. In the course of the debate on this motion, Mr. Burke inveighed, with great bitterness, against dissenters, as being friends to the revolution in France, and desirous of effecting similar innovations in the British government.

In *Ireland*, the government seems to have acted with considerable policy, in repealing, at this crisis, some of the penal statutes against Roman catholicks, and making a further annual allowance to the presbyterian clergy. But these palliatives will not be sufficient to reconcile the people to the many oppressions under which they groan. Societies of "United Irishmen" have been formed, in almost every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of grievances; and the press continually teems with spirited publications. Paine's Rights of Man have been published, at full length, in the Irish magazines, and in most of the popular newspapers. Thus it appears, that the *seeds* of liberty are plentifully sown in that country; but we fear that the inequality of condition which the feudal tenures of the soil have established, will be a powerful barrier against such a reform in the government, as would effectually relieve the oppressed peasantry. Nothing less than the shock of a general convulsion, that shall overthrow all established forms, will answer this great end.

## UNITED STATES.

### PHILADELPHIA. *July 4th.*

Considerable damage was done by a party of Indians, at and round the town of Frankfort, in Kentucky, about the middle of May. They were pursued over the Ohio by a party of volunteers, who found the savages too strong to be attacked, and returned without doing any thing.

The foundation of an academy is now laying in the town of Newark, New-Jersey. This building, it is said, will, when finished, be at least equal to any edifice for this purpose in America.

The question has been carried in the British house of commons, that the African slave trade, in British bottoms, shall cease after January 1st, 1796.

Last week, sailed in a vessel from this port for England, Mr. *Thomas Pinckney*, minister plenipotentiary from the united states to the court of Great-Britain.

On Sunday afternoon last, a violent squall of wind from W. N W. and N. W. did considerable damage in this city and port. Several square-rigged vessels were driven from their moorings at the wharves, but were fortunately secured from injury by anchoring in the stream, except an English brig, which grounded on the bar opposite

the lower part of the town, and the ſhip Juno, lately from Havre de Grace, which, ſoon after breaking from her moorings, overſet, and, drifting along the iſland, got aground about a mile below the town, where ſhe now lies on her beam ends, and is ſaid to have loſt moſt of her ſpars and rigging.

Several ſmall craft and boats were alſo much damaged, but we are happy to hear that no lives were loſt, although the gale was very ſevere, and came on ſo ſuddenly that it was almoſt impoſſible to eſcape its fury.

In the city, ſome chimnies and parts of brick walls were blown down; the roof of a ſtore below the Bird-in-Hand wharf was removed ſeveral inches from its place, and large limbs torn from many trees in different parts of the town.

One of the ferry-boats of this city was overſet within three hundred yards of the Jerſey ſhore. There were on board nine perſons, five men and women, and four ſmall children. Captain Scott, of Maſſachuſetts, who was one of them, by his exertions brought them all ſafe on ſhore: firſt one of the children, and afterwards ſucceſſively the others, who, in the mean time, with difficulty had ſaved themſelves from drowning by hanging to the boat, which ſupported them, tho' full of water.—A boy was drowned by the overſetting of another boat, which is the only life loſt that we have heard of

*July* 7. Wedneſday, the 4th inſtant, being the anniverſary of the independence of the united ſtates of America, completing ſixteen years ſince the declaration of independence, was celebrated in this city with every demonſtration of joy ſuitable to the occaſion. At 12 o'clock the miniſter of France, and the miniſters of other foreign nations, the officers of the city militia, and many reſpectable citizens, waited on the preſident of the united ſtates, and congratulated him on the day. The ſtate ſociety of the Cincinnati, preceded by the governor and chief juſtice of the ſtate, their preſident and vice-preſident, went alſo in proceſſion, nearly about the ſame time, to pay their reſpects to the preſident of the united ſtates. A number of cannon were diſcharged on the occaſion, and an entertainment in honour of the day was given at Oeller's hotel, by the Cincinnati, to which the heads of departments and foreign miniſters were invited, who favoured the ſociety with their company. Fireworks were to have been diſplayed in the evening, but the badneſs of the day, being almoſt a continual heavy rain, prevented.

On Saturday laſt, ſome boys bathing in a pond, near this city, one of them wandering from the reſt, ſunk into a deep hole and diſappeared. After lying under water about twenty minutes, he was at length taken up, to all appearance dead. By rubbing him with ſalt, however, in leſs than twenty minutes the body exhibited ſigns of re-animation: in about three hours more, he was ſo far recovered as to turn himſelf in the bed, and in a day or two was perfectly well.——Our accounts further ſay, that before the uſual methods of recovery were tried, the body had every appearance of being lifeleſs; and many ſuppoſed that a total ſuſpenſion of the animal functions had taken place.

The final abolition of the African ſlave trade is determined on by the government of Denmark, as far as concerns themſelves; to avoid the diſadvantage, however, of too ſudden a change in that trade, its final abolition is not to take place for ten years, that is till January 1, 1803; during which time every means is to be uſed to encourage the breeding of negroes in their colonies, and to eſtabliſh ſuch laws as may be of mutual benefit to the blacks and whites. After the expiration of the time above mentioned, no Daniſh ſubject will be permitted to carry on the ſlave trade in any ſhape whatever.

A ſquall viſited New-York laſt ſunday afternoon, at nearly the ſame time as here; near thirty perſons were drowned in conſequence thereof, men, women, and children, that were taking their pleaſure on the river. Reports were in circulation of many other perſons being loſt, by the overſetting of boats. Much damage, it is ſaid, was alſo done to houſes and orchards.

In the months of April, May, and June, 1792, there have been ſhipped from the port of Philadelphia, one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand, three hundred and forty-four barrels of flour; and during the ſame period, fourteen hundred and eighteen barrels of middlings.

Capers have been thought only capable of growing in warm climates. A tree is now growing near New-London, full of that fruit; and equal in appearance to any imported from France, Sicily, or any other foreign country.

Capt. Joſeph Brandt, the celebrated Indian Chief from Canada, departed a few days ſince from this city, on a journey to the weſtward. It is ſaid his object is to endeavour to conciliate the minds of the hoſtile Indians, and lay the foundation for a permanent peace between thoſe tribes and the united ſtates.

In the report of the committee appointed by the Engliſh houſe of commons, to enquire into the effect of the laws relative to impriſonment for debt, an inſtance is produced of a man having been confined forty-five years, for a debt, originally amounting only to ſix pounds.

*July 14th.* We are informed that the directors of the national manufactures, attended by the ſecretary of the treaſury, met at the town of Patterſon,(N. J.) on Tueſday laſt, and, after purchaſing the lands from the reſpective proprietors, fixed upon the exact ſituation of the different mill-ſeats, and other principal buildings of the eſtabliſhment.—Inſtructions were given to the conductors of the different branches of the manufactory, immediately to remove thither and complete their machinery, with all convenient ſpeed—that deciſive and definite arrangements took place, reſpecting their future operations, entirely to the ſatisfaction of all concerned.—Our correſpondent further adds, that the celebrated architect, Monſ. L'Enfant, is expected there on Tueſday or Wedneſday next, for the purpoſe of laying out the new town, the form of which is contemplated to be nearly circular, encompaſſing a delightful plain, intended for a bleaching ground. Nature has been particularly bountiful to this ſpot, a healthy and delightful country, excellent water both for domeſtic and mill purpoſes, abundance of good building ſtone is to be met with on the ſpot, plenty of fuel, the river and brooks around it abound with fiſh; proviſions are very cheap, and the country thickly ſettled. Theſe advantages, together with its contiguity to, and eaſy communication with one of the firſt cities in the united ſtates, make it unqueſtionably one of the moſt eligible and deſirable ſituations in the world, for the permanent eſtabliſhment of manufactories.

By a late arrival at Salem (M.) intelligence is come to hand, that Ankerſtrom, the Swediſh regicide, has been executed according to his ſentence. He was publicly whipped three different times in the market place; ignominiouſly expoſed to view in the pillory; his right hand was cut off; and finally he was beheaded, quartered, and expoſed at the common place of execution. He gloried in what he had done, to the laſt; and even in the agonies of death rejoiced that he had rid his country of a tyrant.

On the 26th of June, a man named John Fuller was executed at Charleſton, for attempting to paſs a forged note, knowing the ſame to be forged—He declared himſelf, to the laſt, innocent of the crime for which he was doomed to ſuffer.

*July 18th.* Saturday laſt, the 14th of July, the anniverſary of the French revolution, was celebrated in this city, with every demonſtration of joy and congratulation.

The veſſels in the harbour were dreſſed in their colours, and a French veſſel ſaluted the day by frequent firings.

Several ſelect companies celebrated the day in a convivial manner. And the evening was cloſed by a brilliant diſplay of rockets and other fire-works, which met with the greateſt applauſe from a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators.

The advocates for the *buckle* in London, and thoſe for the *ſhoe-ſtring*, have ſettled their differences, and are about to unite in a claſp.

On Wedneſday afternoon laſt, the preſident of the united ſtates, with his lady, ſet out for Virginia.

Mr. Bolton, of Birmingham, has applied the ſteam engine to coining. By his machinery, four boys, of ten years old, can ſtrike off 30,000 guineas in an hour. The machine keeps an unerring account of the pieces ſtruck.

*July 21ſt.* The ſpirit of party in New-York, reſpecting the late election for governor of the ſtate, is ſaid to have riſen to ſuch a height as to occaſion ſeveral duels. Amongſt theſe, Col. Marinus Willett and William Wilcocks, Eſq. had a meeting, and exchanged a few ſhots; but their friends interfering, prevented any bad conſequences. Col. Willett is friendly to governor Clinton's election, which is oppoſed by Mr. Wilcocks.

The anniverſary of American independence has been celebrated far and wide, by the friends of America and republican government—The 14th of July, as far as we have yet heard, has been the object of almoſt equal attention by the patriots of America, and will no doubt, in future, be conſidered as our ſecond day of eminence in the calendar of liberty.

On Thurſday, July 5th, the brig Charleſton, capt. Garman, on her paſſage from this port to Charleſton, and within one day's ſail of the bar, was ſtruck with lightning. Both maſts were ſtruck, but the foremaſt and its topmaſts ſuffered moſt. A horſe on deck was killed. The mate and ſeveral of the hands were knocked down, and remained lifeleſs for ſome time; and Mr. William P. Young, paſſenger on board, lay a conſiderable time, deprived of his ſenſes, and very much ſcorched and otherwiſe hurt. The ſhock was ſo great, that the brig, although going at the rate of five or ſix knots, was totally ſtopped, and continued motionleſs ſome time.—It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that ſo little attention ſhould be paid to arm veſſels with *lightning rods*, to prevent miſchief of this kind. They might be put on and taken off at pleaſure, with very little trouble.

*July 25th.* Advices from Cape Francois, and other parts of French Hiſpaniola, to the beginning of July, are as unfavorable as ever. A ſpirit of diſcord ſeems to have taken poſſeſſion of all deſcriptions of people, which threatens, we may ſay has nearly enſured, the total ruin of the colony. The people of Port-au-Prince, Cape Nichola Mole, and Port Jeremie, have refuſed to accept the decree of the national aſſembly, granting certain privileges to the mulattoes and free negroes.

Several French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies are ſaid to be in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, in conſequence of attempts to re-eſtabliſh the old form of government. Reports ſay, that in Martinique a counter-revolution is abſolutely effected, and that ſeveral of the leading patriots in Gaudaloupe had eſcaped, with difficulty, to other iſlands.

*Extract of a letter from Havre, dated May* 18.

"The declaration of war againſt the king of Hungary, it appears, was done with a view to fix the minds of the people, to diſcriminate internal friends from lurking foes, to enforce diſcipline, and to get things on a reſpectable war eſtabliſhment. So far matters ſeem proper: whether a ſerious invaſion of the Auſtrian provinces was ever intended, is not clear. In future, we ſhall remain on the defenſive, unleſs by ſome event forced to dootherwiſe; at leaſt this is the opinion of people verſed in the politics of the kingdom. Advices from the frontiers inform us that it is pleaſing to ſee how willingly people haſte to thoſe parts, to aſſiſt in defending their country againſt any invaſion, and to protect the conſtitution. It is not probable, however, that any thing very material will take place, in military affairs, till the combined armies have ſhewn themſelves in the Auſtrian Low Countries."

On the 16th and 17th inſt. the preſident of the united ſtates, and the commiſſioners of the federal buildings, examined the plans for a capitol, and preſident's houſe, to be erected in the city of Waſhington; ſeveral of conſiderable merit, for each building, were preſented. The premium for the beſt plan of a preſident's houſe was adjudged to James Hoben, from Charleſton, South-Carolina, but no deciſion was given in favour of any plan for a capitol; three or four of ſuperior merit are under conſideration, and it is expected that the commiſſioners at their next meeting, the 1ſt of Auguſt next, will then make their election.

## Commencement in Dickinson College.

ON Thurſday the 3d of May, 1792, was held a commencement for degrees in the arts, in Dickinſon college, at which were preſent a very large and reſpectable audience. As twenty-five young gentlemen had prepared orations for the occaſion, and theſe could not all be delivered in one day, it was found neceſſary to begin the exerciſes on Wedneſday.

The truſtees, faculty, and ſtudents of the college, having proceeded, in order, to the Preſbyterian church, in which the commencement was held, the buſineſs was begun with prayers, by the Rev. Dr. *Charles Neſbit*, the principal; after which followed

1. The *Salutatory* oration, in Latin, on the ſtate of the ancient republics of Greece; by Mr. *John Moore*, of Virginia.

2. An oration on the inſufficiency of human laws for preventing moral diſorders; by Mr. *John Lyon*, of Carliſle, Pennſylvania.

3. On ſenſibility, and its effects on moral conduct; by Mr. *James Smith*, of Maryland.

4. On the true and proper uſe of reaſon; by Mr. *Robert Whitehill*, of Pennſylvania.

5. On the unlawfulneſs of domeſtic ſlavery; by Mr. *Iſaac Wayne*, of Philadelphia.

6. On the neceſſity of knowledge and virtue in free governments; by Mr. *Andrew Steel*, of Kentucky.

7. On the cauſes of the imperfection of human knowledge; by Mr. *John Creigh*, jun. of Carliſle.

8. On the cauſes of the uncertainty of our judgments with reſpect to the moral characters of men; by Mr. *James Laird*, of York county, Pennſylvania.

9. On the connexion between a profeſſion of ſcepticiſm and licentiouſneſs of conduct; by Mr. *George Dugan*, of Baltimore.

10. On the diſtinction between truth and falſehood; by Mr. *John M'Jimſey*, of Pennſylvania.

11. On the pernicious conſequences of ſcepticiſm; by Mr. *John Steel*, of Kentucky.

12. On the danger of relying on the principle of ſelf-intereſt in political eſtabliſhments; by Mr. *James M'Knight*, of North-Carolina.

13. On the influence of inſtinct and obſcure ideas; by Mr. *Rennels*, of Pennſylvania.

14. On the influence of education on national happineſs; by Mr. *James Poſtlethwait*, of Carliſle.

15. On the uncertainty of the effects of education; by Mr. *William Hunter*, of Carliſle.

16. On the influence of the principle of imitation; by Mr. *Auguſtin Smith*, of Virginia.

17. On the influence of the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments on moral conduct; by Mr. *Samuel Davidſon*, of Pennſylvania.

18. On the influence of a ſenſe of honour and ſhame on moral conduct; by Mr. *David Caſſat*, of Pennſylvania.

19. On the neceſſity of veracity and faithfulneſs in ſociety; by Mr. *John M'Keſſon*, of Pennſylvania.

20. On the pernicious conſequences of a love of ſingularity; by Mr. *Haden Edwards*, of Kentucky.

21. On natural and artificial diſtinctions in ſociety; by Mr. *William Woods*, of Pennſylvania.

22. On the influence of vice on reaſon and ſcience; by Mr. *James Gilleland*, of North-Carolina.

23. On the principles that ſerve as ſubſtitutes for virtue in bad men; by Mr. *John Foulk*, of Carliſle.

24. On the love of imitation, and its influence in ſociety; by Mr. *William Carcaud*, of Maryland.

The degree of *Bachelor of Arts* was then conferred on the following gentlemen, being all of the ſame claſs: viz. Meſſrs. John Moore, John Lyon, James Smith, Robert Whitehill, Iſaac Wayne, Andrew Steel, John Creigh, James Laird, John M'Jimſey, David Caſſat, Samuel Rennels, John Steel, James M'Knight, William Hunter, James Poſtlethwait, Auguſtin Smith, Haden Edwards, Samuel Davidſon, George Dugan, James Gilleland, John M'Keſſon, John Foulk, William Woods, William Carcaud, Maxwell M'Dowell, James Hemphill, Robert Calender, Joſiah Leek, John Todd, Charles Roſs, John Brakenridge, William Steel, and John Wilſon.

Mr. James M'Cormick alſo received the honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts; and has been choſen Profeſſor of Mathematics in Dickinſon college.

The degree of *Maſter of Arts* was conferred on the following gentlemen, formerly graduates in this ſeminary, viz. Meſſrs. Iſaac Greer, Robert Duncan, James Duncan, David Watts, Jonathan Walker, Steel Semple, Thomas Creigh, David M'Keehan, Iſaiah Blair, and James Calhoon.

The degree of *Doctor in Divinity* was conferred on the Rev. James Waddel, of Virginia; the Rev. Samuel M'Corkle, of North-Carolina; the Rev. Robert Cooper, and the Rev. John King, of Pennſylvania.

After this, the *Valedictory* oration was delivered by Mr. *Maxwell M'Dowell*, of Pennſylvania.—And the buſineſs of the day was concluded by a ſolemn and weighty charge, delivered by the principal, to the claſs about to take their leave of the inſtitution; earneſtly recommending diligence in their future ſtudies, zeal for the public, and regard for all the important duties of morality and religion.—Concluded with prayer.

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of JUNE, 1792.

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In. | Therm. of Farenh. D. | Therm. of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail Wind | rain | thunder | sleet | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 30 0 14 | 68 0 | 16 0 | W | | | | Overcast |
| | 30 1 3 | 90 5 | 26 0 | E | | | | Cloudy, windy |
| 2 | 30 0 6 | 59 0 | 12 0 | Variab. | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 29 10 6 | 73 6 | 18 5 | Idem. | | | | Idem |
| 3 | 29 10 13 | 65 7 | 15 0 | E | | | | Overcast |
| | 30 0 0 | 82 6 | 22 5 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| 4 | 30 1 13 | 63 5 | 14 0 | E | 1 | | | Overcast, rainy |
| | 30 2 0 | 66 2 | 15 2 | E | | | | Drizling rain |
| 5 | 30 1 10 | 59 0 | 12 0 | S | 1 | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 5 | 89 0 | 25 3 | S | | 1 | | Fair, thund. small rain |
| 6 | 29 11 0 | 65 7 | 15 0 | Variab. | | 1 | | Idem, idem, idem. |
| | 29 9 13 | 77 0 | 20 0 | Idem. | 1 | 1 | | Thunder & rainy |
| 7 | 29 8 9 | 59 0 | 12 0 | NE | 1 | | | Rainy, |
| | 29 9 3 | 72 5 | 18 0 | Variab. | | | | Overcast, rainy |
| 8 | 29 11 6 | 51 0 | 8 5 | NE | 1 | | | Idem, idem |
| | 29 11 11 | 60 0 | 12 4 | NE | | | | Rainy |
| 9 | 29 11 9 | 54 5 | 10 0 | NE | | | | Cloudy, windy |
| | 30 0 12 | 70 2 | 17 0 | E | | | | Idem, idem |
| 10 | 29 11 2 | 52 2 | 9 0 | NE | 1 | | | Overcast, windy, rainy |
| | 29 10 6 | 53 0 | 9 4 | NE | | 1 | | Heavy rains, stormy |
| 11 | 29 10 6 | 48 6 | 7 4 | NE | 1 | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 8 | 54 3 | 9 8 | NE | | 1 | | Idem, stormy |
| 12 | 29 11 14 | 52 2 | 9 0 | ENE | | | | Cloudy, windy |
| | 30 0 12 | 67 5 | 15 8 | ENE | | | | Idem, idem |
| 13 | 30 1 6 | 53 4 | 9 5 | ENE | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 1 1 | 71 4 | 17 5 | ENE | | | | Fair |
| 14 | 30 1 8 | 53 4 | 9 5 | ENE | | | | Foggy |
| | 30 1 2 | 78 8 | 20 8 | ENE | | | | Fair |
| 15 | 30 1 0 | 53 4 | 9 5 | ENE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 3 | 84 9 | 23 5 | ENE | | | | Idem |
| 16 | 30 0 11 | 56 7 | 11 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 2 | 84 9 | 23 5 | ESE | | | | Idem |
| 17 | 30 0 4 | 61 2 | 13 0 | WSW | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 30 0 4 | 87 81 | 124 81 | SE | 1 | 1 | 1 | Fair |

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In. | Therm. of Farenh. D. | Therm. of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail. Wind | rain | thunder | sleet | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 30 0 13 | 63 0 | 13 8 | WSW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 1 0 | 90 5 | 26 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| 19 | 30 1 12 | 62 0 | 13 4 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 0 | 88 9 | 25 3 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 20 | 30 0 2 | 63 5 | 14 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 7 | 88 7 | 25 2 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| 21 | 29 9 7 | 68 0 | 16 0 | ENE | | | | Overcast. |
| | 29 8 5 | 93 6 | 27 4 | WSW | 1 | 1 | | Thunder & rain |
| 22 | 29 9 9 | 68 0 | 16 0 | E | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 8 7 | 87 8 | 24 8 | SW | | | | Cloudy |
| 23 | 29 7 10 | 69 6 | 16 7 | Variab. | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 7 5 | 69 6 | 16 7 | Idem | 1 | | | Rainy |
| 24 | 29 11 5 | 65 7 | 15 0 | Idem | | | | Cloudy. |
| | 30 0 4 | 79 2 | 21 0 | Idem | | | | Fair |
| 25 | 30 1 7 | 59 0 | 12 0 | SE | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 30 1 5 | 74 7 | 19 0 | SSW | | | | Cloudy |
| 26 | 30 1 7 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 1 2 | 83 3 | 22 8 | W | | | | Idem |
| 27 | 30 0 12 | 65 7 | 15 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 14 | 89 4 | 25 5 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| 28 | 29 11 9 | 64 8 | 14 6 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 0 | 90 0 | 25 8 | W | | | | Idem |
| 29 | 29 10 0 | 70 2 | 17 0 | SW | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 9 0 | 91 6 | 26 5 | SW | | | | Fair, lightning |
| 30 | 29 9 14 | 65 7 | 15 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 0 | 87 0 | 24 5 | SW | | | | Idem |

| RESULT. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4th gr. elev. | 30 2 | 4th gr. de. of heat | 93 6 27 4 | NE | | | | |
| 23d least el. | 29 7 5 | 11th least de. of heat | 48 6 7 4 | WSW | 11 | 4 | 2 | Fair, rainy, & wet. |
| Variation | 6 11 | Variation | 45 20 | | | | | |
| Mean eleva. | 29 11 9 | Mean degree | 70 16 9 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

## FOR AUGUST, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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## *To CORRESPONDENTS.*

MEMOIRS *of a ſingular character* are not calculated to anſwer any uſeful end, that we can perceive. We believe the *ſingular* character drawn by our correſpondent to be the offſpring of his own imagination. Such a compound of contradictions and abſurdities is ſurely not in nature.

*Flavia's* propoſed tax on old bachelors, would perhaps be found ineffectual for the promotion of early marriages. To encourage theſe, inducements ought to be held out; and not penalties inflicted. Beſides, it is cruel to increaſe the miſeries of thoſe, who are almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt wretched of mankind.—If celibacy carries its own puniſhment with it, why would our fair correſpondent be ſo vindictive as to add to this puniſhment? Few, we apprehend, are ſo far diveſted of the feelings of nature, as to prefer a ſingle life; unleſs they have cogent reaſons, indeed, for ſo doing. If theſe reaſons be well founded, (as they ſometimes are) no cenſure is due; and if imaginary, thoſe who are influenced by them, deſerve to be conſidered as objects of pity, rather than of puniſhment.—If *Flavia* writes from chagrin, or diſappointment, let her reflect whether the fault be not, in ſome degree, her own. It is not very uncommon for young ladies to be ſo vain of their ſuppoſed accompliſhments, or *perſonal* beauty, (ladies of good ſenſe are out of the queſtion) as to think themſelves too good for gentlemen, with whom they might enjoy connubial happineſs; and to indulge very unreaſonable expectations of grandeur, &c.—It is a ſad thing, when the bloom of youth is gone, to be left to repent of this miſtaken conduct.—Obſervation has furniſhed us with one fact, which we ſhall take the liberty of mentioning, for the ſake of our young female readers, but without any remarks on its phyſical cauſe.—We have found that female beauty generally fades in America, at a much earlier age than in more temperate and equable climates; and that unmarried ladies are commonly afflicted with a dreadful train of maladies, which ſometimes commence before the twenty-fifth year. The beſt preſervative, both of female health and beauty, is a prudent and early marriage.—We would willingly hope that this information does not come too late for our fair correſpondent.

*The Dog-Star, a poem,* is neither poetry nor proſe.

*Elegy on a lap-dog,* by *Maria*—inadmiſſible—Peace to his *manes*; and conſolation, and a more rational companion, to his miſtreſs.

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## PHILADELPHIA, *Auguſt* 31, 1792.

### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Six per cents, per £.* | 22*s.* | *Bank U. S. whole ſhares per cent advance* | 50. |
| *Deferred ſix per cents,* | 13*s*4. | *Bank of N. America do. do.* | 30. |
| *Three per cents,* | 12*s*9. | | |

### COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bills of Exchange on London,* | 90 *days,* | 69. | *Amſterdam,* | 60 *days, per guilder,* | 3*s.* |
| *Ditto.* | 60 *days,* | 70. | *Ditto.* | 90 *days,* | 2*s*11. |
| *Ditto.* | 30 *days,* | 72½ | | | |

# THE
# UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
## AND
# Columbian Magazine,
## FOR AUGUST, 1792.

### *On the* EXCLUSION *of* MINISTERS *of* RELIGION *from* CIVIL OFFICES.

THE queſtion relating to a conſtitutional excluſion of the miniſters of religion from civil offices, is a very ſerious one, as it affects a reſpectable and venerable order of citizens, and ſtill more important, as it involves certain fundamental principles of government.

The American conſtitutions have taken different ſides of the queſtion; even thoſe of lateſt date, and therefore the reſult of the fulleſt and cleareſt information, are in oppoſition to each other thereupon. Thoſe who argue for the diſqualification of the clergy ſay, 1ſt. That religious duties afford ſufficient employment, and are of a nature not to aſſort with the buſtle of political ſcenes; and therefore the miniſters of the altar ſhould not only live by the altar, but remain at the altar. 2dly. That, if eligible to public offices, their influence over the people will give them an undue advantage over other candidates, and by degrees throw all power into their hands, which would be neither prudent nor ſafe. 3dly. That when they enjoy particular emoluments or exemptions under the law, it is but right and juſt that theſe ſhould be balanced by particular legal diſqualifications and diſadvantages; otherwiſe this claſs of citizens would not be on a level with the reſt.

Now the firſt argument cannot be allowed the leaſt weight in the queſtion. It may be very proper for the conſideration both of the paſtor and the flock, but is a matter to be decided by them alone. The ſecond argument falls under a ſimilar obſervation. If the people are pleaſed to ſend the man who inſtructs them in their religious duties, to manage their other concerns alſo, and he is willing to undertake the ſervice, on what principle can either be diſfranchiſed of their common right? on no principle whatever, that would not authoriſe a like diſqualification of any other profeſſion, or calling in

life, till the right of chooſing and being choſen ſhould be narrowed down to a rank ariſtocracy. The third argument has weight, but inſtead of being turned againſt the right of ſuch diſqualifications, it lies againſt the wrong of ſuch exemptions. Thoſe who enjoy peculiar privileges under the law, may fairly be ſubjected by the law to peculiar diſabilities.—And as it would be an injury to them to impoſe the latter without the former; ſo to grant them the former without the latter, would be equally an injury to all others. When it is conſidered that religion is not an object of political regulation, and that the rights of conſcience are, from their nature, as well as by moſt of the declarations of rights, excepted out of the juriſdiction of the civil magiſtrate, too much care cannot be taken to keep government and religion ſeparate and diſtinct. And it ſeems not to have been duly conſidered, by the conſtitutions which impoſe theſe civil diſqualifications, and which probably did not mean to violate their principle of religious liberty, that they pave the way therefor as much by beginning with the diſqualifications, as if they had begun, on the other ſide, with particular favours and exemptions. For there is the ſame interference of the civil power on account of religion, in the one caſe as in the other; and on whichever ſide the government interferes, its interference on the other follows of courſe. Juſtice pleads for it. Privileges authoriſe diſabilities, and diſabilities lead to privileges; till at length the miniſters of religion are eſtabliſhed into a political order in the ſtate; the magiſtrate is clothed with complete juriſdiction over it; and religion is turned into a mere engine of civil government. Let the miniſters of religion then be conſidered by civil ſociety merely as members of civil ſociety. Let them claim no privilege not common to all other citizens; and let other citizens impoſe no burden whatever not common to themſelves. This is the only juſt and ſafe way in which this queſtion can be decided.

*Philadelphia, Auguſt 8, 1792.*

## *On* Banking Companies *in the* United States.

TO arreſt the progreſs of error in its paſſage, and to throw light on ſubjects not commonly underſtood, however laborious a taſk it may ſeem to an author, ought ſurely to compenſate him, by the ſuavity of feelings with which it is attended, and the general good that ſometimes enſues; nor ought he to be diſcouraged by the malevolent aſperſions of the deſigning, or the ſtill more ſubtle management of the intereſted, from purſuing the thread of enquiries evidently tending to objects of conſiderable public utility.

It is but a little time ſince banks were frequently to be met with in this country; and but a very ſhort one ſince the experiment of having more than one in one place has been tried: until it was tried here, many vain and miſtaken theories were ſported about it, in ſpite of the plaineſt reaſon, which proved that banks, as any other

ſhops, might be multiplied to any given number, without danger to the public, while they were conducted with prudence, and their buſineſs confined within proper bounds, compared with their capital—without which, their exiſtence muſt, of neceſſity, be ſhort.

The experiment, however, has been fairly made, and two banks actually exiſt not only at Philadelphia, but at Charleſton, at Baltimore, at New-York, and at Boſton—to ſay nothing of thoſe erected at Albany, at Hartford, at Providence, and the branch meditated at Richmond; ſurely their number has fully confuted the ideas of thoſe, who romantically thought one bank and its branches, alone ſufficient for the union, and that, placed as it was under the wings of the government, none other could ſtand in competition with it.

And now ſome are complaining of theſe numerous inſtitutions as great evils, from which, they apprehend, that too much paper money will iſſue—when the fact is, that ſo many banks will rather limit this circulation, by dividing it into ſo many parts as to render it unſafe for any bank to exceed the prudent limits of its capital: for how can any bank ſafely venture itſelf to treſpaſs on this great line of right conduct, when it knows not the hour at which its forces may be put to the teſt;—each bank, therefore, is left in ſociety, as each individual is and ought to be, to ſtand or fall by the prudence and wiſdom of the management of its own concerns.

In every community there is, and muſt be from its nature, a demand for a certain quantity of current money—this is ſupplied either by the precious metals or by the bank paper; neither can be extended beyond that certain demand which I have preſuppoſed. The chief diſadvantage ſuſtained by a nation from banks is, that this demand, which would, in its natural order, have been filled up by ſpecie, becomes chiefly ſupplied by paper, which, reſting only on commercial credit, is liable to be ſhaken with it; but it is certainly a mighty ſecurity for a public, that this bank paper be ſupplied by various inſtitutions, on various capitals, becauſe the ſolidity of it becomes more apparent; juſt as it appears to be better for a man in trade to have his common book-debts due from numbers of good people, rather than from only one debtor, who, however ſafe he might be ſuppoſed, might wholly ruin him in caſe of accident.

The only ill conſequence ariſing from the multiplication of banks is to the ſtockholders, whoſe profits may be leſſened by it: but what are theſe ſtockholders to the body of the nation who are benefitted?—The nation is benefitted, not by monopoly, but by a general diffuſion of the profits of banking, as of any other trade, among the greater number; and the bank itſelf is benefitted by the competition that forms the only operative check upon its directors; inſtead of twelve directors, as formerly, we have now perhaps thirty in the city;—ſo knowledge is extended on an abſtruſe ſubject, and impartiality more effectually ſecured in the adminiſtration.

In no country have monopolies worked good, but to a few intereſted in conducting them; the Eaſt-India company of England, to whom was granted the excluſive privilege of navigating for Great-Britain, in all ſeas beyond the Cape of Good-Hope—that Eaſt-India company that waged war and maintained armies, that plundered provinces and de-

throned nabobs ; amid the ſplendour of their conqueſts, or the brilliancy of their atchievements, paid but the pittance of 6 to 8 per cent to their ſtockholders, and contracted debts of eight millions, which they will kindly leave to aftertimes to diſcharge ; but in the mean time they have created nabobs at home, and, tho' poor themſelves, have enabled their ſervants to purchaſe ſeats in parliament, and extend the tide of national corruption ; while the farce and pageantry of ſtate trials have been held upon delinquents, at an expenſe, it is ſaid, already, in a ſingle inſtance, of upwards of thirty thouſand guineas to the public. Who, that conſiders theſe things, but muſt deprecate MONOPOLIES, as among the foreſt evils that have fallen to the lot of countries, or of men to ſuſtain !

RUSSELL.

*Philadelphia, Auguſt,* 1792.

## *On the* INCONVENIENCE *and* IMPROPRIETY *of the* OFFICIAL ROBES *worn by the* JUDGES *of the* UNITED STATES.

HAVING by accident chanced the other day to walk by the court-houſe, and obſerving a crowd at the door, I was tempted to enter for an inſtant, to ſee what was the object of attention, when I was ſurpriſed at my going in, to behold upon the judicial ſeats, ſix gentlemen, arrayed in a robe as unſuitable to the ſeaſon, as it was new in point of faſhion. I was for ſome time at a loſs to diſcover the kind of dreſs they had on, till, on a nearer approach, I found it to be of ſcarlet, trimmed with ermine. Such a dreſs in Auguſt was truly ſurpriſing, for in point of convenience it muſt be extremely oppreſſive, and in point of ſhew or appearance it certainly was much leſs ſolemn and decorous, than the black coats, till lately always obſerved on thoſe ſeats.

The dreſs, I have been told, is borrowed from a country we are but too ambitious to copy, though we were lately ſo fond of diſdaining. I am ſorry our judges ſhould have imitated an example originating, probably, in barbarous times, and probably preſerved only in England, on account of its antiquity. But if our judicial concerns could not be carried on without a decoration ſo extraordinary, why not take the whole of it ? The wig of long tails and curls, as well as the gown ?—for the *tout enſemble* ought to have gone together, if taken at all ;—the effect being now to give a very ſmall appearance to the head, compared to the ermined ſhoulders ; and this effect is ſuch, as to deſtroy totally whatever ſolemnity might have been conceived to reſide formerly in this *toga judicis*.

But is it indeed in this enlightened age, in the eighteenth century, that we can expect dreſs to go for any thing in the popular eſtimation? —Alas, as Mr. Burke obſerves, the age of chivalry is gone, and with it are departed that ſanctity annexed to exterior veſtments, which were often ſo ill ſuited to their wearers.—No, it is law, ſound

judgment, and impartial juſtice alone, that can dignify thoſe ſeats, and theſe would have had their ſway in the common dreſs—

" Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,
" All elſe is nought but leather or prunella"

So Pope thought formerly, nor is the doctrine leſſened in repute by the prevailing tide of modern politics.

I would not be underſtood, by what I have ſaid, in the leaſt to wiſh to leſſen the reſpect which I really feel for theſe gentlemen, and which is eſſential to the due execution of the laws. But ſeeing the conſtitution of the united ſtates has not warranted any diſtinctions of dreſs, uſed in regal courts, to be adopted in our own; but, on the contrary, forbids expreſsly, by its ſpirit, the introduction of orders of nobility, ſo connected with diſtinctions of dreſs: Seeing, alſo, our amiable preſident does not aſſume the royal robes, at his levees, to which he has, at leaſt, as much apparent right; I have not been able to forbear theſe ſtrictures;—meaning always to oppoſe them to every novelty, which appears to me calculated to alter the habits of our plain republican ſyſtem.

RUSSELL.

*Philadelphia, Auguſt*, 1792.

## *On* PUBLIC SPEAKING.

[*By the late* F. Hopkinson, *Eſq.*]

TO ſpeak in public, with propriety and effect, requires many talents, natural and acquired. The object of all public ſpeaking is *perſuaſion*; to make other people believe or act according to the ſpeaker's mind. For this purpoſe, it is neceſſary that the orator ſhould have a *pleaſing addreſs, a lively imagination, a thorough knowledge of his ſubject, and a good ear*, with reſpect to the language in which he is to deliver his ſentiments.

Firſt impreſſions have an unavoidable influence on the mind. The moſt judicious and impartial hearers conceive ſome predilection for, or prejudice againſt the ſpeaker, on his very firſt appearance. It is, therefore, of great importance, that a genteel manner, and graceful addreſs, ſhould beſpeak the favourable attention of the audience; otherwiſe, the orator will not only have to encounter the difficulties incident to his ſubject, but muſt alſo labour againſt a foreign influence: whereas a genteel figure, a graceful deportment, and a pleaſing addreſs, ſometimes operate in his favour, to greater advantage than all the force of his arguments; and, what is of infinite importance, he is ſure of the good opinion of the ladies.

*A lively imagination* will enable the orator to throw an air of novelty over his ſubject, and to preſent it in points of view in which it hath not frequently been conſidered; to enforce his arguments with apt alluſions, and embelliſh the whole with ſtriking metaphors. To hear a dull and hackneyed ſubject elaborately diſcuſſed, by a dull and phlegmatic ſpeaker, affords about as much entertainment, as to hear

a demonſtration from Euclid, proving a propoſition which cannot be denied; or a ſtring of logical ſyllogiſms, proving nothing at all.

*A thorough knowledge of his ſubject*, I have laid down as the next requiſite in a public ſpeaker. This, I confeſs, is not abſolutely neceſſary; as there are many who make a very tolerable figure without it. It might indeed, be extremely inconvenient to make this rule ſtrict and general, inaſmuch as there would be danger of ſileneing one third of the gentlemen of the bar; one half of the orators of the pulpit; and three fourths of the ſpeakers in parliaments and houſes of aſſembly: yet it ſeems but reaſonable, that an author ſhould have ſome knowledge of the ſubject he is handling, and, therefore, this rule is rather recommended than inſiſted upon.

*A good ear* is the laſt mentioned, though not the leaſt important qualification of a good ſpeaker. If his language is pure, his periods harmoniouſly arranged, and his voice melodiouſly adapted to the conſtruction of every ſentence, the orator will not fail to charm his hearers, even though there ſhould be but a very ſcanty portion of ſolid ſenſe diluted in his flowing rhetoric. The mind is inſenſibly captivated by pleaſing ſounds, and the moſt obdurate judgment yields to the magic influence of ſweet harmony. It is, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary that authors of little ſenſe ſhould pay great attention to the powers of ſound; for every hearer expects to be either inſtructed or pleaſed; and he has a right to expect it.

It is next to impoſſible to lay down rules for harmonious compoſition. When words and ſentences are ſo arranged, as to produce a pleaſing melody, all acknowledge the effect, but none can point out that particular conſtruction in which the magic conſiſts. Grammar-rules have nothing to do with it; for a ſentence may be ſtrictly grammatical, and yet as offenſive to the ear as the ſharpening of a ſaw. For inſtance, obſerve the contraſt between the two following ſentences; both of which are equally unexceptionable in point of grammar.

"Some have a happy talent of expreſſion, whereby they compenſate the want of ſentiment, by the melody of their ſtyle; their language ever flowing like a wave of the ſea, and their periods cloſing in ſuch muſical cadence, that the ear is faſcinated by the magic of ſound, and the mind lulled in a pleaſing repoſe."

"Others, without giving to grammar-rules offence, ſhall arrange ſo unſkilfully their words, breaking, as it were, and interrupting the ſenſe, or rather nonſenſe, they mean to inculcate, by frequent (and oftentimes unneceſſary) parentheſes, that the ear ſtumbles through the rugged paragraph, as the feet would ſtumble in ſcrambling through a ſtreet, when the pavement had been broken up, over bricks, ſtones, and poſts, mixed together confuſedly."

A fine ſpeech, like a fine lady, enforces attention, and captivates the heart. When it deſcribes pleaſing objects, it is beautiful nature, dreſſed by the graces; when it ſoars in the ſublime, it elevates the ſoul, and animates the nobler paſſions: it gives to perſuaſion irreſiſtible force, and bids the tear of pity fall, like the dew of heaven—gently ſo!—on virtue in diſtreſs.

# HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(*Continued from our last—page* 16.)

1779. THIS campaign, however barren of important events, was diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt gallant enterpriſes that occurs in the whole hiſtory of the war. This was the ſtorming of Stoney-point, by the Americans. General Wayne, who conducted this daring enterpriſe, was furniſhed with a choſen body of infantry, at the head of which he ſet out from Sandy-bank, fourteen miles from Stoney-point, on the 15th of July, about noon; and, after a fatiguing march, over very bad roads, arrived within a mile and an half of his object, at eight o'clock in the evening. Here the men were formed into columns, and halted, while general Wayne, with a few of his officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to obſerve the ſituation of the garriſon. At half after eleven, the whole detachment moved on to the aſſault, in two columns; the general having iſſued the moſt pointed orders, to both, not to fire a ſhot, on any account; but to place their reliance entirely upon the bayonet. It was not unworthy of obſervation, that a weapon, which had been ſo often fatally employed againſt the Americans, on ſimilar occaſions, and particularly againſt general Wayne himſelf, at the Paoli, was the only one uſed by them in this attack. General Wayne headed the right column; the van of which, conſiſting of 150 volunteers, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, was commanded by lieut. col. Fleury. The van of the left conſiſted of 100 volunteers, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, and was commanded by major Stewart. Each was preceded by a forlorn hope, of twenty choſen men, with an officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed bravery. Theſe were particularly directed to remove the abbatis, and other obſtructions. The two columns directed their attacks to oppoſite points of the works, while a feint was made in front, to divide the attention of the garriſon. The approaches proved to be much more difficult than had been apprehended; the works being defended by a deep moraſs, which was at that time overflowed by the tide. But neither the moraſs, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, nor the ſtrong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour, or withſtand the fury of the aſſailants. In the face of an inceſſant and moſt tremendous fire of muſketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obſtacle, until both columns met in the centre, where they arrived at nearly the ſame inſtant.

General Wayne was wounded in the head by a muſket ball, as he paſſed the laſt abbatis, but inſiſted on being carried forward; adding, that if he died, he wiſhed it might be in the fort. Fleury had the honour of ſtriking the Britiſh ſtandard, with his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, eſcaped unhurt; although the former loſt ſeventeen men out of twenty, and the latter nearly as many.

There is scarcely any thing in the transactions of war, which affords more room for surprize, and is more difficult to be accounted for, than the prodigious disparity between the numbers slain in those different actions, which otherwise nearly correspond, in their principal circumstances, nature, and magnitude. Nothing could well be supposed, from its nature and circumstances, more bloody, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than this action; and yet the loss, on both sides, was moderate. The killed and wounded of the Americans, amounted to ninety-eight. Of the garrison, sixty-three were killed, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. That so few of the enemy were killed, was owing to the clemency of the assailants. The cruel customs that war has established, with respect to nightly assaults, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have furnished sufficient apology to the conquerors for putting the whole garrison to the sword; but they, no less generous than brave, scorned to take the lives of men calling for mercy, and ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist.

Nothing could exceed the triumph of the Americans, upon the success of this enterprise, and the vigour and spirit with which it was conducted. And, indeed, considered in all its parts and difficulties, it would have done honour to the most experienced veterans. General Washington received the thanks of congress "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states; and which were, among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the enterprise against Stoney-point." They also passed a vote of thanks to general Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in this spirited and well conducted attack. They took honourable notice of col. Fleury and major Stewart; and warmly applauded lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. They ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck; one of gold to be presented to general Wayne, and one of silver to lieut. col. Fleury, and a singular mark of their approbation to major Stewart. To lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. At the same time, they passed resolutions in honour of the officers and men generally; and directed that the value of the military stores, taken at Stoney-point, should be ascertained and divided among the troops by whom that garrison was reduced.

No sooner did this post fall into the hands of the Americans, than they turned its artillery against Verplanks-point, with such effect, that the shipping stationed there were forced to cut their cables, and fall down the river. But the possession of these two posts was an object of importance to the British. Accordingly preparations were immediately made, at New-York, to relieve the one, and to recover the other. To risk an engagement, for either or both of them, was not the intention of general Washington, who was in the uniform habit of weighing the probable consequences of every military transaction, and of adopting a cautious or enterprising line of conduct, as either seemed necessary, or appeared best calculated to promote the true interests of his country. He therefore evacuated Stoney-

point, after having removed the cannon and ſtores, and demoliſhed the works. The Britiſh regained poſſeſſion of it, on the third day after its capture.

Shortly after this ſucceſsful enterpriſe, the execution of another, which equalled it in boldneſs of deſign, was committed to major Lee, who was furniſhed with a detachment of 350 men, chiefly of the Virginia line. The plan was to ſurpriſe the Britiſh garriſon at Powles-hook, oppoſite to New-York; not ſo much with a view to any great intrinſic advantage, that could ariſe from the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, as for the purpoſe of throwing a luſtre upon the American arms, and thereby elating the public mind, and rouſing the people into activity; an object of the utmoſt importance, in every ſtage of the war, inaſmuch as every thing depended upon the ſpirited exertions of the great maſs of citizens. Should the undertaking appear too hazardous, either in the execution, or in the difficulty of effecting a retreat afterwards, major Lee was left at liberty to abandon it. On the morning of the 19th of July, before day-light, the fort was completely ſurpriſed. Major Sutherland, the commandant, and a number of Heſſians, favoured by the darkneſs, eſcaped to a ſmall block-houſe, near the fort; but with the loſs of thirty of his men killed, and 160 taken priſoners. The loſs of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was not more than about half a dozen. Major Lee, agreeably to his orders, retreated immediately, without waiting to deſtroy either the barracks or the artillery; a ſtep which the approach of day, and the vicinity of the enemy's main body, rendered abſolutely neceſſary. As a reward of his "prudence, addreſs, and bravery," major Lee was honoured with the thanks of congreſs, who alſo ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the event, to be ſtruck and preſented to him. They alſo applauded the good conduct of his troops, and ordered a conſiderable donative, in money, to be diſtributed among them.

Theſe advantages, however, were far from being an equivalent for the loſs ſoon after ſuſtained by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, in an unſucceſsful attempt to reduce a Britiſh poſt, on the bank of Penobſcot river, in the eaſtern confines of New-England. The fort was advantageouſly ſituated, and was commanded by col. Macleane, who, with a detachment of 650 men, arrived from Halifax, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing it, in the middle of June; in conſequence of directions for that purpoſe, from ſir Henry Clinton. This meaſure excited a conſiderable alarm at Boſton; and the moſt vigorous means were immediately adopted, for driving the enemy from their newly-eſtabliſhed poſt. That a ſufficient number of armed veſſels and tranſports, as well as ſeamen, might be ſpeedily obtained for an expedition againſt it, an embargo, for forty days, was laid by the government of Maſſachuſetts, on all their ſhipping. A conſiderable naval armament, conſiſting of eighteen armed veſſels, beſides tranſports, under the command of commodore Saltonſtall, was accordingly fitted out, with extraordinary expedition. The Warren frigate, which was the largeſt veſſel in this fleet, carried thirty-two guns, eighteen and twelve pounders. The others carried from twenty-four to twelve guns each. A body of troops, commanded by general Lovel, em-

barked on this expedition, and on the 25th of July, the fleet, consisting, in all of thirty-seven sail, appeared off Penobscot.

Col. Macleane had received information, four days before, of the intended expedition; and had therefore redoubled his exertions to strengthen the works of the fort, which however, were still far from being completed. The conduct of the Americans on this occasion, does not appear to have been sufficiently vigorous. Three days were employed in landing the troops, when Macleane was summoned to surrender; which being refused, two days more were consumed in erecting a battery, at the distance of 750 yards from the fort. This dilatory proceeding, and an ineffectual cannonading for two weeks, afforded the garrison an opportunity of strengthening their works, which they industriously improved. They were now free from any apprehension, in case of an attempt to reduce the fort by storm; a mode of attack which would probably have been attended with success, had it been adopted by the Americans, immediately upon their arrival. The besiegers finding that their cannonading made little or no impression upon the works of the fort, were preparing for an assault, when sir George Collier appeared full in view, with a squadron from New-York, for the relief of the garrison. This squadron consisted of the Raisonable, of sixty-four guns, and five frigates. The American troops were speedily re-embarked, and the fleet was drawn up, in form of a crescent, across the river, as if they were determined to dispute the passage of the enemy's squadron; but no more was intended, than to gain time for the transports to move up the river, that the troops might be enabled to land, and make their escape. The superior force of the Raisonable was deemed irresistable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other took place. The whole of the transports and armed vessels were destroyed, two of the latter excepted; and these were captured by the British. Few single towns have experienced such a loss of vessels, at one time, as Boston now suffered. The naval force employed in this expedition, whether considered with respect to ships or guns, was little, if at all inferior to the royal navy of England, at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. After this disaster, the American soldiers and sailors sustained considerable hardship, in returning to their homes. They had to return a great part of their way by land, exploring their route through thick and unfrequented woods.—

Having detailed the most important military operations, which, in the course of the year 1779, occurred in the several states, we shall now proceed to give a sketch of Indian depredations on the frontiers, and of some expeditions which were undertaken against them.

Lieutenant-governour Hamilton, of Detroit, had, for some time, by means of presents, rewards for scalps, &c. encouraged the Indians to distress the Americans, in the back parts of Virginia, and the neighbouring states; and, with a view to more extensive mischief, had projected an expedition up the Ohio, as far as Fort-Pitt, sweeping Kentuckey on the way. He was to have been joined by all the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians, that could be procured; and that all things might be in readiness for prosecuting the intended expedition, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took post

at St. Vincents in the winter. Deſtruction ſeemed to await the Virginia back ſettlers; but they were reſcued from danger, by the active and ſpirited conduct of col. Clarke. This enterpriſing officer, hearing that Hamilton had weakened his party, by detaching a number of his Indians againſt the frontier ſettlements, reſolved to attack him, as the beſt expedient for baffling his expedition. After a troubleſome march of ſixteen days, in an inclement ſeaſon, through ſwamps, and acroſs deſart waſtes, col. Clarke, with 130 men, arrived unexpectedly at St. Vincents, on the 23d of February, and made an aſſault upon the town, which was immediately taken. He then beſieged the fort, which was ſurrendered by Hamilton next day. The garriſon, conſiſting of ſeventy-nine men, became priſoners of war, and the ſtores, which were conſiderable, fell into the hands of the Americans. In the mean time, a party of Hamilton's Indians returned, and were unexpectedly attacked, and routed, by a detachment of Clarke's men, who took nine of the Indians, and releaſed two priſoners. Clarke being informed that a convoy of Britiſh goods and proviſions was on the way from Detroit, detached a party of ſixty men, in armed boats, which met the enemy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole; taking forty priſoners, and about 10,000*l.* worth of goods and proviſions. From Hamilton's papers, it appeared, that it had been uſual with him to ſend out Indian and tory ſcalping parties, under general orders to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. This ſeaſonable and well-conducted expedition, fruſtrated the cruel plans of Hamilton and his ſavage emiſſaries, and prevented the frontier ſettlements from being deluged with the blood of the helpleſs inhabitants, as had been intended.

About the middle of April, col. Van Schaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort-Schuyler, to the Onondaga ſettlements, on Lake-Ontario, which he entirely laid waſte. He burned about fifty houſes, and a large quantity of grain; killed the horſes, and ſtock of every kind; and deſtroyed, or brought off, the whole of the arms and ammunition which fell in his way. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made priſoners. This expedition was performed without the loſs of a ſingle man, and in leſs than ſix days, though the diſtance, going and coming, was upwards of one hundred and eighty miles.

Towards the end of July, a mixed party, of about ninety Indians and white men, were led by Brandt, againſt the Minilink ſettlement; where, beſides a number of dwelling-houſes and barns, they burned a fort and two mills. They took ſeveral priſoners, and carried off a conſiderable quantity of plunder. The militia of Goſhen and its vicinity collected, to the number of 150, and purſued them; but with ſuch want of caution, that they were ſurpriſed and totally defeated. About the ſame time, a party of 250 Britiſh and Indians, under capt. Mc. Donald, took Freeland's-fort, on the weſt branch of the Suſquehanna; in which were thirty men, beſides women and children. The women and children were ſet at liberty; but the men were made priſoners of war. The party, on their way to this place, had burned ſeveral houſes and mills, and killed, and made priſoners of a number of the inhabitants.

General Williamson, of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of that state, about the 20th of August. He burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, amounting, by computation, to upwards of 50,000 bushels; and obliged the Indians to remove immediately to more remote settlements. Colonel Broadhead also engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians, in the month of August, with about 600 men. He was absent from Pittsburgh nearly five weeks; in which time he penetrated 200 miles into the Indian country, destroyed a number of forts, and about 500 acres of corn, and brought off a good deal of plunder, consisting chiefly of skins.

But a much more formidable expedition against the Indians, than any that has occurred, in the preceding part of this history, was undertaken by the Americans in 1779. A considerable body of troops was destined for this service, and put under the command of general Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, or, as they have sometimes been called, the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. These nations, lying in that fertile tract of country, at the back of the New-England and middle states, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage and constancy with which they adhered to the English, in their wars with the French. In the beginning of the present contest, they had entered into an engagement with congress, by which they promised to observe a strict neutrality. But the power of British presents, with the influence of sir William Johnson, and other agents among them, operating upon their own desire of depredation soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct; and they became principal agents in those cruel ravages which were carried on against the frontier settlements. They had derived a considerable accession of strength and discipline, from the great number of American refugees settled among them. The Oneidas and a few others, who were friendly to the Americans, were to be exempted from the general destruction; for the object of the expedition was destruction, as far as it might be capable of being carried into execution against an enemy, who can seldom be caught or found, except when he chooses, from motives of advantage, to stay, or to reveal himself. But although the savages should take care to avoid an engagement, and escape the direct vengeance of the Americans; still it was considered as an important advantage, to lay waste their country, and, by depriving them of the means of subsistance, to oblige them to take refuge in settlements more remote. This, it was hoped, would give permanent security and quiet to the numerous infant settlements on the frontier.

When general Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by the American general Clinton, with about 1600 men, batteau-men and other attendants included. This officer made his way down the Susquehannah, by a contrivance no less curious than novel. Finding the stream of water in that river too low to float his batteaux, he had recourse to the ingenious but laborious expedient, of raising a dam across the mouth of the lake Otsego, which is one of

the ſources of the river Suſquehannah. The lake receiving a conſtant ſupply of water from ſprings, ſoon roſe to the deſired height; when Clinton got ready his batteaux, opened a paſſage through the dam, and, taking advantage of the ſtream which paſſed through, embarked all his troops, and floated them down the river, to Tioga. Sullivan's force, thus augmented, conſiſted of nearly four thouſand men, rank and file, beſides waggons, &c. The Indians, againſt whom this army was deſtined, had in the field, about 550 warriors. Theſe, with 250 refugees, were commanded by Butler, Brandt, and col. Guy Johnſon. On hearing of the expedition which was projected againſt them, they acted with firmneſs. They aſſembled all their force; and poſſeſſed themſelves of a difficult paſs in the woods, near Newtown, which they fortified with judgment. Here they waited Sullivan's approach, with a fixed determination to diſpute his paſſage. General Sullivan advanced, and, on the 29th of Auguſt, attacked them in their works. They ſtood a cannonade for upwards of two hours; but, perceiving that general Poor, with a conſiderable detachment, had taken a circuitous route, with a view to fall upon their left flank, and that other movements were made towards them, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Of Sullivan's men, ſeven were killed and fourteen wounded, in the courſe of the day. The conſternation to which this defeat gave riſe among the Indians, was ſo great that they gave up all thoughts of further reſiſtance; and retreated as the Americans advanced, without attempting to throw any obſtruction in their way, during the ſubſequent devaſtation of their country.

General Sullivan traverſed the Indian country to a great extent, and in various directions, ſpreading deſolation every where. Their dwellings, whether in the form of towns, or detached habitations, vaſt quantities of corn in the ear, many large and flouriſhing orchards of apple and peach-trees, and a number of gardens which produced a great quantity and variety of uſeful vegetables, were conſigned to total and indiſcriminate ruin. To complete this ſcene of deſolation, and thus to render the expedition deciſive, required that the army ſhould remain in the Indian country ſeveral weeks; a meaſure which both officers and men cheerfully and unanimouſly agreed to, though they were obliged to put up with ſhort rations, a greater part of the time. Such was their keen ſenſe of the injuries ſuſtained by thoſe frontier inhabitants, who were expoſed to the depredations of the Indians, and ſo full of reſentment were they againſt an enemy who had been guilty of the moſt barbarous outrages, that they were deſirous to continue till they had completed the deſtruction of the ſettlement, and taken ample vengeance on their ſavage foe; although they were convinced that they muſt encounter many hardſhips, from a ſcarcity of proviſions, and a total want of moſt of the conveniences and comforts of civilized life. They were relieved, however, in ſome degree, by the ſupplies obtained in the country. So luxuriant was the ſoil, that the ears of corn, in many places, meaſured twenty-two inches in length. Of this they contrived to make a coarſe kind of meal, by perforating a few of their camp-kettles with bayonets; and rubbing the ears of corn on the rough ſurface formed by the protruſions.

The state of improvement among those people was found to be much more advanced than had been expected. The judicious choice of their situation for their towns and habitations; the size, neatness and construction of their houses, many of which were of frame-work; the number and largeness of their corn fields, together with the high degree of cultivation which they showed; and the size and antiquity of their orchards, were striking objects of admiration. According to general Sullivan's account of the expedition, 1500 fruit-trees were cut down in one orchard. He also mentions that the fruit-trees, in different places, had all the appearances of great age. This circumstance seems to indicate, that cultivation was not of a late date among these people; and tends likewise to overthrow an opinion which has been pretty generally received, that the Indians are incapable of looking to futurity in their conduct, and consequently are totally improvident with respect to posterity. The destruction of the orchards were highly disapproved of by some of the officers, as being a species of desolation which even the Indians had not practised; but Sullivan was determined to carry devastation to its utmost extent. Neither the cruelties of the Indians, nor the justice of the resentment against them, can prevent a feeling mind from lamenting such an unnecessary havock and destruction of the labours and hopes of mankind. It were to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that those who conduct the operations of war, were so much under the influence of reason and philosophy, as to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary devastation; and to avoid engaging in such scenes of havock as cannot be justified, either on principles of policy or necessity, merely to gratify an unworthy spirit of revenge.

By the middle of October, about three months after his setting out, Sullivan had returned as far as Easton, in Pennsylvania. He soon after rejoined the main army. The expedition proved an expensive one. Upwards of one thousand horses perished, or were obliged to be left behind, exhausted by fatigue. It is remarkable, that not more than eleven Indians were killed, during the whole of the expedition.

The Indians were now made to feel, in the most sensible manner, those calamities they had long been accustomed to inflict on others. The sufferings they experienced, and the dread of a repetition of them, damped the ardour of their warriors; and rendered them cautious how they provoked the further resentment of the Americans, by their wonted depredations. The frontier settlements, though not restored to perfect tranquillity, were, for some time, exempted from a considerable proportion of the calamities in which they had been lately involved.

The exertions of the Americans were much more languid and feeble in the campaign of 1779, than in that of any preceding year, since the commencement of the war. They were no longer actuated by that enthusiasm for liberty, which prompted them, for some years after the commencement of the contest, to brave all danger, and to sacrifice both life and property in the common cause. Their ardour was much abated; and numbers, consulting their private interest, resigned the military character, and resumed the more lucrative employments of civil life. Upon the establishment of the alliance with

France, in 1778, the Americans indulged the vain presumption, that the success of the revolution was no longer a matter of doubt. They had withstood the arms of Great-Britain four years, without foreign assistance; and conceived, therefore, that, aided by a powerful ally, they would not only be able to continue the contest, as before, but to drive the armies of Britain entirely out of the united states. But notwithstanding these flattering expectations, the campaign of 1778 terminated, without any direct advantage from the French fleet, which had been sent to their aid. This was a severe disappointment. Nor were their hopes in any degree realised, in the campaign of 1779. The same ill success attended the allied arms; and the Americans, from the dependance which they had placed on foreign assistance, found themselves but indifferently prepared for prosecuting the war, from their own resources. Lulled into a mistaken security, they had ceased to exert themselves in the manner their situation required. Disappointed in the favourable expectations they had indulged, their spirits were depressed in proportion to the former elevation of their hopes. Sundry internal causes combined, at this gloomy period, to relax the exertions, and increase the despondency of the Americans. The principal of these causes, however, was the daily depreciation of those bills of credit, which had been issued for the support of the war, and which had, for several years, been in such good credit, as to answer this important end. It was fortunate for America, that the embarrassed situation of Great-Britain, at this period, prevented her from prosecuting the war with vigour.

*(To be continued.)*

## OBSERVATIONS *on* Dr. LOGAN'S ROTATION *of* CROPS.*

ALTHOUGH the general principles of that rotation of crops, recommended by Dr. Logan, are agreeable to the new and most approved mode of English husbandry; yet the particulars of it must always be liable to alteration, according to the situation or soil of the farm. The quantity of flax and potatoes proposed to be raised, will no doubt appear improper to many gentlemen in the southern states, who hitherto have been too commonly supplied with linen from Europe, and who have confined their cultivation of potatoes to the garden, merely for the table. In ground well manured, I have found both crops profitable and highly useful. It may be regarded as a disgrace to this agricultural country, that we do not cultivate a sufficient quantity of flax, to supply the whole consumption of linen within the united states. With regard to potatoes, their introduction on the farm is one of the greatest improvements of modern husbandry. For several years I have made potatoes the principal food for cattle, horses, sheep, hogs and poultry. For the two latter they should be boiled; for the former they should be washed clean, cut small, and mixed with a small quantity of Indian meal and cut straw. Oxen

* See the Asylum for March, 1791, page 162.

and sheep will fatten more in one week on this food, than with turnips in two. The means of giving and perpetuating a fertility to the soil, without the aid of any manure, except what can be created on the farm, constitutes one great object in a rotation of crops. I have made a variety of experiments on this subject, and have considered it well. I am of opinion,

1st. That no rotation of crops can be pursued, which will not exhaust the soil, without the periodical application of manure, either immediately plowed into the ground, or by the pasturing of cattle.

2dly. To give one impoverished acre a full dressing, will require a quantity of manure nearly equal to the value of the land.

3dly. No rotation of crops can be pursued, that will enable a farmer to procure from the stock and produce of the farm, a greater quantity of manure, than will annually fully dress more than one ninth part of his farm.

4thly, That a nine years' rotation of crops, connected with the best barn-yard management, will forever support a farm within itself, in the highest degree of cultivation.

I have been pointed in my remarks respecting manure, because many are too inattentive to this important article of good husbandry. Some speculative men have ventured an opinion, that manure was not necessary on a farm. Tull and his followers maintain that the complete pulverizing of the earth, by the plough and harrow, is all that is requisite for perfecting the growth and vigour of plants. Tull was himself persuaded, and endeavoured to persuade others, that this alone would suffice, without the aid of manure; which he contended, could only serve to divide the soil and render it friable. Experience, the surest guide in all human affairs, affords us the most convincing demonstrations to the contrary of this opinion. But although we cannot adopt Tull's principles of cultivation, to the extent of his own ideas; yet it must be allowed, that Mr. Tull's exertions to support a favourite system have been of infinite service to agriculture, as they have tended to convince farmers of the prodigious advantages to be derived from deep ploughing, good harrowing, and putting the ground in a good tilth, before sowing.

The Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture have lately started a new idea, respecting the possibility of ground being rendered forever productive, without manure. In the last publication of premiums offered by the society, it is observed that "the rotation of crops has been found in England *constantly to improve the soil instead of exhausting it.*" I wish gentlemen not to be misled by this vague assertion of the society; and whilst they are building large barns to contain their crops, that they would not neglect good stable-yards to collect and preserve manure. The greatest advocates of the rotation system in England *only contend* that a course of crops, in which clover is introduced, may be pursued with greater advantage to the farmer, than to suffer his fields to continue two or three years covered with weeds, which was the plan of conducting their farms previous to the introduction of clover. Agreeably to the new system of agriculture,

it is evident that the best rotation of crops consists of the greatest number of valuable crops procured by one full manuring.

The Philadelphia agricultural society offer a premium of two hundred dollars for the best experiment of a five years course of crops, conducted upon principles which have been practised in England.

A five years rotation of crops may be pursued with advantage, on a few acres, in the neighbourhood of a large city, from whence any quantity of manure could be procured. In this situation, a course of crops could not take place that would be more productive and valuable, than that mentioned in Dr. Logan's 13th experiment: potatoes; barley; clover; clover; wheat. The four first particularly calculated for the vicinity of a populous town; the last, valuable in any situation—but I do know, from a variety of experiments made to ascertain this point, that a five years rotation will not afford the farmer a sufficient variety of crops; and what is of greater importance, on a well conducted farm, that no crops, even connected with the best economy of procuring and employing the manure, will furnish a sufficient quantity to dress one fifth part of the farm annually—It is with the best management that the produce of a farm will annually afford a sufficiency of manure for a ninth part of it. Lord Kaimes, in his valuable publication on agriculture, observes, that no branch of husbandry requires more skill and sagacity, than a proper rotation of crops. He divides plants into culmiferous and leguminous, but does not pretend to say that *either enriches the soil*: the former leaves the soil hard and bound, whilst the latter tends to mellow and open it; therefore it becomes necessary that alternate crops, culmiferous and leguminous, should form the rotation. Nor are there many soils that will stand good, even with this favourable rotation, unless relieved, from time to time, by *pasturing a few years*. A rotation of crops for nine years could not be carried on to advantage without pasture; but on an extensive farm, pasture will be found as necessary in a rotation, as any crop of grain.

A FARMER.

## DIRECTIONS *for obtaining a* GOOD STOCK *of* SHEEP.

[By JOHN BEALE BORDLEY, Esq.]

AMONGST the attentions to sheep, it is particularly recommended to farmers, that they let only a few ewes run at large with a ram, for giving a few early lambs; that the rest of the ewes be kept separate from the rams, till the middle of October, and then be allowed a ram to twenty, or at most twenty-five. Their lambs will come from the middle to the end of March. It is also advantageous to keep ewe and ram lambs apart eighteen or twenty months, from January or March till October the ensuing year, before they be suffered to be together. It is best that there be not more than one ram with a division of ewes, at a time, where they can be parcelled off into different fields, or lots, for two or three weeks.

To observe the ages of sheep is important.—Some age ought to be fixed on by the farmer, beyond which nothing should induce him to keep them. At the shearing time, the mouth of every sheep and lamb is to be inspected; and the lambs having blackish gums, or that are not straight, well made and promising, are to be marked for sale; as also the aged rams, ewes, and wethers, whatever be the age fixed on by the farmer for clearing his flock from old sheep, be it four or five years; which seem to be the ages for governing us in this particular, in the climate of America. As many lambs, the best, are to be turned out for breeders and for muttons, proportioned, as there are to be sheep disposed of, as being aged,—and a few more to supply losses, while they are growing up.

The farmer will first determine on the number of grown sheep to be kept by him; then on the age he means to observe for disposing of them: for he is to have none in his flock that are not in full vigour. Dividing the number in the whole flock, by the age at which he means to dispose of them, gives the number of lambs he is to turn out as a supply to the same number of sheep, to be disposed of from the old stock:—and a few more lambs are to be turned out with the stock lambs, for making good any losses. If five years be fixed on, for the full age, and there be one hundred sheep, the fives in a hundred being twenty, direct to the disposing of twenty aged sheep, and to the turning out twenty, more four or five, in all twenty-five lambs for a supply to the flock. After six years of age, sheep decline in figure and in wool. Brambles are charged, by common farmers, with taking off all the wool that sheep appear to have lost: but when sheep decline in vigour and good plight, they decline in the quantity of their wool, and look mean, even in pastures clear of brambles.

## CHARACTER *of the* SPANIARDS.

[From SWINBURNE'S TRAVELS through SPAIN, in 1775 and 1776.]

THE listless indolence equally dear to the uncivilized savage, and to the degenerate slave of despotism, is no where more indulged than in Spain; thousands of men in all parts of the realm are seen to pass their whole day, wrapped up in a cloak, standing in rows against a wall, or dosing under a tree. In total want of every excitement to action, the springs of their intellectual faculties forget to play, their views grow confined within the wretched sphere of mere existence, and they scarce see to hope or foresee any thing better than their present state of vegetation; they feel little or no concern for the welfare or glory of a country, where the surface of the earth is engrossed by a few over-grown families, who seldom bestow a thought on the condition of their vassals. The *poor* Spaniard does not work, unless urged by irresistable want, because he perceives no advantage accrue from industry. As his food and raiment are purchased at a small expence, he spends no more time in labour, than is absolutely necessary for procuring the scanty provision his abstemiousness re-

quires. I have heard a peasant refuse to run an errand, because he had that morning earned as much already as would last him the day, without putting himself to any further trouble.

Yet I am convinced that this laziness is not essentially inherent in the Spanish composition; for it is impossible, without seeing them, to conceive with what eagerness they pursue any favourite scheme, with what violence their passions work upon them, and what vigour and exertion of powers they display when awakened by a bull-feast, or the more constant agitation of gaming, a vice to which they are superlatively addicted. Were it again possible, by an intelligent, spirited administration, to set before their eyes, in a clear and forcible manner, proper incitements to activity and industry, the Spaniards might yet be roused from their lethargy, and led to riches and reputation; but I confess the task is so difficult, that I look upon it rather as an Utopian idea, than as a revolution likely ever to take place.

Their soldiers are brave, and patient of hardships: wherever their officers lead them, they will follow without flinching, though it be up to the mouth of a battery of cannon; but unless the example be given them by their commander, not a step will they advance.

Most of the Spaniards are hardy; and, when once engaged, go through difficulties without murmuring, bear the inclemencies of the seasons with firmness, and support fatigue with amazing perseverance. They sleep every night in their cloaks on the ground; are sparing in diet, perhaps more from a sense of habitual indigence, than from any aversion to gluttony; whenever they can riot in the plenty of another man's table, they will gormandize to excess, and, not content with eating their fill, will carry off whatever they can stuff into their pockets. I have more than once been a witness to the pillage of a supper, by the numerous beaux and admirers which the ladies lead after them in triumph, wherever they are invited. They are fond of spices, and scarce eat any thing without saffron, pimento, or garlic; they delight in the wine that tastes strong of the pitched skin, and of oil that has a rank smell and taste; indeed, the same oil feeds their lamp, swims in their pottage, and dresses their sallad: in inns the lighted lamp is frequently handed down to the table, that each man may take the quantity he chooses.—Much tobacco is used by them in smoking and chewing. All these hot, drying kinds of food, co-operating with the parching qualities of the atmosphere, are assigned as causes of the spare make of the common people in Spain, where the priests and the inn-keepers are almost the only well-fed, portly figures to be met with.

The Spanish is by no means naturally a serious, melancholy nation; misery and discontent have cast a gloom over them, increased, no doubt, by the long habit of distrust and terror inspired by the inquisition; yet every village still resounds with the music of voices and guitars; and their fairs, and Sunday wakes are remarkably noisy and riotous. They talk louder, and argue with more vehemence than even the French or Italians, and gesticulate with equal, if not superior eagerness. In Catalonia, the young men are expert at ball;

every village has its *Pelota*, or ground for playing at fives; but in the south of Spain, I never perceived that the inhabitants used any particular exercise. I am told, that in the island of Majorca, they still wield the sling, for which their ancestors, the Baleares, were so much renowned.

Like most people of southern climates, they are dirty in their persons, and over-run with vermin.

The very mention of horns is an insult, and the sight of them makes their blood boil.* As their constitution may be said to be made up of the most combustible ingredients, and prone to love in a degree that natives of more northern latitudes can have no idea of, the custom of embracing persons of the other sex, which is used on many occasions by foreigners, sets the Spaniards all on fire. They would as soon allow a man to pass the night in bed with their wives or daughters, as suffer him to give them a kiss; and indeed, I believe the ladies themselves would look upon that favour as a certain prelude to others of greater consequence. Next to accusing a Spaniard of wearing horns, nothing can give him such offence as to suspect him of having an issue.

I was surprised to find them so much more lukewarm in their devotion than I expected; but I will not take upon me to assert, though I have great reason to believe it, that there is in Spain as little true moral religion as in any country I ever travelled through, although none abounds more with provincial protectors, local Madonnas, and altars celebrated for particular cures and indulgencies: religion is a topic not to be touched, much less handled with any degree of curiosity, in the dominions of so tremendous a tribunal as the Inquisition. From what little I saw, I am apt to suspect, that the people here trouble themselves with very few serious thoughts on the subject; and that, provided they can bring themselves to believe that their favourite Saint looks upon them with an eye of affection, they take it for granted, that, under his benign influence, they are freed from all apprehensions of damnation in a future state; and indeed, from any great concern about the moral duties of this life. The burning zeal, which distinguished their ancestors above the rest of the catholic world, appears to have lost much of its activity, and really seems nearly extinguished. It is hard to ascribe bounds to the changes a crafty, steady and popular monarch might make in ecclesiastical matters. The unconcern betrayed by the whole nation at the fall of the Jesuits, is a strong proof of their present indifference. Those fathers, the most powerful body politic in the kingdom, the rulers of the palace, and the despots of the cottage, the directors of the conscience, and the disposers of the fortune of every rank of men, were all seized in one night, by detachments of soldiers, hurried like malefactors to the sea-ports, and banished forever from the realm, without the least resistance to the royal mandate being made, or even threatened. Their very memory seems to be annihilated with their power.

* For this reason the Spaniards turn their hand downwards when they beckon to any one.

We found the common people inoffenſive, if not civil; and having never had an opportunity of being witneſſes to any of their exceſſes, can ſay nothing of their violent jealouſy or revenge, which are points moſt writers on Spain have expatiated upon with great pleaſure. I believe in this line, as well as in many others, their bad as well as good qualities have been magnified many degrees above the truth.

The moſt furious example of paſſion and cruelty that I heard of, happened a few years ago at San Lucar. A Carmelite friar fell deſperately in love with a young woman, to whom he was confeſſor. He tried every art of ſeduction his deſires could ſuggeſt to him; but, to his unſpeakable vexation, found her virtue or indifference proof againſt all his machinations. His deſpair was heightened to a pitch of madneſs, upon hearing that ſhe was ſoon to be married to a perſon of her own rank in life. The furies of jealouſy ſeized his ſoul, and worked him up to the moſt barbarous of all determinations, that of depriving his rival of the prize, by putting an end to her exiſtence. He choſe Eaſter week for the perpetration of his crime. The unſuſpecting girl came to the confeſſional, and poured out her ſoul at his feet; her innocence ſerved only to inflame his rage the more, and to confirm him in his bloody purpoſe. He gave her abſolution and the ſacrament with his own hands, as his love deterred him from murdering her, before he thought ſhe was purified from all ſtain of ſin, and her ſoul fit to take its flight to the tribunal of its Creator; but his jealouſy and revenge urged him to purſue her down the church, and plunge his dagger in her heart, as ſhe turned round to make a genu-flection to the altar. He was immediately ſeized, and ſoon condemned to die; but leſt his ignominious execution ſhould reflect diſhonour on a religious order, which boaſts of having an aunt of the king of France among its members, his ſentence was changed into perpetual labour among the galley-ſlaves of Portorico.

The national qualities, good and bad, conſpicuous in the lower claſſes of men, are eaſily traced, and very diſcernable in thoſe of higher rank; for their education is too much neglected, their minds too little enlightened by ſtudy or communication with other nations, to rub off the general ruſt, with which the Spaniſh genius has, for above an age, been, as it were, incruſtated. The public ſchools and univerſities are in a deſpicable ſtate of ignorance and irregularity. Some feeble hope of future reformation is indulged by patriots, but time muſt ſhew what probabilities they are grounded upon.*

The common education of an Engliſh gentleman would conſtitute a man of learning here; and ſhould he underſtand Greek, he would be quite a phænomenon. As to the nobility, I wonder how they ever learned to read or write; or having once attained ſo much, how they contrive not to forget it. It is difficult to ſay what they paſs their time in; or what means, beſides inattention to buſineſs, they employ in running through their immenſe incomes. In the great houſes one cuſtom may contribute to extravagance; a ſervant once eſtabliſhed is never diſcharged, unleſs for ſome very enormous of-

* Since I left Spain, a reform has taken place in the great colleges.

fence; he and his family remain penſioners as long as they live: the duke of I. pays near ten thouſand pounds ſterling a year in wages and annuities to ſervants. The grandees, one or two excepted, are diminiſhed by a ſeries of diſtempered progenitors to a race of pigmies, which dwindles away for lack of heirs, and tends gradually to an union of all the titles and eſtates upon the heads of one or two families. I think the Conde de Altamira has no leſs than nineteen grandeeſhips centered in his perſon. Though they all ſtile themſelves *de primera claſſe*, as it were, by way of diſtinctive pre-eminence over others of a lower degree; yet I believe no ſecond or third claſs exiſts, and it would be a very groſs inſult to ſuppoſe any of them were of an inferior rank to the reſt of the *corps*: ſome difference may perhaps be made in the degrees of popular reſpect paid to the deſcendants of the heroes that make a figure in the Spaniſh annals, and ſuch grandees as have been honoured with the dignity in latter times. A grandee can marry none but his equal. They all *thou* each other, and affect to appear backward in mixing in other company.

The Spaniſh women are in general little and thin; few are ſtrikingly beautiful, but almoſt all have ſparkling black eyes, full of expreſſion. It is not the faſhion here, as in France, to heighten their *eclat* with paint. They are endowed by nature with a great deal of wit and lively repartee, but for want of the poliſh and ſuccours of education, their wit remains obſcured by the rudeſt ignorance, and the moſt ridiculous prejudices. Their tempers having never been faſhioned by polite intercourſe, nor ſoftened by neceſſary contradiction, are extremely petriſh and violent. They are continually pouting for ſomething or other, and put out of humour by the mereſt trifles. Moſt of the ladies about court are the reverſe of handſome, and do not ſeem to have any ambition of paſſing for clever or accompliſhed; not one talent do they poſſeſs; nor do they ever work, read, write, or touch any muſical inſtrument: their *Cortejo*, or gallant, ſeems their only play-thing. I believe no country exhibits more bare-faced amours, and ſuch an appearance of indelicate debauchery as this. The account given me of their manner of living in their family way, as ſoon as they come out of the convent, and before they have fixed upon a lover to fill up their time more agreeably, is as follows: they riſe late, and loiter away the remains of the morning among their attendants, or wear it out at church in a long bead-roll of habitual unmeaning prayers; they dine ſparingly, ſleep, and then dreſs to lounge for a couple of hours on the Prado. They are never without ſome ſort of ſugar-plum or high ſpiced comfit in their mouths. As ſoon as it is dark, they run to the houſe of ſome elderly female relation, where they all huddle together over a pan of coals, and would not for the world approach the company that may occaſionally drop in; it would throw them into the greateſt confuſion, were they to be requeſted to join in the converſation. The hour of the aſſembly paſſed, they hurry home to their maids, and, with their help, ſet about dreſſing their own ſuppers by way of amuſement.

## Character *of a late* American Officer.

HE was born of very reputable and wealthy parents, in the ſtate of Connecticut. After he had finiſhed his Engliſh education in the vicinity of his parents, he was ſent to New-Jerſey college. From his fertile imagination, his vivacious temper, and his boundleſs propenſity for learning, he ſoon became thoroughly acquainted with the claſſicks. In ſo grateful a ſoil as his genius, it was next to impoſſible for education not to have flouriſhed. He left the ſeminary at a very early period; happily uniting the qualities of the unaffected ſcholar, with the refinements of the polite gentleman:—His affability was as pleaſing as his manner was engaging; an equal enemy to ſervile flattery, and to ſupercilious arrogance. His amiable diſpoſition bought him friends without *money or without price*, and the reſpectability of his virtues taught eſteem to follow him, wherever he went. At the age of eighteen, he was promoted to the command of a regiment; and it may appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that at ſo early a period he was capable of blending the vivacity of youthful intrepidity, with all the ſober maturity of experience. After the termination of the Indian and French war againſt the Britiſh, in which he acquired great honour, he ſheathed his ſword in its peaceful ſcabbard, in order to enjoy the fruits of his toils—the ſweets of retirement. But his faculties were of too graſping and aſpiring a nature, to delight in the ſhade of private life—he thought he would carry them to a theatre, on which he might diſplay their uncommon luſtre to more advantage. He embarked for England, and poſſeſſing an affluent fortune, he carried with him recommendations, equivalent to his money. He was introduced to the late earl of Cheſterfield; who, on account of his addreſs as a gentleman, together with the eclat of his military character, preſented him to the king, who received him very graciouſly. After being initiated into the gay and polite circles, and treading a perpetual round of pleaſures, till he became perfectly ſatiated with the enjoyments of a court life, he bid adieu to his patron and friend, lord Cheſterfield, and to England, and arrived in a few weeks in his native place—where he was received with equal joy and ſurprize by his parents and relations: the uncommon brilliancy of his equipage, and other exterior appendages of ſplendour, kept ſome of his former acquaintances for ſome time at an awful diſtance: but though perhaps he might have left ſome of his virtues behind him, and in their ſtead have brought a ſpice of ſome vices, yet he preſerved his good underſtanding unimpaired, which made him on all occaſions acceſſable to former friendſhips. His houſe was a perfect levee of joyous entertainment; his doors turned on the hinges of hoſpitality, and gladneſs ſparkled in the eyes of all his gueſts. But the manners of theſe ſober republicans, viewing with ſome concern the growing evils which might reſult from too great an indulgence in theſe voluptuous ſcenes, perſuaded his parents to throw a gentle check on his eccentrick enjoyments,—and they married him to an amiable woman. The cares of a growing offſpring, in ſome meaſure wore off his inordinate appetite for convivial

society. The American war came on, and he being a friend to the bleeding cause of imploring freedom, gallantly espoused her injured rights. He fought a good fight, and completed the glory of his profession. But the seeds of debauchery and extravagance, which had been too profusely sown in his European pleasures, sprang up afresh with redoubled vigour—his constitution wasted away with his fortune, and at length he fell an untimely victim to the chymical process of the bottle. In order to give a finishing stroke to the features of his character—nature, as if anxious that so bright a pattern of her works should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments; dignity of shape and air, with a pleasant, manly and open countenance; his exteriour comeliness could only be surpassed by the intellectual polish of his mind! Reader—drop a tear of sensibility on his misfortunes, and *weed this nettle from his grave.* Alas! that so fair a flower should be withered by a rude blast of DISSIPATION.

## CURIOUS ACCOUNT *of a* CHIEF *residing near* NOOTKA, *and of a* FEAST *given by him to Mr.* MEARS, *and his* SHIP'S COMPANY.

[From MEARS'S VOYAGES.]

ON entering the house, we were absolutely astonished at the vast area it enclosed: it contained a large square, boarded up close on all sides to the height of twenty feet, with planks of uncommon breadth and length. Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle, by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The same kind of broad planks covered the whole, to keep out the rain; but they were so placed as to be removed at pleasure, either to receive the air or light, or let out the smoke.

In the middle of this spacious room were several fires, and beside them large wooden vessels, filled with fish soup. Large slices of whale's flesh lay in a state of preparation, to be put in similar machines, filled with water, into which the women, with a kind of tongs, conveyed hot stones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil. Heaps of fish were strewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might be very properly called the kitchen, stood large seal-skins, filled with oil, from which the guests were served with that delicious beverage.

The trees which supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity, as well as our astonishment, was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found, by a people wholly unacquainted with the mechanic powers.

The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous image's visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down to the chin into the house, where we found new matter for astonishment, in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief, which consisted of at least *eight hundred* persons: these were divided into groups, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat, and slept. The chief, who was called Wicaniniſh, appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small, raised platform, around which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable goblets of blubber. Festoons of human skulls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal apartment.

When we appeared, the guests had made a considerable advance in their banquet. Before each person was placed a large slice of boiled whale, which, with small, wooden dishes, filled with oil and fish soup, and a large muscle shell, by way of spoon, composed the economy of the table. The servants were busily employed in preparing to replenish the several dishes as they were emptied, and the women in picking and opening the bark of a tree, which served the purpose of towels. If the luxury of this entertainment is to be determined by the voraciousness with which it was eaten, and the quantity that was swallowed, we must consider it as the most luxurious feast we had ever beheld. Even the children, and some of them were not more than three years old, possessed the same rapacious appetite for oil and blubber as their fathers: the women, however, are forbidden from eating at these ceremonials.

Wicaniniſh, with an air of hospitality which would have graced a more cultivated society, met us half way from the entrance, and conducted us to a seat near his own, on which we placed ourselves, and indulged our curiosity, during the remainder of the banquet, in viewing the perspective of this singular habitation.

The feast being ended, we were desired to shew the presents which were intended for the chief: a great variety of articles, brought for that purpose, were accordingly displayed, among which were several blankets and two copper tea-kettles. The eyes of the whole assembly were rivetted upon these unusual objects, and a guardian was immediately assigned to the two tea-kettles, who, on account of their extraordinary value and beauty, was ordered to place them, with great care, in the royal coffers, which consisted of large chests rudely carved, and fancifully adorned with human teeth.

About fifty men now advanced in the middle of the area, each of them holding up before us a sea-otter's skin, of near six feet in length, and the most jetty blackness. As they remained in this posture, the

chief made a ſpeech, and, giving his hand in token of friendſhip, informed us the ſkins were the return he propoſed to make for our preſent, and accordingly ordered them to be immediately ſent to the ſhip.

Our royal hoſt appeared to be entirely ſatisfied with our homage; and we, who were equally pleaſed with his magnificence, were about to take our leave, when the ladies of his family advanced towards us, from a diſtant part of the building, whither they had retired during the entertainment. Two of them had paſſed the middle age, but the other two were young, and the beauty of their countenances was ſo powerful as to predominate over the oil and red ochre, which, in a great meaſure, covered them: one of the latter, in particular, diſplayed ſo ſweet an air of diffidence and modeſty, that no diſguſt of colour, or deformity of dreſs, could preclude her from awakening an intereſt even in minds cultured to refinement. We had not, very fortunately, diſpoſed of all the treaſure we had brought on ſhore, and a few beads and ear-rings that yet remained, ſerved to give our viſit a concluding grace, by preſenting them to theſe ladies of the court.

## EXTRACTS *from* PAINE'S RIGHTS *of* MAN—Part II.

*That England has no conſtitution.*

IN England, it is not difficult to perceive that every thing has a conſtitution, except the nation. Every ſociety and aſſociation that is eſtabliſhed, firſt agreed upon a number of original articles, digeſted into form, which are its conſtitution. It then appointed its officers, whoſe powers and authorities are deſcribed in that conſtitution, and the government of that ſociety then commenced. Thoſe officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the conſtituting power that this right belongs.

From the want of underſtanding the difference between a conſtitution and a government, Dr. Johnſon, and all writers of his deſcription, have always bewildered themſelves. They could not but perceive, that there muſt neceſſarily be a *controuling* power exiſting ſomewhere, and they placed this power in the diſcretion of the perſons exerciſing the government, inſtead of placing it in a conſtitution, formed by the nation. When it is in a conſtitution, it has the nation for its ſupport, and the natural and the political controling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, controul men only as individuals, but the nation, through its conſtitution, controuls the whole government, and has a natural ability ſo to do. The final controuling power, therefore, and the original conſtituting power, are one and the ſame power.

Dr. Johnſon could not have advanced ſuch a poſition in any country where there was a conſtitution; and he is himſelf an evidence, that no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſts in England. But it may be

put as a queſtion, not improper to be inveſtigated, That if a conſtitution does not exiſt, how came the idea of its exiſtence ſo generally eſtabliſhed?

In order to decide this queſtion, it is neceſſary to conſider a conſtitution in both its caſes:—Firſt, as creating a government and giving it powers. Secondly, as regulating and reſtraining the powers ſo given.

If we begin with William of Normandy, we find that the government of England was originally a tyranny, founded on an invaſion and conqueſt of the country. This being admitted, it will then appear, that the exertion of the nation, at different periods, to abate that tyranny, and render it leſs intolerable, has been credited for a conſtitution.

Magna Charta, as it was called, (it is now like an almanack of the ſame date,) was no more than compelling the government to renounce a part of its aſſumptions. It did not create and give powers to government in the manner a conſtitution does; but was, as far as it went, of the nature of a re-conqueſt, and not of a conſtitution; for could the nation have totally expelled the uſurpation, as France has done its deſpotiſm, it would then have had a conſtitution to form.

The hiſtory of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many inſtances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had reſtricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to paſs thoſe limits, and their fate is well known. In all thoſe inſtances, we ſee nothing of a conſtitution, but only of reſtrictions on aſſumed power.

After this, another William, deſcended from the ſame ſtock, and claiming from the ſame origin, gained poſſeſſion; and of the two evils, *James* and *William*, the nation preferred what it thought the leaſt; ſince, from circumſtances, it muſt take one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it but a bargain which the parts of the government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You ſhall have ſo much, and I will have the reſt; and with reſpect to the nation, it ſaid, for *your ſhare*, you *ſhall have the right of petitioning*. This being the caſe, the bill of rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of inſult. As to what is called the convention parliament, it was a thing that made itſelf, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few perſons got together, and called themſelves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, and none of them for the purpoſe.

From the time of William, a ſpecies of government aroſe, iſſuing out of this coalition bill of rights; and more ſo, ſince the corruption introduced at the Hanover ſucceſſion, by the agency of Walpole; that can be deſcribed by no other name than a deſpotic legiſlation. Though the parts may embarraſs each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only right it acknowledges out of itſelf, is the right of petitioning. Where then is the conſtitution either that gives or that reſtrains power?

It is not becauſe a part of the government is elective, that makes it leſs a deſpotiſm, if the perſons ſo elected, poſſeſs afterwards, as a parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this caſe, becomes

separated from representation, and the candidates are candidates for despotism.

*Wretchedness of the poor under the old governments.*

When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the work-house and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem, by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation, a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance, than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied, it is in vain to punish.

Civil government does not consist in executions; but in making such provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, impostors, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to support the fraud that oppresses them.

Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals, and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity. The millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments, are more than sufficient to reform those evils, and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation, not included within the purlieus of a court.

*On variety in religious opinions, and modes of worship.*

Throughout this work, various and numerous as the subjects are, which I have taken up and investigated, there is only a single paragraph upon religion, viz. "*That every religion is good, that teaches man "to be good.*"

I have carefully avoided to enlarge upon the subject, because I am inclined to believe, that what is called the present ministry wish to see contentions about religion kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to subjects of government. It is, as if they were to say, "*Look that way, or any way, but this.*"

But as religion is very improperly made a political machine, and the reality of it is thereby destroyed, I will conclude this work with stating in what light religion appears to me.

If we suppose a large family of children, who, on any particular day, or particular circumstance, made it a custom to present to their parent some token of their affection and gratitude, each of them would make a different offering, and most probably in a different manner. Some would pay their congratulations in themes of verse or prose, by some little devices, as their genius dictated, or according to what they thought would please; and, perhaps, the least of all, not able to do any of those things, would ramble into the garden, or the field, and gather what it thought the prettiest flower

it could find, though, perhaps, it might be but a ſimple weed. The parent would be more gratified by ſuch a variety, than if the whole of them had acted on a concerted plan, and each had made exactly the ſame offering. This would have the cold appearance of contrivance, or the harſh one of controul. But of all unwelcome things, nothing could more afflict the parent than to know, that the whole of them had afterwards gotten together by the ears, boys and girls, fighting, ſcratching, reviling, and abuſing each other about which was the beſt or worſt preſent.

Why may we not ſuppoſe, that the great Father of all is pleaſed with variety of devotion; and that the greateſt offence we can act, is that by which we ſeek to torment and render each other miſerable.

I do not believe that any two men, on what are called doctrinal points, think alike, who think at all. It is only thoſe who have not thought, that appear to agree.

As to what are called national religions, we may, with as much propriety, talk of national Gods. It is either political craft or the remains of the Pagan ſyſtem, when every nation had its ſeparate and particular deity.

## *On* INTEMPERANCE *in* DRINKING.

THE arguments againſt drunkenneſs, which the common reaſon of mankind ſuggeſts, are theſe:—

The contemptible figure which it gives us:

The hindrance it is to any confidence being repoſed in us, ſo far as our ſecrecy is concerned:

The dangerous advantage which it affords the crafty and the knaviſh over us:

The bad effects which it hath on our health:

The prejudice which our minds receive from it:

Its *diſpoſing* us to *many crimes*, and *preparing* us for the *greateſt*.

The contemptible figure, which drunkenneſs gives us, is no weak argument for avoiding it.

Every reader has found the *Spartans* mentioned, as inculcating ſobriety on their *children*, by expoſing to their notice the behaviour of their ſlaves in a drunken fit. They thought, that were they to apply wholly to the reaſon of the *youths*, it might be to little purpoſe: as the force of the arguments, which they uſed, might not be ſufficiently apprehended, or the impreſſion thereof might be ſoon effaced: but when they made them frequently eye-witneſſes of all the madneſs and abſurdities, and at length the perfect ſenſeleſſneſs, which the immoderate draught occaſioned: the idea of the *vile change* would be ſo fixed in the minds of its beholders, as to render them utterly averſe from its cauſe.

And may we not juſtly conclude it to be from hence, that the offſpring of the perſons who are accuſtomed thus to diſguiſe themſelves, often prove remarkably ſober? They avoid, in their *riper years*, their parent's crime, from the deteſtation of it, which they contracted in

their *earlier*. As to moſt other vices, their debaſing circumſtances are not fully known to us till we have attained a maturity of age, nor can be then, till they have been duly attended to: but in our very childhood, at our firſt beholding the effects of drunkenneſs, we are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, that a reaſonable being ſhould be thus changed—ſhould be induced to make himſelf ſuch an object of contempt and ſcorn. And, indeed, we muſt have the man in the *utmoſt* contempt, whom we hear and ſee in his progreſs to exceſs; at firſt, teazing you with his contentiouſneſs or impertinence—miſtaking your meaning and hardly knowing his own—then, faultering in his ſpeech—unable to get through an entire ſentence—his hand trembling—his eyes ſwimming—his legs too feeble to ſupport him; till, at length, you only know the human creature by his ſhape.

I cannot but add, that were one of any ſenſe to have a juſt notion of all the ſilly things he ſays or does, of the wretched appearance, which he makes in a *drunken fit*, he could not want a more powerful argument againſt repeating his crime.

A ſecond objection to drunkenneſs is, that it hinders any confidence being repoſed in us, ſo far as our ſecrecy is concerned.

Who can truſt the man who is not maſter of himſelf? Wine, as it leſſens our caution, ſo it prompts us to ſpeak our thoughts without reſerve: when it has ſufficiently inflamed us, all the ſuggeſtions of prudence paſs for the apprehenſions of cowardice; we are regardleſs of conſequences; our foreſight is gone, and our fear with it. Here then the artful perſon properly introducing the ſubject, urging us to enter upon it—and, after that, praiſing, or blaming, or contradicting, or queſtioning us, is ſoon able to draw from us whatever information he deſires to obtain.

The young debauchee ſoon experiences the iſſue of his miſconduct—ſoon finds his food diſreliſhed, his ſtomach weakened, his ſtrength decayed, his body waſted. In the flower of his youth, he often feels all the infirmities of extreme old age; and when not yet in the middle of human life, is got to the end of his own.

If we have attained to manhood, to our full vigour, before we run into the exceſs, from which I am diſſuading; we may, indeed, poſſibly, be many years in breaking a good conſtitution: but then, if a ſudden ſtroke diſpatch us not; if we are not cut off without the leaſt leiſure given us to implore the mercy of heaven; to how much uneaſineſs are we, generally, reſerved—what a variety of painful diſtempers threaten us! All of them there is very little probability we ſhould eſcape; and under which ſoever of them we may labour, we ſhall experience its cure hopeleſs, and its ſeverity the ſaddeſt leſſon, how dear the purchaſe was of our former mirth.

Every time we offend in it, we are firſt madmen, and then idiots; we firſt ſay, and do, a thouſand the moſt ridiculous and extravagant things, and then appear quite void of ſenſe. By annexing theſe conſtant inconveniences to drinking immoderately, it ſeems the deſign of a wiſe Providence to teach us, what we may fear from a habit of it—to give us a foretaſte of the miſeries which it will at length bring upon us, not for a few hours alone, but for the whole remainder of our lives. What numbers have, by hard drinking, fallen into an incur-

able diſtraction! And who was ever for many years a ſot, without deſtroying the quickneſs of his apprehenſion, and the ſtrength of his memory? What mere drivellers have ſome of the beſt capacities become, after a long courſe of exceſs!

As we drink to raiſe our ſpirits, but, by that raiſing, we weaken them; ſo whatever freſh vigour our parts may ſeem to derive from our wine, it is a vigour which waſtes them; which, by being often thus called out, deſtroys its ſource, our natural fancy and underſtanding. It is like a man's ſpending upon his principal: he may, for a ſeaſon, make a figure much ſuperior to *his*, who ſupports himſelf upon the intereſt of his fortune; but is ſure to be undone, when the other is unhurt.

From all the obſervations which we can make on the human frame, it may be fairly ſuppoſed, that it is not reaſonable to think we can be, for many years enflaming our brains, without injuring them—be continually diſordering the moſt delicate parts of our machine, without impairing them. A lively imagination, a quick apprehenſion, a retentive memory, depend upon parts in our ſtructure, which are more eaſily hurt, than ſuch, whoſe ſound ſtate is neceſſary for the preſervation of mere life: and therefore we perceive thoſe ſeveral faculties often entirely loſt, long before the body drops. The man is very frequently ſeen to ſurvive himſelf—to continue a living creature, after he has, for ſome years, ceaſed to be a rational one. And to this deplorable ſtate nothing is more likely to bring us, than a habit of drunkenneſs; as there is no vice that more immediately affects thoſe organs, by the help of which we apprehend, reaſon, remember, and perform the like acts.

What, *ſixthly*, ought to raiſe in us the utmoſt abhorrence of drunkenneſs is, the conſideration of the many crimes to which it diſpoſes us. He through whoſe veins the inflaming potion has ſpread itſelf, muſt be under a greater temptation to lewdneſs, than you can think him in any other circumſtances: and from the little reaſoning, of which he is then capable, as to the difference of the two crimes, would heſitate no more at adultery than fornication.

Thus, alſo, for immoderate anger, contention, ſcurrility and abuſe, acts of violence, and the moſt injurious treatment of others; they are all offences, into which drunkenneſs is moſt apt to betray us; ſo apt to do it, that you will ſcarcely find a company drinking to exceſs, without many provoking ſpeeches and actions paſſing in it—without more or leſs ſtrife, before it ſeparates. We even perceive the moſt gentle and peaceable, the moſt humane and civilized, when they are ſober, no ſooner intoxicated, than they put off all thoſe commendable qualities, and aſſume, as it were, a new nature—a nature as different from their former, as the moſt untractable and fierceſt of the brute kind are, from the moſt accompliſhed and amiable of our own.

## TWO PAPERS *Written by* DR. FRANKLIN.

No. I. ENDORSED, in DR. FRANKLIN's Hand, as follows, viz.

*Letter to Abbé* SOULAVIE, *occasioned by his sending me some notes he had taken of what I had said to him in conversation on the theory of the earth. I wrote it to set him right in some points wherein he had mistaken my meaning.*

PASSY, *September* 22, 1782.

SIR,

I RETURN the papers with some corrections. I did not find coal mines under the calcareous rock in Derbyshire. I only remarked, that at the lowest part of that rocky mountain, which was in sight, there were oyster shells mixed with the stone; and part of the high county of Derby being probably as much above the level of the sea, as the coal mines of Whitehaven were below, it seemed a proof that there had been a great bouleversement in the surface of that island, some part of it having been depressed under the sea, and other parts, which had been under it, being raised above it. Such changes in the superficial parts of the globe, seemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were solid to the centre. I therefore imagined that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with; which therefore might swim in or upon that fluid. Thus the surface of the globe would be a shell, capable of being broken and disordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it rested. And, as air has been compressed by art so as to be twice as dense as water, in which case, if such air and water could be contained in a strong glass vessel, the air would be seen to take the lowest place, and the water to float above and upon it; and, as we know not yet the degree of density to which air may be compressed, and M. Amontons calculated, that its density increasing as it approached the centre in the same proportion as above the surface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, possibly the dense fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compressed. And as the force of expansion in dense air when heated, is in proportion to its density; this central air might afford another agent to move the surface, as well as be of use in keeping alive the central fires: tho', as you observe, the sudden rarefaction of water, coming into contact, without those fires, may be an agent sufficiently strong for that purpose, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it rests.

If one might indulge imagination in supposing how such a globe was formed, I should conceive, that all the elements in separate particles, being originally mixed in confusion, and occupying a great space, they would (as soon as the Almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulsion of other parts, to exist) all move towards their common centre: That the air being a fluid whose parts repel each other, tho' drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be densest towards the cen-

tre, and rarer as more remote; conſequently, all bodies, lighter than the central parts of that air, and immerſed in it, would recede from the centre, and riſe till they arrived at that region of the air, which was of the ſame ſpecific gravity with themſelves, where they would reſt; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would deſcend, and the two meeting would form the ſhell of the firſt earth, leaving the upper atmoſphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre would form a whirl there; which would continue in the turning of the new formed globe upon its axis, and the greateſt diameter of the ſhell would be in its equator. If by any accident afterwards the axis ſhould be changed, the denſe internal fluid, by altering its form, muſt burſt the ſhell and throw all its ſubſtance into the confuſion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at preſent with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the reſt of our ſyſtem. Superior beings ſmile at our theories, and at our preſumption in making them. I will juſt mention that your obſervation of the ferruginous nature of the lava, which is thrown out from the depths of our volcanoes, gave me great pleaſure. It has long been a ſuppoſition of mine, that the iron contained in the ſubſtance of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetiſm exiſts perhaps in all ſpace; ſo that there is a magnetical North and South of the univerſe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were poſſible for a man to fly from ſtar to ſtar, he might govern his courſe by the compaſs; that it was by the power of this general magnetiſm this globe became a particular magnet. In ſoft or hot iron the fluid of magnetiſm is naturally diffuſed equally: when within the influence of a magnet, it is drawn to one end of the iron, made denſer there and rarer at the other. While the iron continues ſoft and hot it is only a temporary magnet: If it cools or grows hard in that ſituation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not eaſily reſuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetiſm of this globe, which it had not at firſt, that its axis is at preſent kept parrallel to itſelf, and not liable to the changes it formerly ſuffered, which occaſioned the rupture of its ſhell, the ſubmerſions and emerſions of its lands, and the confuſion of its ſeaſons. The preſent polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is eaſy to conceive in caſe ſome power ſhould ſhift the axis gradually, and place it in the preſent equator, and make the new equator paſs through the preſent poles, what a ſinking of the waters would happen in the preſent equatorial regions, and what a riſing in the preſent polar regions; ſo that vaſt tracts would be diſcovered that now are under water, and others covered that now are dry, the water riſing and ſinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this poſſibly occaſioned much of Europe, and among the reſt this mountain of Paſſy on which I live, and which is compoſed of limeſtone, rock and ſea-ſhells, to be abandoned by the ſea, and to change its ancient climate, which ſeems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are perhaps ſafe from any future change of its axis. But we are ſtill ſubject to the accidents on the ſurface, which are occaſi-

oned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and such a wave is produced by the sudden violent explosion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the explosion, but impressing with the same force the fluid under it, creates a wave that may run a thousand leagues, lifting, and thereby shaking successively, all the countries under which it passes. I know not whether I have expressed myself so clearly, as not to get out of your sight in these reveries. If they occasion any new enquiries, and produce a better hypothesis, they will not be quite useless. You see I have given a loose to imagination, but I approve much more your method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than those facts will warrant. In my present circumstances, that mode of studying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myself to wander a little in the wilds of fancy. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have heard that chemists can by their art decompose stone and wood, extracting a considerable quantity of water from the one, and air from the other. It seems natural to conclude from this, that water and air were ingredients in their original composition: For men cannot make new matter of any kind. In the same manner may we not suppose, that when we consume combustibles of all kinds, and produce heat or light, we do not create that heat or light; we only decompose a substance which received it originally as a part of its composition? Heat may thus be considered as originally in a fluid state; but, attracted by organized bodies in their growth, becomes a part of the solid. Besides this, I can conceive that in the first assemblage of the particles of which this earth is composed, each brought its portion of the loose heat that had been connected with it, and the whole, when pressed together, produced the internal fire which still subsists.

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No. II.—Endorsed.

## LOOSE THOUGHTS *on an* UNIVERSAL FLUID, *&c.*

Passy, *June* 25, 1784.

UNIVERSAL space, as far as we know of it, seems to be filled with a subtil fluid, whose motion, or vibration, is called light. This fluid may possibly be the same with that which being attracted by, and entering into other more solid matter, dilates the substance, by separating the constituent particles, and so rendering some solids fluid, and maintaining the fluidity of others: of which fluid when our bodies are totally deprived, they are said to be frozen; when they have a proper quantity, they are in health, and fit to perform all their functions; it is then called natural heat: when too much, it is called fever; and when forced into the body in too great a quantity from without, it gives pain by separating and destroying

the fleſh, and is then called burning; and the fluid ſo entering and acting is called fire.

While organized bodies, animal or vegetable, are augmenting in growth, or are ſupplying their continual waſte, is not this done by attracting and conſolidating this fluid called fire, ſo as to form of it a part of their ſubſtance? and is it not a ſeparation of the parts of ſuch ſubſtance, which, diſſolving its ſolid ſtate, ſets that ſubtle fluid at liberty, when it again makes its appearance as fire?

For the power of man relative to matter ſeems limited to the dividing it, or mixing the various kinds of it, or changing its form and appearance by different compoſitions of it; but does not extend to the making or creating of new matter, or annihilating the old: thus, if fire be an original element, or kind of matter, its quantity is fixed and permanent in the world. We cannot deſtroy any part of it, or make addition to it; we can only ſeparate it from that which confines it, and ſo ſet it at liberty, as when we put wood in a ſituation to be burnt; or transfer it from one ſolid to another, as when we make lime by burning ſtone, a part of the fire diſlodged from the wood being left in the ſtone. May not this fluid, when at liberty, be capable of penetrating and entering into all bodies, organized or not, quitting eaſily in totality thoſe not organized; and quitting eaſily in part thoſe which are; the part aſſumed and fixed remaining till the body is diſſolved?

Is it not this fluid which keeps aſunder the particles of air, permitting them to approach, or ſeparating them more, in proportion as its quantity is diminiſhed or augmented? Is it not the greater gravity of the particles of air, which forces the particles of this fluid to mount with the matters to which it is attached, as ſmoke or vapour?

Does it not ſeem to have a great affinity with water, ſince it will quit a ſolid to unite with that fluid, and go off with it in vapour, leaving the ſolid cold to the touch, and the degree meaſurable by the thermometer?

The vapour riſes attached to this fluid, but at a certain height they ſeparate, and the vapour deſcends in rain, retaining but little of it, in ſnow or hail leſs. What becomes of that fluid? Does it riſe above our atmoſphere, and mix equally with the univerſal maſs of the ſame kind? Or does a ſpherical ſtratum of it, denſer, or leſs mixed with air, attracted by this globe, and repelled or puſhed up only to a certain height from its ſurface, by the greater weight of air, remain there ſurrounding the globe, and proceeding with it round the ſun?

In ſuch caſe, as there may be a continuity or communication of this fluid through the air quite down to the earth, is it not by the vibrations given to it by the ſun that light appears to us; and may it not be, that every one of the infinitely ſmall vibrations, ſtriking common matter with a certain force, enter its ſubſtance, are held there by attraction, and augmented by ſucceeding vibrations, till the matter has received as much as their force can drive into it?

Is it not thus that the ſurface of this globe is continually heated by ſuch repeated vibrations in the day, and cooled by the eſcape of the heat when thoſe vibrations are diſcontinued in the night, or intercepted and reflected by clouds?

Is it not thus that fire is amaſſed, and makes the greateſt part of the ſubſtance of combuſtible bodies?

Perhaps when this globe was firſt formed, and its original particles took their place at certain diſtances from the centre, in proportion to their greater or leſs gravity, the fluid fire, attracted towards that centre, might in great part be obliged, as lighteſt, to take place above the reſt, and thus form the ſphere of fire above ſuppoſed, which would afterwards be continually diminiſhing by the ſubſtance it afforded to organized bodies, and the quantity reſtored to it again by the burning or other ſeparating of the parts of thoſe bodies?

Is not the natural heat of animals thus produced, by ſeparating in digeſtion the parts of food, and letting their fire at liberty?

Is it not this ſphere of fire which kindles the wandering globes that ſometimes paſs through it in our courſe round the ſun, have their ſurface kindled by it, and burſt when their included air is greatly rarefied by the heat on their burning ſurfaces?

## HINTS *for guarding againſt the* DESTRUCTION *of* APPLES *by the* CANKER-WORM.

THE deſtruction of apples by the canker-worm, in various parts of the country, is a ſerious and alarming calamity; and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite towards reſtraining and avoiding the evil.

About a year ago, a reſpectable gentleman, who is more than eighty years of age, remarked to me, "that this ſpecies of worm never touch apple-trees which ſtand on clay." I caſt my eye over the orchards in this town, and found the remark verified by facts. In the centre of the town, where the ſoil is moſtly a pure ſtiff clay, not a tree was affected by this devouring animal, and this gentleman informed me, the fact had been the ſame ever ſince his remembrance.

I have lately made a journey to the eaſtward, and am, by particular obſervations, convinced of the truth of the fact. I find, that wherever orchards ſtand on clay, or a cold, moiſt, ſpringy ſoil, the trees remain untouched. A gravelly ſoil is not friendly to theſe worms; but if the gravel is mixed with a ſoft light earth, the trees thereon are conſiderably injured. On the other hand, gravel, mixed with a hard clayed earth, never admits the worm. In ſhort, the lighter the earth where the trees ſtand, the earlier the worm appears, and the more complete their ravages.

Theſe facts ſuggeſt to farmers the propriety of chooſing ſuch ſpots on their farms for orchards, as do not admit the worm; for hard clay and cold moiſt earth do not furniſh this animal with agreeable lodgings.

I would further juſt hint to farmers, who have not a choice of ſoils for orchards, the poſſibility that, by plowing or digging up the earth under the trees, juſt before winter, and expoſing the worm to the action of rain and froſt, they may perhaps deſtroy it, or ſo leſſen the number, as to ſave the fruit of the ſucceeding year.

HARTFORD, *June* 1792. VIATOR.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

# IMPARTIAL REVIEW

## *Of American Publications.*

*The* MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS *and* OCCASIONAL WRITINGS *of* FRANCIS HOPKINSON, *Esq.* Philad. 3 vol. 8vo. Price, in boards, 4 dols.

MOST of the eſſays contained in theſe volumes were formerly publiſhed in detail; and many of them were ſo generally admired at the time, as to eſtabliſh the literary reputation of the author, and procure him a large portion of well-earned fame. This collection, therefore, cannot fail to be well received by the citizens of the united ſtates, who will long continue to revere the memory of Mr. H. whoſe diſtinguiſhed talents were exerted to promote the beſt intereſts of his country, in the moſt trying emergencies. His writings ſhow him to have been an early, an active, and a perſevering whig; and a powerful advocate for the eſtabliſhment of our preſent form of federal government. Some of his moſt valuable performances on political ſubjects are in the allegorical form, a mode of writing in which he has been equalled by few.

The ſubjects of theſe eſſays being almoſt as various as the eſſays themſelves are numerous, we ſhall not ſo far deſcend to particulars, as to attempt to give an account of the ſeveral pieces. Nor does ſuch minuteneſs appear neceſſary, when we conſider that the writings and literary character of the author are very generally known. Suffice it to obſerve, generally, that the leading characteriſtics of Mr. Hopkinſon's writings are, extraordinary verſatility of genius, combined with extenſive ſcience; brilliancy of imagination, connected with a ſound judgment and good taſte; and genuine humour, uncontaminated by that low and trifling ſpecies of wit, which can yield pleaſure to none but vulgar and frivolous minds.

We are informed, in a note prefixed to the firſt volume, that the ſeveral pieces were prepared for the preſs by the author, before his death; and that they are now publiſhed from his manuſcripts, in the dreſs in which he left them. But had he lived to ſuperintend the publication of them himſelf, we think it probable that he would either have reviſed or expunged ſome of them, which were written to anſwer purpoſes of a temporary nature; and others, in which particular characters are ſeverely ſatirized. In our opinion, theſe caſt a ſhade over the ſplendour of his works. In juſtice to the memory of Mr. H. we ſhall ſtate one fact, which ſupports our opinion, that ſundry alterations would have been made, had he lived to reviſe his literary productions. The editor of a daily paper, which was eſtabliſhed in this city ſome time after the publication of Mr. Hopkinſon's celebrated allegory of "The New-Roof," applied to him for a correct copy of that performance, which he propoſed to inſert in his gazette. Mr. H. complied with his requeſt; but was particularly careful to

strike out the concluding observations, in which he had burlesqued the ravings of a declamatory writer, in the public papers. This was certainly a judicious and laudable omission. For, besides that the name of the declamatory writer alluded to had become publicly known, the force and beauty of the allegory were diminished, by a conclusion which was beneath the dignity of that inimitable performance, and which had no immediate connection with it. And yet the allegory is now published in its original form; and accompanied with the essay which is the subject of the burlesque.

Of these volumes, the first and second consist of miscellaneous prose; the third commences with judgments given by Mr. Hopkinson, in the admiralty of Pennsylvania, and concludes with his poetical writings.

Should any of our readers be unacquainted with Mr. H's manner of writing, the following extract will afford them a tolerable specimen of that elegant humour, for which he was so much and so justly admired by all who knew him.

☞ CONGRESS had, from some disgust, suddenly removed from Philadelphia to Princeton in New-Jersey: but, finding themselves but ill accommodated there, they took into consideration the fixing upon some suitable place for their permanent residence. In canvassing this question, the eastern and southern delegates could not agree on a situation equally convenient for both. On motion of Mr. G—, it was at length determined, that congress should have two places of alternate residence: one on the banks of the Potowmack, and the other on the banks of the Delaware: and it was resolved, that congress should not remain less than six months, nor more than two years at either of these places at one time. But as there was no town on the Potowmack fit for their reception, they, for the present, adjourned to Annapolis. This circumstance gave occasion for the following publication.

## INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

THE great revolution that hath taken place in America, will undoubtedly involve many circumstances of considerable importance and curious speculation. None, perhaps, more remarkable than this, that the philosophical world may expect to be entertained with a phenomenon in mechanics, altogether new, and which cannot fail to engage universal attention.

The Americans having observed the great irregularities to which the political systems of Europe are liable, have invented a method of regulating the affairs of their empire by *actual mechanism*. For this purpose an immense pendulum hath been constructed, of which the point of suspension is fixed somewhere in the orbit of the planet *Mars*, and the *Bob* is composed of certain heterogeneous matter, of great specific gravity, called the *American congress*.

This miraculous pendulum is to vibrate between Annapolis, on the Chesapeak, and Trenton, on the Delaware; a range of about 180 miles.

It will require the most subtle mathematical investigations to ascertain the true path of this political bob: for it is pretty certain that it will not move in a *straight line*, nor in a cycloid, nor in a parabola, nor in an hyperbola, nor in any other known curve; but will have a motion peculiar to itself, forming a *crooked line*, the properties of which cannot be reduced to any of the rules within the present system of mathematics.

Although the oscillations of this pendulum will not be performed in, yet they will average equal times. Two vibrations must be made in two years: but these vibrations may bear no determinate proportion to each other; for their relative proportions will depend entirely upon the specific gravity of the bob: which being, from the nature of its composition, very variable, will render the oscillations equally variable with respect to each other: and, which is very extraordinary, although in all other instances, the more ponderous a body is, the more it is disposed to rest, and the shorter and slower will its vibrations be when suspended, it will be the reverse in the present

case; for the bob will be inclined to motion more or less, in proportion as the matter of which it may be composed shall happen to be more or less dull and heavy.

By the oscillations of this pendulum and its *heavy* bob, are thirteen wheels of the American machine to be regulated. And, it is expected, that the different combinations of motions, the actings and counter-actings, the checks and counter-checks of the moving parts, will so correct and balance each other, as to produce, in the final result, a movement so perfectly equable, that the great *desiderata*, viz. the perpetual motion, and the discovery of longitude, will no longer puzzle the brains and drain the purses of seekers in science.

But the most entertaining consequence of this improvement in politics will be, that it will render visible the locomotive faculties of the several nations in Europe; so far at least as the same may be ascertained by their respective ambassadors and envoys. For, as they must all follow the movements of the American bob, they will do this according to the genius of the countries to which they respectively belong. The volatile and active will always keep within reach of the object of pursuit; the careless and indolent will loiter by the way; and the dull and phlegmatic be so distanced, that by the time they shall have arrived at one of the limits of oscillation, they will find it necessary to tack about and follow the pendulum in its return to the other.

In order to render this alternate peregrination as convenient as may be to their ministers, the several governments of Europe are to raise by contribution the sum of four hundred thousand guineas, for the purpose of levelling the roads between Annapolis and Trenton, building bridges, and erecting houses of residence in each of those towns, if those can properly be called houses of residence wherein the inhabitants are to have no rest.

Some have thought that when this *monstrous* pendulum shall be once set in motion, it will not be possible to confine it within the proposed limits; but that it will, by its great weight (contrary to the usual laws of gravitation,) enlarge its field of action, and acquire a velocity which will cause it to swing from New-Hampshire to Georgia.

A further improvement hath also been suggested; which is this—Many philosophers have been of opinion, that the most regular and proper motion of a pendulum would be to cause it to swing in a horizontal circle, and not in a vertical plane, as the common practice is, so that the string or rod may describe a cone, of which the apex will be in the point of suspension, and the base formed by the circumference of the circular plane in which the bob moves.

Should this idea prove just (which Mr. Rittenhouse has been directed to ascertain) the revolutions of America will be performed in a circle, whose diameter, north and south, will be from a point in St. John's river, Nova-Scotia, to the mouth of the great river Mississippi, and west and east, from the Lake in the Woods, to an unknown distance in the Atlantic ocean. The only inconvenience will be the cutting circular road through mountains and forests, for the accommodation of foreign ministers and the officers of congress; and the providing sufficient ships at the point where the said line of circumvolution shall leave the continent, and enter on the waters of the Atlantic, in order that their excellencies, and their honours, may be attendant on this sublunary planet in every part of its orbit.

A. B.

Oct. 1783.

In a commencement oration, written by our author, we find the following strictures on the modern system of education.

After the youngster hath been taught to spell, read, and write, in his mother tongue, he ascends the first step of learned education.—The *Latin language* is the object, to attain which, a Latin grammar is put into the poor boy's hands. This grammar is called the rudiments or foundation of that language: by which one might suppose, that the grammar had been given by inspiration, and the Romans derived their language from it. But the fact is just the reverse; for in every language, the grammar is, and must necessarily be, the result, and not the origin of that language: but notwithstanding this undeniable truth, the Latin must be inculcated according to the method and discipline of the schools, *a posteriori*, in more senses than one.—Well! through this grammar, at all events, the bewildered pupil must wade, groping for a year or two in utter darkness, and learning by rote a complicated system of rules, the propriety or application of which it is impossible for him to see in any instance.

These rules are framed partly in elegant prose, and partly in much more elegant verse, in order, I suppose, to insinuate to the student some taste for Latin poetry, whilst he is learning the rudiments of the language. If I had not, ladies, a respectful regard for your ears, and no small tenderness for my own teeth, I would give you a sample of our grammar versification.

After these rules have been got by rote, as I said before, it may be thought that there is nothing more necessary to the knowledge of the Latin tongue—But alas! this is only the beginning of troubles—The rules must not only be got by memory, but the exceptions also to those rules—Now, good people, you must know that these exceptions are so very numerous, that, in many cases, it is immaterial which you choose for a standard, the rule itself, or the exception.

The excellency of this method of teaching a language, by means of its grammar, may be illustrated by a familiar parallel. You must know, ladies, that when a man stands, or walks, or performs any motions of the body, such positions and motions are all reducible to mathematical principles. In all cases, it is necessary that what is called the centre of gravity should be supported; were it otherwise, the person must unavoidably fall to the ground: and thus are all our movements reducible to system. Now, if the present mode of education is right, (and who dares assert it is not?) you should not suffer your children to walk, or even attempt to walk, before they have learned these rules, for which purpose you must necessarily provide mathematical nurses, and geomatrical dancing masters. Oh the excellence of learning! What delight must it afford the fond parent, to see young master standing like the rafters of a house, and miss dancing in triangles, rhomboides, and trapeziums!

But to proceed. We will suppose the young student hath made some advances in the knowledge of the Latin language, according to the method proposed. The first observable consequence is, that he loses, or at least gains no ground in, a taste for the elegancies of his native tongue. His diction becomes stiff and aukward, and his handwriting intolerable. So that whilst he is studying the anatomy of a dead language, he remains a stranger to the beauties of the living.

It is probable that there are many amongst the ladies, whom I have now the honour to address, who have never studied grammar, or know any thing of its rules; and yet I venture to affirm, that a few lines, written by your fair hands, and dictated by gentle nature, shall convey more lively sensibilities, and shall find a shorter way to the heart, than a whole page—aye, or forty of them—composed by the most learned grammarian, with *Dilworth* on his right hand, and *Entick* on his left.

In the mean time, the assiduous youth reads *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, for the improvement of his morals; and learns from *Horace* to be chaste and temperate. *That* time which might be usefully employed in studying the histories of those nations with whom we are, or may be connected, is consumed in reading the delectable and lamentable story of *Æneas* and queen *Dido*. The one, a hero of so insignificant a cast, that all the laudable ingredients of his character may be comprised in the words *Pius Æneas*; and the other, to speak delicately, not the most shining example of female virtue and moderation. The one, a discourteous knight, and the other a furious enamorata.

It just occurs to me, that Dido's greatest misfortune was, that she lived in a barbarous age, when lawyers were not to be had for love or money. Had her famous amour happened in our day, she might have recovered at least, £.7,0 damages;* which, all things considered, would have been much better than cutting her throat upon a wood-pile—as desperate Dido did—This by the bye.

The young student is at length fitted for the higher classes of science. He learns mathematicks, geography, natural philosophy, logic, ethics, and metaphysics.

With respect to the three first, I would only say—That if they were divested of some scientific pedantry (I mean as they are taught in the schools), they are worthy the attention of a rational mind, inasmuch as they advance the knowledge of truth; for of all valuable things, *truth* is the most valuable.

But of all the systems of complicated nonsense, that ever puzzled the busy brains of mortal man, *logic* is surely the most insignificant. An art which no ingenuity can apply to any one useful purpose of life. Imagine to yourselves, gentle hearers, a society of *logicians*, whose conversation in the common occurrences of life should be conducted in *syllogistic* mode and form. The learned house-keeper goes to market, and

* This alludes to a circumstance of the time, something like the case of queen *Dido*.

endeavours to perſuade the butcher to lower the price of his mutton in *celarent*; the butcher enforces his demand in *barbara*. The logical lover alſo attacks his miſtreſs in *form*. He aſſures her, in *particular affirmatives*, that he is enamoured of her charms; and from theſe *premiſes*, draws an artful *concluſion*, that ſhe ought to encourage his paſſion, and return his love. The lady replies, in *univerſal negatives*. The gallant then plays off his whole battery in a compacted *ſorites*. The lady anſwers only in the *ſimple form*—a weakneſs is diſcovered in her *middle term*—ſhe is reduced to a *dilemma*, and ſurrenders at diſcretion.

In ſuch a proceſs, what is to become of Cupid and his darts! What is to become of the logic of the eyes, and a thouſand nameleſs expreſſions of the feeling of the heart, which nature alone can dictate! What is to become of them! Why they are entirely out of the queſtion. Syllogiſms—invincible ſyllogiſms, muſt ſupply their place. What is learning good for, unleſs it makes us wiſer than nature!

But I may be told that logic never was deſigned for ſuch purpoſes; and that its uſe is the diſcovery of truth, and the detection of error—Here I join iſſue—and am bold to aſſert, that from the days of Ariſtotle to the preſent moment, mankind are not indebted to *logic* for the diſcovery of any one uſeful truth, or the detection of any one dangerous error—and further—that no man ever was *convinced* by a ſyllogiſm—But I obſerve their reverences begin to frown—I ſhall, therefore, not urge this ſubject any further.

*Ethics* and *metaphyſics* bring up the rear of a learned education. It would tire your patience, my indulgent hearers, ſhould I enter upon a detail of all the whimſical abſurdities with which theſe ſciences abound. If a man ſhould conduct himſelf through life, according to the ſtrict rules of *ethics*, he would be juſt as ridiculous as the knight of *La Mancha*, governing himſelf in the moſt common occurrences by the ſolemn formalities of chivalry.

As to *metaphyſics*, it is a viſionary ſyſtem, wherein uncertain concluſions are drawn from uncertain premiſes, and in which the very terms uſed have no determinate meaning. The whole is an ingenious fabric built in air; having no real, known foundation, whereon to reſt: not unlike the Pagan creed, that the world ſtands upon the horns of a bull; the bull on the back of an elephant; the elephant on a great tortoiſe; and the great tortoiſe upon nothing.

It muſt be owned, however, that we are indebted to metaphyſics for ſome very curious and entertaining riddles: ſuch as—that *infinite* carried beyond *infinity* becomes *finite*—that one *infinity* may be twice as long as another *infinity*—that *ſoul* is not *matter*, and that *matter* is not *ſoul*; and in ſhort, that it is no matter whether there be any ſoul or not—Oh! the heights and the depths of learning!

——✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣✣——

MODERN CHIVALRY: *containing the* ADVENTURES *of* CAPTAIN JOHN FARRAGO, *and* TEAGUE O'REGAN, *his ſervant. Vol. II. By H. H. Brackenridge.* Philadelphia, 1792.—Price, half a dollar.

MR. B. purſuing the plan of his firſt volume*, continues, in this, his ſatires upon various deſcriptions of men. His remarks are occaſionally whimſical and ludicrous, but have ſeldom the appearance of ill nature. He ſeems to have been, for the moſt part, in a laughing humour, when he wrote; and we believe few perſons will peruſe the work, without alſo experiencing riſible emotions.

We are ſorry to obſerve, that the captain's travels are not very remarkable for variety. Some favourite ſcenes, which were exhibited in the firſt volume, are again brought forward, with little variation, in this. Peter Pindar is not more deſirous of ridiculing, again and again, kings and royal academicians, than our author appears diſpoſed to ſatirize popular elections, the American Philoſophical

* For an account of the firſt volume, ſee the Aſylum for February 1792, page 123.

Society, ignorance in the clergy, and Indian treaties, &c. Not ſatisfied with the ſtrictures upon theſe ſeveral ſubjects, in his firſt volume, he has again attacked them in this. Several new characters, however, are brought into view; and amidſt much light reading, new and valuable obſervations frequently occur. Mr. B. affects to write merely for the ſake of ſtyle, but no perſon, who has peruſed the work, can, for a moment, look upon this pretenſion in a ſerious light.

The *firſt book* contains remarks on popular elections; particularly on a diſpoſition, which is ſaid to be prevalent among the people, to raiſe low and ignorant characters to the higheſt public ſtations. This book alſo contains obſervations on the vanity and ſelf importance of the Engliſh nation, who are ſaid to undervalue all the world beſide.

The adventures of the captain and Teague at the houſe of an elderly lady, where they had put up for the night, occupy the *ſecond book*. As a ſpecimen of our author's deſcriptive talent, we ſhall extract his account of this lady's perſon.

She was a good looking woman, being about fifty-ſeven years of age, with gray hairs, but a green fillet on her left eye-brow, as it ſeems the eye on that ſide was ſubject to a defluction of rheum, which made it expedient to cover it. It could not be ſaid that her teeth were bad, becauſe ſhe had none. If ſhe wanted the roſe on her cheek, ſhe had it on her noſe, ſo that it all came to the ſame thing. Nothing could be ſaid againſt her chin, but it uſed her mouth ill in getting above it. She was not very tall, but what ſhe wanted in height, ſhe made up in breadth; ſo that multiplying one dimenſion by the other, ſhe might be conſidered as a very ſizeable woman.

This handſome perſonage became paſſionately enamoured of Teague, who felt an equal flame, (for ſhe was very wealthy) and they were to have been united in wedlock next morning; but the captain, unwilling to loſe his ſervant, found means to diſſuade him from the match.

The man (ſaid the captain) who ſurrenders himſelf to the arms of a ſuperannuated female, for the ſake of fortune, acts a part not leſs unworthy and diſgraceful, than the proſtitute who does the ſame for half a crown. While a man has the uſe of his limbs and arms, he ought to be above ſuch mercenary motives; and true happineſs can be found only in congruity, and what is natural.

The *third book* is an admirable ſatire upon thoſe ignorant preachers, who bellow forth to their ſtill more ignorant hearers, an incoherent and unintelligible jargon, which kind of rant paſſes frequently for good *practical* preaching.

The *fourth book* opens with ſome ſtrictures on city elections; in which wealth, particularly in the funds, is ſaid to be the candidates' chief recommendation.—The remaining part of this book is occupied by the truly pathetic ſtory of a lovely, but unfortunate female.

In the *fifth book*, a negro member of the philoſophical ſociety is introduced, delivering an annual oration to the ſociety, in which he endeavours to ſhow that the original complexion of the human ſpecies was black.—In order to reconcile the various theories on this ſubject, Mr. B. wittily conjectures, that Adam was a white man and Eve a black woman; and that ſome of their children took after the father, and others after the mother.—This book alſo contains obſervations on the doctrine of univerſal ſalvation; a curious ſpecimen of debates in congreſs; remarks on the decay of learning, particularly of the Greek language, in our ſeminaries of education; and a burleſque on Indian treaties.

The *sixth book* commences with an ironical defence of slavery, in which the cruelty and injustice of the traffic in human flesh are exhibited, in several striking points of view. One argument used in defence of negro slavery is, its being practised by the most devout persons of every religious persuasion, except the quaker; no other religious society having made it a term of communion, not to hold a slave. The plan of a *gradual* abolition is thus pointedly ridiculed.

In the phrenzy of the day, some weak minded powers, in Europe, begin to consider what is called the African trade as a moral wrong, and to provide for a *gradual* abolition of it. If they will abolish it, I approve of its being done gradually; because, numbers being embarked in this trade, it must ruin them, all at once to desist from it. On this principle, I have always thought it a defect in the criminal codes of most nations, not giving licence to the perpetrators of offences, to proceed, for a limited time, in larcenies, burglaries, &c. until they get their hands out of use to these pursuits, and in use to others. For it must be greatly inconvenient to thieves and cut-throats, who have engaged in this way of life, and spent time, and expended money, and run great risks in acquiring skill in their employment, to be obliged all at once, to withdraw their hands, and lay aside picking locks, and apply themselves to industry in other ways, for a livelihood.

We have next some strictures on the quibbles and technical formality, which too generally characterize the practitioners of law. We shall conclude this article with the following report of a law-case, which seems well calculated to ridicule the trivial distinctions and uncertainty of the law.

What came before the court was a motion in arrest of judgment. A Jonathan Mun had been indicted, and found guilty of "feloniously taking and carrying away water out of the well of Andrew Mab." It was moved in arrest of judgment, that larceny could not be committed of water in a well, it being real property; for it was a distinction of the common law, that larceny could not be committed of things real, or savouring of the reality, Black. 232. 2 Ray. 470. Hawkins, &c. So that taking away the soil was merely a *trespass*, and taking away the water could be no more.

It was answered, that water being *fluitans et mobilis*, could not be considered as real property; that an ejectment would not lie for water, but for so many acres of land covered with water, Yelv. 143. 1 Burr. 142. Because it was impossible to give execution of a thing which is always transient and running, Run. 36 quotes Cro. Jac. 150. Lev. 114. Sid. 151. Thence it is that in a grant of the soil it is necessary, as we see from old forms, to add the right of ways, woods, and water-courses, Lilly. Con. 132. and 179. Bridg. Con. 321. That whatever might be said of water in its natural bed on the soil, as water in a running stream; yet a well being dug by the labour of hands, the water thus acquired, must be counted as personal, not real property. Barbcray, Titius, and Locke. That at a well, the water, being drawn up by the bucket, and thus by one act separated from the freehold, and by another taken from the bucket, it becomes a subject of larceny; as in the law of corn, trees, or grass growing. For if these be severed at one time, and at another time taken way, it is larceny. Hawk. Pl. Cr. 93.

It was replied, that an ejectment would lie of water in a well; for here the water is fixed in a certain place, within the bounds and compass of the well; and is considered as part of the soil. Run. 37. That, *ex vi termini*, in the indictment, "out of the well," it must be considered as water *ex*, out of or from the well; that is, water severed by the very act of taking; for otherwise it would have been expressed, by "water out of the bucket" of Andrew Mab; not out of the well; and so the taking could not be larceny, but trespass; as in the case of a tree that is cut down at one time, and taken away at another; or apples growing on a tree, or shaken down and gathered from the soil; the first being a trespass, the second larceny. *Curia advisari vult.*

The captain whispering to lawyer Grab, enquired what difference it made in the punishment, whether it was larceny or trespass? He was answered, that in the one case it was hanging by the common law, and in the other to pay the value of the property. A very material difference indeed, said the Captain, to depend on so nice a distinction.

# THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## ADDRESS *to the* DEITY.

*By* CHARLES CRAWFORD, *Esq.*

O THOU, most worthy to be praised, adored!
Eternal, boundless, and almighty Lord!
Who the vast heav'n drew as a curtain forth,
Who took and upon nothing hung the earth;
While all the morning stars together sung,
And from thy sons loud Hallelujahs rung;
And said to the tumultuous ocean wide,
Here shalt thou come, here thy proud waves abide!
At thy rebuke which instant fled along,
Scared at the potent thunder of thy tongue.
At thy command the sun dispensed his ray,
Flamed in th' etherial vault, and gave the day;
In highest heaven who keep thy chief abode,
From ever, unto endless ever, God;
As with a garment cloathed around with light,
In dazzling Majesty severely bright;
The awful splendors of whose throne display,
To eyes of Seraphim resistless day.
Thou sendest rapid lightnings through the air,
They go, and say unto thee, Here we are!
Who can hold back thy all-commanding hand?
And who the thunder of thy force withstand?
Heaven's pillars tremble at thy stern reproof,
Waked and surprized at thy dread power aloof;
Thou overturn'st the mountains in thine ire;
Thou art a jealous God, and a consuming fire.
Clouds are thy chariot; and thy charioteer
A mighty Cherub, riding through the air.
Where can I go from thy all-searching eye?
And whither, whither, from thy spirit fly?
If I should take th' excursive wings of morn,
And to the sea's remotest bounds be borne,
There I should meet thy unconfined command,
Urged by thy power, and guided by thy hand.
If up to highest heaven I could ascend,
Or down to lowest hell my footsteps bend;
In highest heaven, or lowest hell, where-e'er
I bent my footsteps, I should find thee there.
No darkness is impervious to thy sight,
But shows me to thee like the broadest light.
Thy eyes run to and fro the earth to find,
And shelter him who bears a virtuous mind.
I'll cleanse my heart to win thee to abide,
As a gigantic champion at my side.
'Gainst vice with terror though thou art endued,
Yet thou art full of mercy to the good.
Can the meek mother, whom affection filled,
Be with relentless enmity instilled,
Against the little darling whom she bred,
Reared in her arms, and with her bosom fed?
Yes, the meek mother, whom affection filled,
Can be with ruthless enmity instilled,
Against the little darling whom she bred,
Reared in her arms, and with her bosom fed.
But thou wilt never thy own sons neglect,
But thou wilt never cease the righteous to protect.

O Lord, how various are thy works and great!
In wisdom were they all produced complete.
With riches hast thou filled th' extensive earth,
Which brings luxuriantly her blessings forth.
The sea, as well as the delightful land,
Declares the work of an Almighty hand.
There bulky vessels make their trackless way,
And there Leviathan is wont to play.
In all the glorious works which thou hast made,
Various and countless living creatures tread.
They call upon thee for their daily food,
Thy hand thou openest, they are filled with good.
While I have being I will speak thy praise,
In that my voice triumphantly I'll raise.

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## DESCRIPTION *of a* CHURCH.

*(By the late Francis Hopkinson, Esq.)*

AS late beneath the hallowed roof I trod,
Where saints in holy rapture seek their God;
Where heart-stung sinners, suing heaven for grace,
With tears repentant consecrate the place.
Oh! how my soul was struck with what I saw,
And shrunk within me in religious awe!

The massy walls, which seem'd to scorn the rage
Of battering tempest and of mouldering age;
In long perspective stretched, till breadth and height
Were almost lost in distance from the sight;
With monumental decorations hung,
They spoke mortality with silent tongue.
There, sorrowing seraphs heav'nward lift their eyes,
And little cherubs weep soft elegies.
I trod—and started at the mighty noise;
The hollow pavement lifted up its voice;
Responsive to the stroke, the walls around,
Through lengthened aisles, prolonged the solemn sound.

Far in the west, and noble to the sight,
The gilded *organ* rears its towering height:
And hark! methinks I from its bosom hear,
Soft issuing sounds that steal upon the ear
And float serenely on the liquid air.
Now by degrees more bold and broad they grow,
And riot loosely thro' the aisles below;
'Till the full organ lifts its utmost voice,
And my heart shudders at the powerful noise:
Like the last trump, one note is heard to sound
That all the massy pillars tremble round;
The firm fixt building shivers on its base,
And vast vibration fills th' astonished place:
The marble pavements seem to feel their doom,
And the bones rattle in each hollow tomb.

But now the blast harmonious dies away,
And tapers gently in a fine decay:
The melting sounds on higher pinions fly,
And seem to fall soft oozing from on high;
Like evening dew they gently spread around,
And shed the sweetness of heart-thrilling sound;
'Till grown too soft, too fine for mortal ear,
The dying strains dissolve in distant air.
Methought I heard a flight of angels rise,
Most sweetly chaunting as they gained the skies:
Methought I heard their lessening sound decay
And fade, and melt, and vanish quite away.

Hail, heaven-born music! by thy power we raise
Th' uplifted soul to acts of highest praise:
Oh! I would die with music melting round,
And float to bliss upon a sea of sound!

## DISAPPOINTED LOVE

*(By the same.)*

RECITATIVE.

HIGH raised in æther, from her silver throne,
The moon in melancholy mildness shone;
Nor voice, nor sound disturbed the midnight hour,
Save the sad southwind murm'ring in the bower;
When, sable clad, with slow and pensive mien,
*Narcissa*, lonely, passed the dusky green;
All wan with wasting grief, forsook her bed,
And sought the silent mansions of the dead.
Her bosom heaved with many a deep-drawn sigh,
And the big tear stood trembling in her eye;
Then from her lips thus broke the voice of woe—
Then planets listened, and the moon moved slow.

AIR.

Farewell to all that promised joy;
No flattering hopes my thoughts employ;
A wounded heart bleeds in my breast,
And death alone can give me rest.

And thou, lamented youth, farewell!
With thee the smiling prospect fell;
Sad o'er thy grave broods black despair,
For all my hopes lie buried there.

But now thy form moved in my sight,
I glowed with love and dear delight;
Thy bosom burned with equal fire,
With equal pangs of soft desire.

But now I deck'd me for thy bride;
Elate in youth and beauty's pride,
My throbbing heart beat quick alarms,
Whilst bliss approached in *Damon's* arms.

A voice soon strikes my startled ear,
Whose dismal accents yet I hear;
Forbear, fond maid, forbear it cries,
For *Damon*, thy loved *Damon*, dies.

All strength forsakes my tottering frame;
My tongue scarce utters Damon's name;
Prostrate I fall; my eye-balls roll,
And anguish rings my tortured soul.

Yet, yet, I hear the deep-toned bell,
With minute strokes tell out his knell;
My swelling heart grows big with grief,
And not one tear vouchsafes relief.

Oh! if beneath yon pale moon's sphere,
Thy lambent spirit floats in air,
Witness my sighs, hear me complain,
And pity my unequaled pain.

Whilst bitter grief, and pining woe,
And welcome death at last will show,
How hard their fate who ever prove
The pangs of *disappointed love*.

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## *To* DELIA.

WROTE ON A LEAF IN HER POCKET-BOOK.

*(By the same.)*

GO, little leaf, and to the fair,
The mistress of my heart,
My truth and constancy declare,
My ardent love impart.

But how shall thy small page contain
That which no bounds control?
Or how shall feeble words explain
The transports of the soul?

Go, tell her then that nothing less
Than a whole life of love,
Can all my joy in her express,
Can my fixed passion prove.

That nought but death can from my mind,
Her dear idea part,
And lovely *Delia* ne'er shall find
A rival in my heart.

Go, tell her all our peaceful years
In mutual bliss we'll spend;
And hope to meet beyond the spheres,
When this frail life shall end.

*May*, 1768.

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## EPIGRAM.

MORS JANUA VITÆ.

*DEATH is the gate of life*, they say;
The way to bliss, all sects agree:
Then, surely, none can grudge to pay
So small a toll—*the doctor's fee*.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October*, 1791.

(*Continued from page* 64.)

ON the 18th of November, the committee, appointed for that purpose, brought in "A bill, apportioning the representation of the people of the united states, according to the first enumeration;" agreeably to which, the ratio was to be that of one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants. The bill was taken up in committee of the whole; and on sundry motions for increasing the ratio to thirty-five, to thirty-four, and to thirty-three thousand, lengthy debates took place; which, however, were of nearly similar import with those which we have already given. We shall, however, state the substance of the debate on a motion of Mr. Macon, for increasing the ratio to thirty-*five* thousand.

Mr. *Dayton* said that he should be in favour of the amendment, not because it was a number the most agreeable to him, for he confessed that even this would produce a more numerous representation than he could have wished, but because a greater number would be less likely to meet the approbation of the committee. There was one point of view, Mr. Dayton observed, in which the subject had not yet been exhibited by any gentleman in the course of debate, but in which, on account of its magnitude and importance, it ought to be critically examined. The senate, he said, were considered as the representatives of the states, or of the state governments. The house of representatives were supposed to contain, under certain qualifications, a pure representation of the people: such was the apportionment of its members, with respect to the unequal districts or states into which this country was divided, as to give the three great states a very predominant influence upon that floor. They had only to combine their strength, and to associate almost any one of the other eleven states with them, in order to ensure success to any favourite project that they might have in view. He was aware, that it would be answered by gentlemen, that such a combination was not likely to take place between states so distant in point of situation, and differing in local interests and circumstances. He had been ever slow, he said, in the prediction of evil—but reasoning from the temper and disposition of man, and judging from past observation and experience, he would venture to pronounce, without any pretension to the spirit of prophecy, that the great states would thus combine their influence, whenever they should deem it for their advantage, and that the interests of the other states would of consequence become the sacrifice. Those states then that are thus exposed, of which number he considered at least two thirds of those which now formed the union, would find their only security and protection against the effects of such combination in the senate. Would it, he asked, be consistent with prudence or with safety, for those very states to assent to a measure directly tending to weaken, if not destroy that security? Even now, he said, the senate would have need of all its firmness in continuing to oppose any act, in the carrying of which the house should be determined to persevere. But what, he enquired, would be the consequence, when the increase so ardently wished for by many gentlemen should have taken place? Would the senate have fortitude enough, even where they thought they had just cause, steadfastly to counteract the will and determined purpose of a body consisting of two hundred members, boasting to derive their appointments from a purer, and from the purest source, calling themselves the representatives of the great body of the people, and professing to speak the sense of their constituents?

Let 30,000 be adopted as the ratio of representation, and he hesitated not, he said, to declare, that whenever the representatives should think proper to resolve any important point of dispute into a question of firmness between the two houses, the senate must yield to their superior weight, and shrink from the unequal contest. In the event of their defeat, in a single instance, the independence of that branch would be materially affected, and the legislative balance shaken in its centre.

These dangers, Mr. Dayton further observed, were by no means imaginary, but would too soon be realized, if the house continued to increase by fifties, in the manner they were beginning.

If the motion under consideration, for increasing the ratio, and lessening the number of representatives, should prove unsuccessful, their reliance, he said, would then be upon the senate. That body, he was sure, was too mindful of their own privileges and importance, to make a voluntary and deliberate surrender of their independence—they were too regardful of the interest of their constituents, to assent to an act giving an undue weight to that branch of the legislature in which the great states had such unreasonable influence. If, however, in this, his last reliance, he should be disappointed, and the bill be likely to pass both houses, he hoped the yeas and nays would be entered upon the journals, that it might be known hereafter, when the events he had predicted should have taken place, who it was that had thus given up the union to the control of three or four of its members; who were the men that had voted for the extraordinary increase of one branch, at the expense of the independence of the other, and thereby destroyed that equilibrium of the government, upon the preservation of which, the fairest hopes of its well-wishers were founded.

Mr. *Gerry*, in reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, said he was surprised to hear the remarks which he made, when he recollected his being a member of the convention; in which it must be remembered by that gentleman, that the larger states consented to placing the small states on a par with them in the senate, to obviate the difficulty which the smaller states objected against the large representations from the larger states. He said the independence of the senate was secured by the constitution—and he was not apprehensive that the increase proposed would overwhelm that branch of the government, or lessen their importance, or shake their firmness. The gentleman had talked of combinations in the larger states—but he presumed no facts could be produced to support such an apprehension.

The proposed increase in the representation was founded on the principles of justice and equity, it was strictly agreeable to the spirit and design of the constitution, which contemplated an increase, in some degree proportionate to the increased population of the states—he hoped, therefore, that the constitution would be fairly and honourably carried into effect.

Mr. *Boudinot* was not yet convinced, from all the arguments he had heard, that by increasing the number of representatives to 113, as proposed by the bill, the wants, wishes, and interests of their constituents, would be more fully embraced, than by adopting the amendment then under consideration. It had not yet been taken into the account, that a certain species of property in three or four of the states (slaves) would be represented in the next congress, if the bill passed, by at least 12 members, above the proportion of other states, whose property (though of superior value) was not entitled by the constitution to any representation at all. That he did not mean to find fault with the constitution in this respect, but to make it the rule of his conduct, although in the construction of it, he would not increase the evil, when two extremes were given, and the intermediate number was optional. He had said, and he rested on the constitution for the proof, that it contemplated one member for each state as the lowest, and the ratio of one for 30,000 persons as the highest numbers. That the convention in settling the house of representatives, without a precise knowledge of the amount of the citizens of the union, had done it in a certain proportion to the number of senators, which he had thought a good rule to go by, till the proposed amendment to the constitution was ratified by three-fourths of the states; but as gentlemen seemed to think that this would soon take place, he had consented to agree to the ratio of 34,000, which would give 100 members. This would accord with the spirit of the amendment to the constitution, and prevent the necessity of passing any other act when the amendment should be completed. He was therefore in favour of inserting *four* after *thirty*, or any ratio that would confine the number of representatives to 100, or under.

Mr. *Lawrance* remarked, in answer to Mr. Dayton's objections, that the states were disproportionate respecting territory, and consequently were so as to the number of people. That an equality would take place amongst the people of the several states by the ratio proposed, although more members would come from some states than from others. He mentioned that every member of the house of representatives

ſtood in relation to the people of America, and ought to conſult the intereſt of the whole, and not the particular intereſt of the ſtate in which he was elected. Should this general principle operate, and which, he ſuppoſed, ought to actuate each member, no danger was to be apprehended from a combination, as the general good was the object of conſideration. If this ſhould not be the prevailing principle, it might be the intereſt of the ſtates to have as great a number of repreſentatives as could be obtained; yet, he ſuppoſed, unleſs a diviſion of territory took place, the people in each ſtate would be entitled to be repreſented in proportion to the numbers in each; and the danger that it was ſuppoſed would exiſt, could not be readily remedied. He alſo obſerved, that he imagined the ſenate would not be ſubject to the influence ſuggeſted. The ſenate was an independent part of the legiſlature, and would decide all queſtions that came before them, as the judgments of the members ſhould dictate. So long as a reciprocal negative exiſted, as to the acts of either branch of the legiſlature, he hoped we ſhould find firmneſs in each to decide properly. The ſenate had frequently rejected the bills of the houſe, and had amended others—ſome very important ones: and the influence of the members of the houſe of repreſentatives did not operate on their deciſions. The objection to the propoſition, as not being agreeable to the amendment propoſed to the conſtitution, he obſerved, was not well founded. He explained his ideas reſpecting the nature of the amendment, and concluded that the proportion was conformable to it; and obſerved, that the nature of the amendment was contemplated, when the propoſition reſpecting the ratio was made.

Some amendments to the bill were reported to the houſe, by the committee, and agreed to; but every attempt to increaſe the ratio of repreſentation proved ineffectual. On motion that the bill ſhould paſs, it was, on the 23d of November, reſolved in the affirmative—*yeas* 43; *nays* 12. It was then tranſmitted to the ſenate for their concurrence.

The ſenate paſſed the bill with amendments; the principal of which was, that the ratio of repreſentation ſhould be, one repreſentative for *thirty-three* thouſand inhabitants. This amendment was the ſubject of a very lengthy debate, in the houſe of repreſentatives. On motion to agree to this amendment—

Mr. *Gerry* obſerved, that the bill had paſſed both the committee of the whole, and the houſe, by a large majority. The principle, as he was informed, on which the amendment had taken place in the ſenate, was to reduce the fractions which would reſult from the ratio propoſed by the houſe; but he ſaid this difficulty had been fully conſidered in the houſe. The repreſentation, every body knows, is now unequal; and it muſt be ſubmitted to for two years longer—and now it is propoſed, at that period, to deprive the people of that repreſentation to which they are entitled by the conſtitution!

He thought it was extraordinary, that, after the ratio propoſed in the bill had been agreed to by the houſe, by ſo large a majority, a propoſition to alter it ſhould have been agitated and carried in the ſenate. Till ſome better reaſon than he had heard aſſigned ſhould be offered, he ſhould be againſt concurring with the ſenate. He moved, therefore, that the houſe diſagree to the amendment of the ſenate. The motion was ſeconded by Mr White.

Mr. *Livermore* was in favour of agreeing to the amendment: he enlarged on the inequality in the repreſentation, from the great fractional numbers which would reſult from the ratio of 30,000. He was fully of opinion that the public buſineſs could be full as well tranſacted by 105 members, the number which would be produced by a ratio of 33,000, as by 112 or 113, the number ariſing from the ratio of 30,000.

Mr. *Benſon* ſaid there was one idea, which, if it had been conſidered in time, might have been adopted, and would perhaps have given very general ſatisfaction; and that was, that the repreſentatives of the united ſtates ſhould amount to a certain number, according to the whole number of the people, ſay one to 30,000: this would have given a ſurplus number, which might have been aſſigned to thoſe ſtates that have the largeſt fractional numbers. He had formerly, he ſaid, voted for 30,000; but, as the principle of equality was more particularly attended to in the amendment, he ſhould now vote for the ratio propoſed by the ſenate. He obſerved, that ſome ſtates were ſtationary; and the increaſed repreſentation of the larger ſtates, when once eſtabliſhed, never would be receded from—this ought to be taken into ſerious conſideration.

Mr. *Madiſon* obſerved, that the idea of diminiſhing the fractional parts appeared to be the only reaſon for the alteration propoſed by the ſenate. The aggregate of theſe fractions only had been taken into conſideration; but, if the fractions of any particular ſtates ſhould be augmented by the amendment, he conceived that the argument amounted to no good reaſon for agreeing to it—and this, he ſaid, would evidently be the caſe.

Mr. *Williamſon* was oppoſed to a concurrence. He obſerved, in general, that the operation of the amendment was to diminiſh the fractions to the eaſtward, and increaſe thoſe to the ſouthward. The ſouthern ſtates, he ſaid, had ſuffered ſo much under the harrow of ſpeculation, that he hoped no meaſures would be adopted to leſſen the means of information, to the people of thoſe ſtates, by denying them that proportion in the repreſentation to which they were entitled. He regretted that ſome of the ſouthern ſtates were not fully repreſented at this time in the ſenate—he thought it probable, that a different deciſion, in that caſe, would have taken place.

Mr. *White* obſerved, that the amendment would operate generally againſt the larger ſtates.

Mr. *Sedgwick* differed from thoſe oppoſed to the amendment; in his ſtatements reſpecting the fractional parts to be produced by 33,000. He ſaid they were fewer on the whole than would reſult from any other number between 30 and 40 thouſand, and thoſe numbers both included; and this, he ſaid, figures would demonſtrate. Hence he deduced a greater degree of equality, and relative juſtice between the ſeveral parts of the union. He diſclaimed all local motives, and ſuggeſted the propriety of gentlemen forbearing any imputations of that kind, as totally alien from the ſubject.

Mr. *Boudinot* defended the amendment, and obſerved that the ſenate were in the legal exerciſe of their office when they paſſed it, and had moſt undoubtedly a right ſo to do.

He read ſeveral calculations, to ſhew that the aggregate of the fractions would be reduced upwards of 90 thouſand, by a ratio of 33 thouſand, and that the fractions in every ſtate, except one, would be diminiſhed alſo by it.

Mr. *Findley* ſaid he had expected to hear ſomething new on the ſubject, to induce an alteration in the opinion of the houſe, but had heard nothing. Fractions, ſaid he, were fully conſidered before, both in the houſe and in the committee. This he conſidered as one of the leſſer matters pertaining to the ſubject. He ſaid the beſt way would have been to have ſettled the ratio, without knowing the numbers of the people in the ſeveral ſtates; though that could not be done, as the numbers were known; yet, he ſaid, he had made it the rule of his conduct in voting. The principle being eſtabliſhed, there would be no room for combinations, nor any ground for complaints and reproaches, reſpecting either ſouthern or northern intereſts. He was for adhering to the principle, as that contemplated in the conſtitution—and this he conceived the houſe had done, and he hoped they would not depart from it; and as to fractions, in competition with that principle, he conſidered them of very little conſequence. He did not deny but a ſmaller number of repreſentatives would be competent to doing the public buſineſs; but diſpatch of public buſineſs, and a republican repreſentation of the people, he conceived were diſtinct things. He, therefore, ſhould have been in favour of a larger repreſentation.

He controverted the right of the ſenate to decide for the houſe, in regard to this queſtion. It was not, he ſaid, a queſtion of right and privilege. It appertained principally to the repreſentative body.

He then conſidered the queſtion, as it reſpected the ſenate; and, he thought, that a large repreſentation was neceſſary, as a barrier to the influence of that body. Nor do I, ſaid he, think this an unreaſonable jealouſy, when the conſtitution of human nature is conſidered. The conſtitution of the united ſtates is expreſs on the ſubject; and now is the time when the people ought to enjoy the advantages of the repreſentation of one to thirty thouſand.

Another conſideration to induce a large repreſentation, he deduced from the accumulation of money capitals in the united ſtates, which, ſaid he, have been increaſed beyond all parallel. The influence of theſe capitals will find its way into the houſe. He hoped no alteration would be made in the determination of the majority of the members.

Mr. *Goodhue* ſaid, the difference between the reſult of the two ratios was ſo ſmall, that he did not conceive it would conſtitute a ſufficient reaſon for diſagreeing to the amendment; he ſtated that the difference between the ſouthern and northern ſtates, on the ratio of 30,000, was beyond all reaſon in favour of the ſouthern ſtates; whereas the difference on that of 33,000 was very ſmall indeed, in favour of the northern ſtates, which evidently demonſtrated that the principle of equality was involved in agreeing to the amendment of the ſenate.

Mr. *Hillhouſe* ſtated various particulars to ſhew the inequality of the repreſentation by 30,000, particularly as it reſpects the ſmaller ſtates. He ſaid he rejoiced that the ſenate had given their opinion on the ſubject; they had a right to do it; they are, ſaid he, the repreſentatives of the people; and, on this queſtion, are probably more impartial judges than this houſe.

Mr. *Gerry* ſtill ſupported his motion for a diſagreement. He ſtated a caſe to ſhew, that, in the ordinary courſe of population, a ſtate at the next enumeration, which now contains 330,000, will then have a much larger fraction, by a ratio of 33,000, than any now contemplated.

He ſuppoſed the ſenate had a different intereſt in this buſineſs from that of the houſe. The larger ſtates not being repreſented in the ſenate, and the repreſentation of thoſe ſtates which are ſtationary, or nearly ſo, being full, is the reaſon of this propoſed amendment.

Mr. *Williamſon* ſtill contended, that the deduction from the bill was two members from the eaſtern, and four from the ſouthern ſtates, which plainly ſhewed that the amendment was in favour of the eaſtern ſtates; and added, that if the ſouthern ſtates had been repreſented in the ſenate, the bill would not have been ſent back.

Mr. *Niles* ſuggeſted an amendment to the amendment of the ſenate, which was to ſtrike out *one* after the word Delaware, and to inſert *two*. This, he obſerved, he was inſtrumental to move, from the conſideration of the manifeſt inequality of the repreſentation of that ſtate, compared with that of other ſtates, particularly Virginia. He had no doubt, from the juſtice of the houſe, that if the amendment he propoſed was not directly contrary to the conſtitution, it would be agreed to. He then adverted to the conſtitution, and read the paſſage reſpecting repreſentation and taxation, which are to be apportioned according to numbers. He obſerved, that there were evidently wanting to complete the ſentence, theſe words, *as nearly as may be*. With this explanation added, he went on to ſhew, that the principle of equality would be more ſtrictly adhered to, by admitting his amendment, than by rejecting it: for if Delaware contains 58,000 inhabitants, 28,000 were certainly nearer to 33,000 than 33,000 were to 58,000. He recited other paſſages of the conſtitution, to ſhew that his idea was compatible with it.

Mr. *Benſon* again ſuggeſted his propoſition, of apportioning the repreſentation according to the whole population. He was in favour of a large repreſentation. The principle advanced by the gentleman from Pennſylvania (Mr. Findley) he ſaid, was undoubtedly juſt, that a large repreſentation was neceſſary in a free government, for information and ſecurity: this principle was not to be diſputed. And with reſpect to the danger from corruption, he ſaid, undoubtedly patronage and influence would creep in; but he conceived that danger of a more ſerious nature was to be apprehended from another quarter. Gentlemen had mentioned the funding ſyſtem. In queſtions of that kind, where one part of the union thought themſelves the only ſufferers, the liberties of this country would be but a ſecondary conſideration. For in a republican government the majority muſt rule, and the minority muſt ſubmit, except they are oppreſſed, and then they have an undoubted right to reſiſt.

Mr. *Giles* defended the bill. He obſerved that the apparent inequality in the repreſentation of the ſmaller ſtates, was rendered equal by their repreſentation in the ſenate. He enlarged on the idea of adhering to the amendment propoſed to the conſtitution. The inequality ſpoken of, he ſaid, was in fact in favour of ſmaller ſtates. He adverted to the reſtive ſpirit in ſome of the ſtates. Some of the meaſures of congreſs, he ſaid, were ſo diſliked, that the people in thoſe ſtates wiſhed themſelves ſeparated from the government. The people of the ſtate from which he came, were ſo impreſſed with the idea of the ratio being ſettled agreeably to the bill, that he really feared, the diſcontents of the people there would be increaſed to an alarming degree, ſhould the amendment of the ſenate be agreed to.

The motion for agreeing to the amendment was negatived—*yeas* 29; *nays* 31. The senate refused to recede from this amendment; and the house to concur therein: —so the bill was lost.

On a motion made in the house of representatives, that they should recede from their disagreement to the amendment proposed by the senate, the debate was renewed, and the tendency of the amendment fully investigated.

Mr. *Ames* said, the amendment proposed by the senate, though a single proposition, involved two questions, which it would be proper, on this occasion, to discuss distinctly.

Is the bill wrong, as the house passed it? and is the proposed amendment of the senate fit and proper?

The original bill gives the ratio of one member to 30,000 persons, and proceeds to state the number of representatives which the respective states shall have in the next congress. If in this distribution of members, it shall appear that we have not pursued the constitution, the bill is a bad one, and it is our duty to concur with the senate, at least in striking out the exceptionable part.

The constitution directs that representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers. The whole number of representatives being first fixed, they shall be apportioned to any state according to its census. The rule of three will shew what part of the representation any state shall have. The wisdom and caution of the constitution have left very little to congress in this affair. Though congress is to apportion the members, the rule of apportionment is fixed; the number of representatives will be 112. These are to be apportioned to each state according to its numbers. What part of the 112 members will Virginia have according to its people? The answer is easily found. Virginia, having 630,000 persons (which is her federal number, after deducting two fifths for the slaves according to the constitution) is entitled to 29 members? The bill gives her 21. Is that right? Who will say that the words or meaning of the constitution are pursued? Are the representatives, then, apportioned or disproportioned?

We may believe the result of figures. The sum is short and easy to reckon. Let us not then persist in a measure which palpably violates the constitution. The argument might stop here; but, to shew how other states will be wronged by the bill, it may be well to proceed. If the constitution had been silent, as we are men, common sense would have told us, and as we are freemen, we should have learned from our habits of acting, that an unequal representation is wrong. But the constitution is not silent, and yet the bill gives Virginia 21 members.

The states of Vermont, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, and Delaware, have 766,428 persons, and they will have by the bill, only 21 members. With upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand persons more than Virginia, they will have no more members than that single state.

Thus Virginia has by the bill two members more than her due number compared with the whole union, and not less than four as it respects the six states before mentioned.

From this view of the operation of the bill, I draw this conclusion, which I presume is anticipated, that the proposed distribution of representatives is neither just and equal in itself, nor warranted by the constitution.

If further evidence of this injustice should be demanded, it can be furnished. Representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned by the same rule; and there is a manifest propriety in the rule. In the distribution of benefits and burdens, the constitution has wisely excluded this means and temptation to partiality.

It is an additional security to our property that those who hold the power are made to feel it when they exercise it; and that exactly in the degree that they hold it; taxes are to be apportioned according to the numbers in the respective states. It would not be allowed by the constitution to use one rule for apportioning taxes and another for the members. If two things are to be compared with a third and made equal to it, it follows that they must be equal to each other. Let us suppose this bill to have become a law; and for the more plainly shewing its tendency, let us suppose Virginia to have 630,000 persons, her true number, and 21 members, and the 13 states to have, as Delaware actually has, 59,000 persons each, and one member to each state; in the whole 1,397,000 persons. Let us suppose a tax to be laid equal

to a dollar for each person in the 14 states, that is, a tax of 1,397,000 dollars. Virginia, in point of justice, and by the constitution, should pay only according to her numbers, or 630,000 dollars; yet she would pay 21 parts in 34, or 1,007,000 dollars, being 377,000 more than her proportion. Whether with 21 members in 34, this wrong would be imposed or submitted to, is not my question. This may be called an extreme case; yet, in fact, Delaware, New-Jersey, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, on a tax equal to a dollar a head, would avoid more than 150,000 dollars of their just proportion; the justice and the constitutionality of such an apportionment of taxes are upon an equal footing.

Extraordinary as this statement may seem, it is not easy to shew an authority in congress to apportion a tax on any other principle. It would not do to deprive a state of its proportion of members, and yet to saddle it with taxes, according to numbers: The departure from the rule of the constitution in the case of representatives, would be rendered both more flagrant and more galling, by an adherence to it in the imposition of taxes. Such a comment upon this law would silence its advocates; such an execution of it would disfranchise the sufferers.

But this is not the country, and I trust this is not the government to do a violence of this sort; therefore, no tax would be laid. And yet, unless a new census should be taken, or a new law, at least, for apportioning representatives, should be passed, congress might be found destitute of one of its constitutional faculties.

The gentlemen who vote for this law have been importuned to defend it; anxious as we are under the fear of seeing the constitution and our primary civil rights violated, we have listened to hear reasons which would shew some respect for the one and the other. It is needless to decide whether men's passions will be soothed or their understandings convinced by an argument of this kind, that, as the small states are equally with the large ones represented in the senate, the advantage which the bill will secure to Virginia in the representative branch is fit and proper, and that it was so intended by the constitution. Is one in equality, if it really existed, to be balanced by another? Because the constitution has secured to each state an equal vote in the senate, are we at liberty to make a new constitution as often as we make a representation law, to counterpoise it; and under a form of government contrived to secure equal liberty, and to fix right above opinion, are the measure and the nature of this retribution to the great states to depend on our arbitrary discretion? This answer is perhaps more serious than the argument. Let it be refuted by itself.

Because the great states suffer wrong in the constitutional compact, will this bill do them right? Is Massachusetts or North-Carolina benefited by giving Virginia two extra members? By this bill the great states are injured as well as the small ones. The small ones are injured as it respects each other. Delaware will have one member; Rhode-Island two; yet the latter has only nine thousand more people than the former. But the doctrine tears up the foundation of compact on which we stand, and under the appearance of vindicating the bill from a charge of violating the constitution, establishes a claim to violate it at pleasure.

It has been said that the representatives are to be apportioned among the several states; that congress is not to regard the number of the whole nation: it is not easy to see how the bill can be defended on any principle of distribution among the states. The representatives are to be apportioned according to numbers. The number of members alloted to a state must correspond either with the number of persons in any other state, or the number in all the states; compare Virginia with either of the six states beforementioned, or with the whole six; it appears that 130,000 persons in the latter will go unrepresented; compare Virginia with the nation, she has two members more than her proportion. Why then is it so zealously contended that the apportionment is not to be made upon the entire number of the union, but upon the census of each state? The bill is as naked of defence on the one comparison as the other. It departs as widely from the principles of its advocates as from those of its adversaries.

It is indeed intimated, that you are to take the ratio of 30,000, and to apply it to each state, without regarding its operation. To justify this interpretation, the text of the constitution ought to read, *each state shall have as many members as the ratio of 30,000 applied to the number of persons will give it*: But that instrument is very differently expressed, and much better; *representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers.* Will any gentleman who

votes for the bill say that it is such an apportionment? Will it accord with the constitution to take, instead of such an apportionment, an arbitrary ratio, which, instead of apportioning, disproportions representatives to numbers? The ratio mentioned in the constitution, and in the proposed amendment to it, evidently relates to the whole number of representatives, which according to it may be had from the whole nation, and not from the number of people in a state; any other sense, besides being unnatural, would disagree with the clause which directs how representatives shall be apportioned.

By the ratio of one to 30,000 may be known the greatest number of representatives which shall form this branch of the government. Having determined the number, it remains to apportion the members according to the census in the respective states. Nothing is more natural, or corresponds more perfectly with the constitution, than to find first the whole number of representatives, and then to apportion them as the constitution directs. But this method would not suit the present emergency; for that would give Virginia 19 members, and no more. Instead of beginning with the whole number, the bill says, let us begin at the other end; give Virginia her 21 first, and, if the number should hold out, give to all the states at that rate. It seems on trial the number will not hold out to apportion in that manner, still, however, says the bill, give Virginia her 21.

Let the constitution become what the bill makes it, a dead letter. Still, however, men, and freemen, will remain, who will preserve the departed spirit; for, before the constitution was formed our rights were equal; and can it be believed that compact has made them less? Men, equal in rights, assented to a government which preserves them equal in power: 30,000 citizens residing where they may, must possess civil rights and powers equal to 30,000 in any other part of the union; yet, though a compact, which ought to be inviolable, has ordained that representation, that is to say, power, shall be apportioned according to numbers, this bill, contradicting the language of nature and compact, directs, that 30,000 in Virginia shall have as much power as near 60,000 in Delaware and several other states.

It would ill suit the seriousness of my present emotions, to say how little the supposed expediency of a numerous assembly, and many other favourite topics, have to do with the debate; constitutional questions are so frequent they have almost lost their power to impress us. But this touches the first organization of the body politick; it goes to stifle liberty in her cradle; it establishes the power of a part over the whole; it is a disfranchisement of some of the states. If the rights of Virginia were invaded, I trust I should be equally zealous to maintain them. For the common right is the common security; but this bill tears the title deed in pieces.

Having compared the bill with the constitution, and seen the result of the comparison, it remains to enquire what amendment will be proper and constitutional. In this part of the enquiry, I will not pretend to say that I have arrived at equal certainty. I have no doubt that the bill is bad, but I am not equally satisfied of the best mode of amending it.

To determine what is right, some principle must be ascertained. That first principle is equality; it is another name for justice: That which is the right of the people, therefore, is the duty of the government. But as it is not practicable to apportion representatives exactly among the several states according to their numbers, it is our duty to approach as nearly to that equality as may be. If an apportionment is proposed, and it can be shewn that a more equal one can be made, it becomes our duty so to make it. For if we have an arbitrary discretion to reject the most equal apportionment, and to adopt a less equal, what is to restrain us from chusing the least equal of all, that is to say, having no apportionment at all. If this principle is not to govern us, then we are to act without any rule at all, and the constitution was made in vain. We cannot have more representatives than one to 30,000; but in apportioning them, let us follow the constitution, and do it according to numbers; and when we stop, as we must, short of a perfect equality, it will be the constitution that restrains us. In doing this, we shall assume no arbitrary control over the equal and sacred rights of the people. We shall have done all that we can to give them energy. It has appeared on discussion, that the rule of 30,000, proposed by the bill, is so far from being the most equal, that no more capricious and unjust disproportionment of representatives has yet been suggested. The ratio of 33,000, though not free from exception, is less unequal, and leaves less unrepresented fractions.

Having made ſome further obſervations, he concluded by exhibiting a table, the object of which was, to prove that the amendment would ſecure a greater equality of repreſentation, than the bill, in its original ſtate.

Mr. *Dayton* ſaid, that if the vote which was about to be taken, were merely to determine what ſhould be the ratio of repreſentation, he ſhould have been contented to remain in his ſeat, and give a ſilent vote upon the occaſion; but to him it appeared to involve in it a queſtion and a principle of infinitely higher moment.

Two of the members from Virginia, Mr. Dayton obſerved, had candidly admitted the inequalities complained of in the apportionment preſcribed by the bill ſent up to the ſenate, and had acknowledged the advantages to be given to their ſtate over every other: they did not, he ſaid, contradict the calculations, nor combat the arguments which had been offered againſt it, but they boldly claimed and exacted thoſe advantages as a right. This being the caſe, the queſtion was in reality no longer, whether 30 or 33,000 ſhould be the rule of apportionment, but whether the legiſlature of the union were in future to frame their acts with a view to the particular and almoſt excluſive advantage of Virginia, and to bend and accommodate their laws to the intereſts and will of the people or repreſentatives of that ſtate.

It was now alſo to be determined, Mr. Dayton further obſerved, whether Pennſylvania was hereafter deſtined to hold in her hands, as ſhe had been in ſome meaſure uſed to do, the political balance of the ſtates, to be the umpire in our diſputes, and the centre of our union. Judging, he ſaid, from the votes upon record, relating to this buſineſs, and from ſome other circumſtances, ſhe was no longer intended or qualified to hold that important ſtation. The ancient prophecy, he ſaid, ſeemed to be verifying among a people for whom he had never conſidered it as intended. The ſaviour of this country, the political Shiloh, was now among us, and univerſally known and acknowledged, and the ſceptre was about to depart from Judah. Theſe, he added, were the well known preparatives to the ſummons which was ſoon to follow, for their aſſembling at the New-Jeruſalem. He concluded, with ſaying, that not Pennſylvania alone, but far the greateſt part of the union would have reaſon to repent the determination againſt the amendment of the ſenate, and the adherence to the original bill. He, for his own part, believed that ſuch a determination not only ſtruck at the exiſtence of the ſtate ſovereignties, but reached to the very vitals of the general government, and that it muſt eventually produce either a general conſolidation of the union into one national maſs, or an abſolute ſeparation of its members.

Mr. *Venable* ſuppoſed that a Virginian was poſſeſſed of equal rights with other men; if this be a government of compact, he has equal rights with other men; but is it a reaſon, that becauſe Virginia has relinquiſhed a part of her rights when this compact was forming, that ſhe ſhould not now hold what ſhe has not reſigned? The diſpute on the ratio of repreſentation does not affect Virginia; for whatever ratio may be adopted, her repreſentation muſt always be complete: whether this be a conſolidated or federal government, Virginia will have her full proportion in every caſe except one, that is, in caſe ſhe ſhould be reduced to a leſs number than one member; ſo that, upon whatever grounds we take it, whether fractional or conſtitutional, the reſult will be nearly the ſame. Calculations therefore, are out of the queſtion, and after all the arguments of northern and ſouthern intereſts, of the differences between ſmall ſtates and large ſtates, the compariſon is brought to Virginia and Delaware, and the queſtion is to ſtrike off ſeven members from the five large ſtates, and add to the ſeven ſmaller ones. Thus is one ſixteenth of the whole repreſentation of the union to be deducted unconſtitutionally from one part and given away to another, which has already more than a juſt proportion in the government: for although it is contended, that we ſhould not argue from the proportion the ſmall ſtates bear in the ſenate, yet, I hold it fair, in ſpeaking of a government of repreſentation, to take the whole into view, and not be governed by ſuch partial compariſons. Under this conſideration, I ſay, that every man in Virginia, as repreſented in the two branches of the legiſlature, is to a man in Delaware only as *one* to *eleven and one half*, and in the election of a preſident only as *one* to *one and an half*. This is an advantage enjoyed by individuals in the ſmaller ſtates more than by thoſe in the larger, and this advantage would be ſtill increaſed by an adoption of the amendment of the ſenate: is it, therefore, juſt to increaſe this inequality? Is it fair that a man living in the neighbourhood of another, with only the boundary line of a ſtate between them, ſhould be repreſented only in the proportion of *one* to *eleven and an half*?

I contend that the principle which comes the nearest to hold out equal rights to every man, is the most proper one, and one that I will always contend for, as a citizen of the united states, and as a citizen of Virginia. I shall never wish to encroach upon the constitution, but I will be equally against destroying the balance between the rights which the people have delegated, and those they have retained.

Take the subject in any point of view, the five large states will send, suppose 81 members, to the house of representatives, and 10 to the senate, whilst the nine smaller states will have 31 members in this house, and 18 in the senate; so that the majority of the representation in the one is overpowered in the other, and taking the whole aggregate of the inhabitants of the united states, if divided into the majority contained in those five large states, and the minority in the nine smaller ones, it appears that the minority of the people can dictate to the majority in elections, &c.

Government is formed by an association of the people upon principles of equality, and whilst we admit the argument of sovereignty retained to the states in the senate, let us not lose sight of justice, right, and equity. He concluded, by declaring himself of the same opinion as formerly, in favour of the bill; and as there were no reasons offered by the senate, or for them, that could induce him to change, consequently he could not recede from his opinion.

Mr. *Madison*, after making a few prefatory observations, said he felt himself impelled to take some notice of the arguments that had been used this day, on the subject before the house: he would not, however, attempt any reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, nor pretend to follow him in his flights of imagination respecting the New-Jerusalem or the umpirage of Pennsylvania, but leave it to those to whom such observations might have been addressed to draw their own conclusions. He was sorry that it almost always happened, whenever any question of general policy and advantage to the union was before the house, and gentlemen found themselves at a loss for general arguments, they commonly resorted to local views; and at all times, as well as the present, when there was most occasion for members to act with the utmost coolness, when their judgments ought to be the least biassed, it was to be regretted, that at those times they suffered their feelings, passions, and prejudices to govern their reason. Thus it is, that the most important points are embarrassed, the northern and southern interests are held up, every local circumstance comes into view, and every idea of liberality and candour is banished.

The gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Lawrance,) when he introduced this subject at the commencement of the present session, did it on the most generous plan, and disavowed every principle of calculation so much, that he then declared he had not so much as made a single calculation of the different fractions which have since been introduced into the debate. His only object was to fix a rule on general principles, agreeably to the constitution, and to the preservation of the rights of the people; and this idea was approved by two of the gentlemen from New-Jersey, who have since altered their opinions, although they then had no objections, but as to the existence of the idea of fractions, was not then contended for, but has since become the very essence of the opposition: and we are called on to violate the constitution, by adopting a measure that will give representatives for those separate and distinct fractions in the respective states; and afterwards are told it is not to the fractional numbers in the states that they refer, but to the aggregate of the fractions in the united states. If this reasoning is good, why do the gentlemen stop at this boundary of a representation by states? why not proceed to erect the whole of the united states into one district, without any division, in order to prevent the inequality they conceive to exist in respect to individual states?

He would not encroach upon the time of the house by protracting the debate, which had already swelled to an immoderate extent. Upon the whole, he said, this was a great question, wherein attention should be paid to the people, and a strict eye kept towards the public good, divested of prejudice; but he had heard, with pain, how much had been said to divert the house, by an attention to fractions, from the true object of general welfare. Yet, he hoped, that the government would be equally administered; that none of those predictions or threats, thrown out in the course of the debate, that no mutilation of the union, would take place; but, on the contrary, that harmony would guide the decision of this question, free from every local consideration.

Mr. *Hillhouse.* It has often been said this government is a government of confidence, and taking this for granted, can it ever be supposed that a plan of representation, which is unequal and unjust, can excite this confidence? This ratio of 30,000, throws an additional weight of seven representatives into the scale of the large states. If this principle can be established on this occasion, it may be also extended to taxation. Northern and southern interests had been mentioned? He was sorry the idea had ever been suggested; but as it had, there was no impropriety in adverting to it. Let a line then be drawn at any given place, and a ratio established which will do equal justice to the members on both sides of that line; a representation that will deviate from such a principle, it cannot be expected, will give satisfaction, or be cheerfully submitted to by the people. The ratio of 33,000, figures will shew it, will give a more equal representation than that of 30,000. There had not, and, in his opinion, could not, be any good reason assigned why it should not be adopted.

Mr. *Boudinot* said he was pleased when gentlemen were desirous of appealing to candid and fair argument, in determining important questions. In the present case, he thought there was a propriety in examining the principles of the bill and amendment, by the terms of the constitution. It had been said by gentlemen, that the ratio, when adopted, must be applied to the number of citizens in the individual states, and that no regard was to be paid to the fractions occasioned thereby, because not regarded by the constitution. This, he thought, was by no means conclusive. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; these members not to exceed the proportion of one to 30,000. It appeared to him that the whole number of representatives, to be chosen by the people of the union, was the subject contemplated by the constitution, as constituting this branch of the legislature; while by another part of the constitution, it becomes the duty of congress, *to apportion* them when so ascertained, among the several states, in proportion to their respective numbers. As an instance, suppose for argument's sake, the aggregate number of the citizens of the united states to be exactly three millions, by applying the ratio of 30,000, the constitutional number of this house would be found 100; congress should then proceed to *apportion* (for he could apply no other meaning to the word) the 100 members among the states, as their respective numbers bore a proportion to the whole number of three millions. Thus the representatives from every state would bear an exact proportion to each other, according to the number of inhabitants in the state; and the whole representation would stand on principles of perfect equality. An equal representation appears to have been the desirable object of the framers of the constitution. It is the very spirit of our government. He insisted that this was the only mode of applying the ratio, and making the apportionment that would hold good at all times, and under all circumstances. It cannot be said with propriety, that the constitution does not proceed on principles of perfect equality in this house, yet if the ratio will be applied to the numbers in the individual states, it will always produce (as has been fully shewn by several gentlemen) very great inequality, by large fractions being unavoidable. In one state we now find one upwards of 29,000. He acknowledged the amendment did not proceed on this principle any more than the bill, for which reason he fully approved of neither, but as the ratio of 33,000 in the amendment produced a much greater equality, and came in effect nearer to his principle, (by reducing the fractions made by the bill nearly two thirds) he should prefer it, as he must vote for the one or the other.

It had been said that they were making distinctions between the north and the south—between the large and small states. He observed, in answer, that if gentlemen would introduce principles of inequality, that bore unconstitutionally hard on individual states, they ought not to take it amiss, that the suffering states would complain of the injustice. The injured must complain, and the fault, if any, lies with the first framers of the principle.

If gentlemen wished for equality, let them adhere to the principles of the constitution. Apply the ratio to the whole number of citizens, by which you find the number of representatives to constitute this house, and then apportion those representatives among the individual states, according to their respective numbers.

When gentlemen advert to the senate, and say that the equal representation of the small states there should be taken into the account, they do not consider the relative situation of the states as represented in that house. There the sovereignty of each

ſtate is repreſented, and not the individual citizen. Sovereignty is perfectly equal in every ſtate. As ſovereigns there are none great or ſmall, and if his information had been right, it was on that principle that the ſenate was originally conſtituted, but that houſe was a repreſentative of every individual citizen. On the whole, he was of opinion, that by agreeing to the amendment of the ſenate, they would ſecure the great principles of equality better than by the bill.

Mr. Boudinot thought the conſtruction he had given the conſtitution was a true one. It ſupported the ſpirit of the confederation between the ſtates, which was on the footing of perfect equality in proportion to numbers. It coincided with the ſpirit of our government, which was equality; and, although by it, the number of members conſtituting the houſe was firſt aſcertained from the whole people aggregately conſidered, without reſpect to the diviſion of ſtates, in their political capacity, yet by the after *apportionment* among the reſpective ſtates in that capacity, the wiſdom of the conſtitution appeared, in thus providing a general government for general purpoſes, and at the ſame time making each individual ſtate, as a ſtate, eſſential to the exiſtence of that government, thereby preventing, in the moſt effectual manner, an unneceſſary entire conſolidation of the union. Mr. B. ſaid he had originally objected to the bill, on account of a too numerous and expenſive repreſentation, as well as of an unequal one, but chiefly relied on the laſt, as being unconſtitutional, and therefore ſhould ſtill prefer a concurrence with the ſenate.

Mr. *Gerry* obſerved, that it had been faſhionable to ſpeak of the ratio of 30,000 as a federal number; he did not know what name to give to the amendment of the ſenate, unleſs it were called the fractional number. He then took notice of an argument which had been uſed to create ſuſpicion, that there was danger to be apprehended from a combination of the larger ſtates; but this would appear a weak argument, when it was conſidered that the power and influence of the ſmaller ſtates are equal, in the ſenate, to thoſe of the greater ſtates. The thing is impoſſible, and if attempted, could not ſucceed.

He wiſhed to know whether it was the opinion of gentlemen, that there was leſs judgment and leſs firmneſs in the houſe of repreſentatives than in the ſenate? He hoped an equipoiſe would be preſerved in the two branches, and that the balance would not be deſtroyed by conſtantly giving up the judgment of the houſe to every whim of the ſenate. If a latitude be now admitted, that we may increaſe the ratio before the expiration of the firſt ten years, the gentlemen in favour of the ſenate's amendment may inſiſt on a ratio of 50 or 60,000; but this is ground they know they cannot yet touch upon; and the ſame reaſon that ſhould prevent us from adopting this extreme, operates againſt the amendment. The whole expenſe of congreſs, from adopting the ratio in the bill, will not amount to two cents upon each citizen of the united ſtates annually, and as population increaſes it will be leſſened. Surely, the gentlemen in favour of the amendment cannot object to this trifling expenſe. They ſpeak of a liberal policy; I wiſh they would ſhew us an example, by agreeing to the bill with a better grace than they ſeem to have exhibited hitherto.

Mr. *Murray*. The ſubject has gone through a very ample diſcuſſion. When the queſtion of repreſentation firſt came on, the theory of the government was ably reſorted to by thoſe who urged a large repreſentation. Sir, I moſt heartily agreed in the principle, on which a large majority of this houſe made 30,000 the ratio. As I ſtill am of that opinion, I ſhall be indulged by this houſe, while I give my reaſons for adhering, with a firmneſs which may be deemed by ſome tenaciouſneſs, to a rejection of the amendment of the ſenate.

I voted for 30,000, becauſe I ſaw in that ratio the conſtitutional wiſhes and expectations of the people. I deemed the largeſt poſſible ratio allowed by the conſtitution to be the ſource of national government, and its beſt ſecurity. Nothing, ſir, which I have yet heard, has convinced me to the contrary. It is unneceſſary to recapitulate whatever has been ſaid on this point. I muſt remark, however, that during the diſcuſſion, the members of this houſe, who ſuggeſted that principle, appeared to me to be convinced. They ſeemed to be maſters of their own opinions, and to agree in this idea, without adverting to the doctrine of fractions, that the ſole queſtion was a point of theory rather than a meaſure of expedience; and they decided, by a large majority, that in this houſe, immediately warm from the very boſom of the people, the ratio of 30,000 was theoretically correct and practically uſeful. The bill was ſent up to the ſenate, who returned it with an amendment of 33,000 as the ratio. I

voted againſt that amendment, becauſe it was an attack upon the principle of an enlarged repreſentation; and becauſe the idea of fractional repreſentation aimed at by the amendment, was but a commutation of the evil of fractions from one ſtate to another, from the eaſtern to the ſouthern; and contained a ſurrender of the principle, without an attainment of convenience.

Sir, it has been in the courſe of debate foretold, that that honourable body would be averſe to an enlarged repreſentation here. Whatever has been argued, has been verified by experience; nor can any man be at a loſs to ſee that the temper againſt large repreſentation, though not openly avowed, for that would have been impolitic, has been covertly and ſucceſsfully exerted, under the ſemblance of *equality* of repreſentation, by this doctrine of fractions. It was ſent down into this houſe in the form of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, and it has produced its effects. It has roufed the latent and local intereſts from their plans, and we have had debates entirely conſtructed on the tenets of northern and ſouthern intereſts and influence.

A propoſition was made by a member from New-York, Mr. Benſon, and reiterated by the gentleman from Delaware. The object of this propoſition was to ſum up the fractions, and from the aggregate take ſeven members. Sir, if I was ſurpriſed, I confeſs I was delighted to ſee men who had a few days before oppoſed in theory the idea of a large repreſentation, come down with moderation, and ſuggeſt this great principle, even in a bad form. I imagined they were converted. I voted againſt this propoſition, becauſe I thought it, firſt, unconſtitutional, inaſmuch as it could have been contemplated but in the conſolidation of ſtates; and becauſe I thought it contained a ſoleciſm in politics. I deemed it unconſtitutional, as the conſtitution calls for a repreſentation of the people of the *reſpective* STATES in a ratio of 30,000; and if this had been obtained, it was to be done by collecting the fragments of conſtituents from ſtates widely ſeparate, and giving a repreſentation of their fractions thus divided to that ſtate which had the largeſt fraction. Thus, ſir, the two from Delaware would be choſen by leſs than the conſtitution contemplates, as there are not 60,000; and it is in vain to ſay, that the member choſen by 25,000 is elected by the addition of 5,000 in any other ſtate, in order to complete his proper number of conſtituents, for they do not *elect* him: and if it be ſaid that he nevertheleſs does repreſent them as his conſtituents, it can only be by the idea of a conſolidation having pre-exiſted, which no man has yet openly averred to be the doctrine on this ſubject. The very firſt and moſt intelligible principle of repreſentation in government is, that the repreſentative is reſponſible to his conſtituents; but, ſir, this, though an abſtract truth, muſt be ſhewn to the people not in a fiction, but in a ſolid and practical mode, congenial with their habits, and palpable to their underſtandings.

In the adoption of this extraordinary propoſition, the idea of *virtual* repreſentation is the only one which at all protects it. No man, however, who knows the country, will tamper and trifle with ſo ſolid a part of government, as that of actual repreſentation and actual reſponſibility. I never, ſir, could conſent to commute a known and practical meaſure of good, for a flimſy ſpeculation, which could only have been invented to ſerve particular views, and was never thought of till it was diſcovered in what manner the fractions would affect particular ſtates.

For theſe reaſons, ſir, I voted againſt that propoſition. I ſhall now vote againſt the amendment of the ſenate, becauſe I find no cure, but a partial one, for the inconvenience of fractions; and even this is to be obtained at the expenſe of principle. Though this amendment may gratify ſome ſtates, as New-Jerſey, that may have large fractions, it throws off the evil from them on other ſtates. The fraction of Maſſachuſetts may be ſmaller, but the ſtate of Maryland loſes a member, and will have a large fraction. Sir, I can find nothing in this amendment, but the deſign to accompliſh what I humbly conceive an unwholeſome end by improper means, and ſhall therefore vote againſt the propoſed amendment.

Mr. *Findley*, From the various obſervations which had been made on the ſubject, ſaid it had become neceſſary that a vote ſhould be given with due deliberation—ſuch a vote as conſtitutional juſtice ſhould require: for as to general juſtice, it was entirely out of the queſtion; and indeed, he ſaid, that general juſtice could not be done, on the principles of any government under heaven. He adverted to the particular ſituation of the reſpective ſtates, and ſaid, that this general juſtice was not attainable in any one of them. We are not to be moved by any threats; we act on principle, and we will entrench ourſelves in principle; and this principle of conſtitutional

equality is all that we can pretend to. But it is objected that the ratio will produce fractions—and to get rid of this difficulty of fractions, we are to reduce the representation of the people from the constitutional number of one to every 30,000; that is, we are to strike off one sixteenth part of the whole representation of the union. He urged, that the representation on the ratio of 30,000 would not be too great. He instanced the representation of Geneva, and other foreign states. If there should arise any inconvenience from the present ratio of 30,000, government were not obliged to wait for the expiration of ten years to remedy the defect; it was always in the power of congress to order another census to be taken at any time. For his own part, he had not considered fractions as an obstacle to the bill; on the contrary, he was rejoiced that the population of the country increased so rapidly, as to make those fractions always quickly increase to an whole number. To conclude, he was for going on general principles, which would certainly reflect the most honour on the proceedings of the legislature.

Mr. *W. Smith* said he had hitherto voted uniformly in favour of a smaller representation than that which was contemplated in the bill, and in doing so he had acted from principle, without any reference to the doctrine of fractions. As the enumeration of his state was not yet known, it must be evident to every gentleman in the house that this was the case; but he now saw the necessity of changing his vote, since the bill had been returned from the senate, where it seemed there was a disposition to modify every bill, and every proceeding of this house, just as they pleased. He thought it would have a very awkward appearance to the world, if the house should give way in all cases whatever, and more especially in the present instance, where the senate had been equally divided, and the question was decided by the vote of a single member of that body, the vice-president. For these reasons, and the locality and fractions that had been introduced into the debate, he would vote for an adherence to the former decision of the house, in order to support that balance which should be preserved between the two branches of the legislature.

Mr. *Sedgwick* said, that it was impossible for him to understand on what principle the gentleman from South-Carolina, and his colleague, were to give their votes, contrary to their former expressed opinion, excepting that they had discovered that the senate concurred with them, which would not, he hoped, be generally considered as a good ground for changing; as it seemed to be embracing contradiction for the purpose of contradiction; or unless, as the gentleman had declared, that, at the time he formed his opinion, he did it on principle, by the abandonment of which, he could acquire an undue weight to the district of country from which he came, by departing from a just equality in representation.

Gentlemen had seemed to wish to obscure the merits of the present controversy, by considering it as a contest between the larger and smaller states, and by supposing that the latter would be compensated for their loss of weight and influence in this house, which would result from an unequal apportionment of the representation, by the undue influence which they possessed in the senate. He himself came from a very large and important state. Justice, however, obliged him to declare that this mode of conducting the argument, only tended to divert the judgment from the true merits of the question. What had the distribution of the powers of the government, which, by the constitution, was adjusted to the interests and sovereignty of the states, to do with the apportionment of representation, as it respected either its numbers or the various interests which were to be secured by equality of influence? Was it possible that any mind should be so weak as not to discover that the constitutional organization of the senate was wholly irrelative to those considerations, which should influence in the decision of the present question?

In contemplating the subject before the house, he observed, that a vast variety of circumstances were entitled to deliberate consideration. Among others, the number of representatives compared with the number of inhabitants of the united states. In determining which, the nature and objects of the government we were administering, its machinery, the distribution of its parts, the construction of the other branch of the legislature, and many other objects, were to be considered. That we had not on any of these subjects the aid of experience, and that the government itself was a novel experiment. He need not therefore add, that there were no data from which any certain conclusion could be drawn. All was uncertainty and conjecture. Was an apportionment of a ratio of 30,000 eligible? As an abstract proposition, he was disposed to

give it a preference to any other. But if he was asked wherefore, he could only answer, that it was rather an inclination of sentiment, than the result of rational reflection. He would not therefore, because justice would not permit it, sacrifice to the effect of conjecture, which might be only the result of whim, the important and indispensable duty he owed to respect the claims of states to equality.

If an apportionment was made by a ratio of 30,000, the members would be seven more than if the amendment of the senate were adopted. Whichever proposition was agreed to, would any one venture to affirm that the liberties of the people would be more or less secure, the house aggregately more or less wise, or the due balance between the two houses better or worse adjusted? Considering thus the subject, does not the earnestness with which gentlemen contend for the proposition of the house, appear perfectly unaccountable? But in the progress of this business, it is discovered that an application of the principle of the house, gives a balance of weight and influence to one part of the united states, to which it is not entitled by the equal apportionment contemplated by the constitution. This is agreed by all, it is demonstrated by figures. Nor can it be denied that equality is among the most essential principles of representation, and expressly provided for by the constitution, as far as would consist with the state of our society, having a due regard to our particular circumstances. Yet all-important as this consideration is, it is to be sacrificed, with all the interests involved in it, to a fanciful idea of theory; of theory unsanctioned by experience.

For his own part, he believed that wise policy would be found perfectly to coincide with, and reconcile the various interests of this extensive country. It could not, however, have escaped the observation of every gentleman, that there existed an opinion of opposition of interests between the northern and southern states. The influence of this opinion had been felt in the discussion of every important question which had come under the consideration of the legislature. The extreme anxiety of gentlemen on the present occasion, would render all other evidence superfluous on this subject. Such a belief, he said, however ill-founded, would, as long as it continued, have the same effect as if it existed in fact. Feeling the weight of this observation, and the influence it ought to have to give to every part of the united states as nearly as might be, a due proportion of constitutional weight in the public councils, he was incapable of reconciling the conduct of members who were disposed to sacrifice the most important interests of their immediate constituents, to their strange ideas of conjectural perfection. It seemed to him that the gentlemen who came from the north, and on this occasion dissented from their neighbours, were disposed blindly to surrender all the important interests of their immediate constituents, to the arbitration of those, the whole course of whose conduct had demonstrated that they thought those interests adverse to their own.

He concluded, by warning those who had hitherto composed a majority on this subject, to reflect on the danger that would result from a pertinacious adherence to a measure so productive of the sources of jealousy. And he called on their generosity, magnanimity and justice, to respect the claims of the minority to an equal weight in the government, on the principles of the constitution.

Mr. *Gerry* made some reply to Mr. Sedgwick, respecting locality of interests, and declared that he would never agree to a reduction of the people's representation.

Mr. *Lawrance* said he had always advocated a large representation, without any reference to the part of the union from which the members were to come. 30,000 would give the largest number we could get. He could have wished it had been larger; but as it could not, he should vote against 33,000, which would diminish the number. And this was the principle he acted upon. If an equality is the object, is there not a number which will produce a still greater equality than that proposed by the senate? If there is, there is no principle in the ratio of 33,000; for it ought to be carried to the full extent, to make it perfectly equal. He was sorry that the discussion of the question had excited those disagreeable reflections which had been made, and that the discussion of general principles was dwindled into a debate on fractions, and on the interests of northern and southern parts of the union. He was persuaded this would not be the proper mode of obtaining the end, which ought to be in view, but would only tend to disturb the tranquility and harmony that ought to exist in investigating and determining this subject.

Mr. *Kittera* having firſt voted for 30,000, he thought it proper to offer a few reaſons for altering his opinion. He had voted for 30,000, becauſe it would give the largeſt repreſentation; but finding its unjuſt and unequal operation, in reſpect to a majority of the ſtates, he had determined to vote for the ratio of 33,000. He then noticed the remark of Mr. Findley, that the injuſtice might be corrected, by an enumeration at an earlier period than that propoſed in the conſtitution. He obſerved, that this was in effect ſaying, let us do injuſtice, and wait a number of years, and then juſtice ſhall be done. Why not do juſtice now, as far as in our power? Mr. Lawrance had ſaid, why not adopt a ratio that would leave leſs fractions than 33,000? He ſaid this was in effect ſaying, that becauſe we could not do complete juſtice, we ſhould not do it to any degree whatever. The ſuperior degree of equality which would reſult from the amendment of the ſenate, had been ſo fully demonſtrated, that he ſhould now vote to recede from the diſagreement of the houſe to it.

The motion to recede was negatived, as has already been mentioned.

The bill being thus loſt, it became neceſſary to take up the buſineſs *de novo*. A new bill was accordingly reported to the houſe of repreſentatives, on the 7th of February, by a committee which had been appointed for that purpoſe. This bill, in addition to the apportionment of repreſentatives among the ſeveral ſtates, according to the firſt enumeration, made proviſion for another enumeration, and an apportionment of repreſentatives thereon, to compoſe the houſe of repreſentatives after the 3d of March 1797.—An amendment was propoſed by Mr. Benſon, to eſtabliſh the number of members at one for every thirty thouſand perſons, in the aggregate of the popolation of the united ſtates; and to apportion theſe in ſuch manner, that the additional members ſhould be aſſigned to thoſe ſtates which had the largeſt fractions. This gave riſe to a long debate; in which many of the arguments which had been previouſly uſed, in the diſcuſſion of the repreſentation bill, were repeated. That clauſe in the conſtitution, which reſpects the apportionment of repreſentatives and of direct taxes, was quoted, both by the advocates and the oppoſers, of Mr. Benſon's propoſed amendment, as authority for their oppoſite principles. The motion for amending, however, was finally negatived—Yeas, 24; nays, 33.

The bill having paſſed the houſe was ſent to the ſenate, who paſſed it with ſundry amendments.—The principal of theſe were, that the number of repreſentatives ſhould be increaſed to 120; that additional members ſhould be aſſigned to thoſe ſtates which had the largeſt fractions, on the apportionment of one repreſentative to every thirty thouſand perſons, and that the ſection which provided for a ſecond enumeration ſhould be expunged. After a tedious debate, the queſtion was put for agreeing to the amendment which propoſed an increaſe of the members to 120, and negatived—Yeas, 30; nays, 31.

The other amendments were alſo diſagreed to, by the houſe. A conference, on the ſubject of thoſe amendments, was held by managers on behalf of each houſe; but theſe ſeparated, without being able to bring about an accommodation.—The ſenate continuing to inſiſt upon their amendments, the ſubject was reconſidered in the houſe of repreſentatives; and a motion, for receding from their diſagreement to all the ſaid amendments was carried—Yeas, 31; nays, 29.

Thoſe who voted in the affirmative, were, Fiſher Ames, Egbert Benſon, Elias Boudinot, Sbearjaſhub Bourne, Benjamin Bourne, Abraham Clarke, Thomas Fitzſimons, Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, James Gordon, Thomas Hartley, Iſrael Jacobs, Aaron Kitchell, John W. Kittera, John Laurance, Amaſa Learned, Samuel Livermore, Frederick Auguſtus Muhlenberg, Nathaniel Niles, Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, Theodore Sedgwick, Jeremiah Smith, Iſrael Smith, John Steele, Peter Silveſter, George Thatcher, Thomas Tredwel, John Vining, Jeremiah Wadſworth, and Artemas Ward.

Thoſe who voted in the negative, were, John Baptiſt Aſhe, Abraham Baldwin, Robert Barnwell, John Brown, William Findley, William B. Giles, Andrew Gregg, William Barry Grove, Daniel Heiſter, James Hillhouſe, Daniel Huger, Philip Key, Richard Bland Lee, Nathaniel Macon, James Madiſon, John Francis Mercer, Andrew Moore, John Page, Joſiah Parker, Joſhua Seney, William Smith, Samuel Sterrett, Jonathan Sturges, Thomas Sumpter, Thomas Tuder Tucker, Abraham Venable, Alexander White, Hugh Williamſon, and Francis Willis.

The bill thus paſſed was as follows—

*An* ACT *for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States, according to the first Enumeration.*

*BE it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the united states of America in congress assembled,* That from and after the third day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, the house of representatives shall be composed of one hundred and twenty members, elected in the several states according to the following apportionment; that is to say: Within the state of New-Hampshire, five; within the state of Massachusetts, sixteen; within the state of Vermont, three; within the state of Rhode-Island, two; within the state of Connecticut, eight; within the state of New-York, eleven; within the state of New-Jersey, six; within the state of Pennsylvania, fourteen; within the state of Delaware, two; within the state of Maryland, nine; within the state of Virginia, twenty-one; within the state of Kentucky, two; within the state of North-Carolina, twelve; within the state of South-Carolina, seven; and within the state of Georgia, two.

On the 26th of March, this bill was presented to the president of the united states, for his approbation; and, on the 5th of April, he returned it, with the following objections, to the house of representatives, in which it originated:

*United States, April 5th,* 1792.

*Gentlemen of the house of Representatives,*

I HAVE maturely considered the act passed by the two houses, intituled, "An act for an apportionment of representatives among the several states, according to the first enumeration;" and I return it to your house, wherein it originated, with the following objections.

*First.* The constitution has prescribed, that representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers: and there is no one proportion or divisor, which, applied to the respective numbers of the states, will yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill.

*Second.* The constitution has also provided, that the number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction is, by the context, and by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the states: And the bill has allotted to eight of the states more than one for every thirty thousand.

G. WASHINGTON.

This was the first instance of a bill's being returned with the president's objections. It must afford pleasure to our fellow-citizens to see this precedent established, and to reflect that we have a chief magistrate sufficiently firm and independent, to exercise the powers vested in him by the constitution, in opposition to a majority in both houses of the legislature, when their measures appear to him to be either unconstitutional, or injurious to the public.

The bill was reconsidered, and the question for passing the same was negatived—Yeas, 28; nays, 33. So that it fell to the ground; the constitution having made the votes of two thirds of both houses necessary to pass a bill returned with objections by the president.

On the 9th of April, a new bill was reported to the house, for apportioning representatives among the respective states, according to the first enumeration. A motion to fix the ratio at *thirty-three* thousand was carried——*Yeas*, 34; *nays*, 30.

YEAS, Messrs. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Hartley, Heister, Hillhouse, Huger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Livermore, Niles, Sedgwick, J. Smith, I. Smith, W. Smith, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

NAYS. Messrs. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Griffin, Grove, Key, Lawrence, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Seney, Sheredine, Steele, Sterett, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

The ratio being thus fixed, the bill, without further amendment, was enacted into a law.

*(To be continued.)*

# The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *Auguſt* 1.

A VERMONT paper, printed at Windſor, in that ſtate relates, that "the wife of Mr. Aſhbel Webb, of the town of Bradford was, on the 12th of July, delivered of a child the moſt ſingular and extraordinary of any, perhaps, ever known in this part of the world. It had two diſtinct heads, four arms, one body, and four legs. The child was ſtill-born, and the mother is in a favourable ſituation as to her health."

The Rev. Samſon Occum, a noted Indian preacher at Stockbridge, near Oneida in the ſtate of New-York, died on or about the 14th of July in the woods, while ſearching for timber, in company with a friend. He had been previouſly ill, but was tempted to make this excurſion upon a ſuppoſition that he was getting better. He was buried on the 15th. His funeral ſermon was preached by the Indian miſſionary, Kirkland, from Matt. 24, verſe 44. Upwards of three hundred Indians, from different tribes, attended his funeral.

*Auguſt* 4. In conſequence of notice given in the newſpapers, and the adjournment that took place on the Mondy evening before, a number of citizens aſſembled in the ſtate-houſe yard on Tueſday the 31ſt ult. at 3 P. M on the ſubject of appointing conferrees, &c. At half after three, an attempt was made to proceed to buſineſs, and Mr. M'Kean and Mr. Powel both named for chairman. After a noiſy conteſt of *Yes* and *No*, thoſe two gentlemen declined ſerving on the preſent occaſion. Other names were brought forward, and among them Meſſrs. Morris and Barclay. Mr. Wilſon endeavoured to decide which name commanded a majority, and a diviſion for this purpoſe was three times effected; but the meeting was ſo numerous that it was found impoſſible to determine which was the largeſt maſs, or to decide the queſtion by enumeration.—A laſt endeavour was made by the friends to conferrees to place Mr. Morris in the chair; ſome confuſion enſued, and the meeting was diſſolved in a tumultuous and unbecoming manner.

A few days ago the powder-mill at Springfield, in Maſſachuſetts, was blown up, by which unfortunate accident, Mr. Kennedy, the only workman then in the mill, loſt his life.

At the late commencement at the univerſity of Cambridge, in Maſſachuſetts, thirty two gentlemen were admitted to the degree of maſter of arts; three to the degree of bachelor of phyſic; five to doctor of laws; ſix doctors of divinity; and ſix to the degree of doctor of phyſic. Previouſly to theſe, thirty-ſeven were admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts.

On the 4th of July, the anniverſary of American Independence was celebrated at Dartmouth college, in New-Hampſhire. In the forenoon there were various exhibitions by the ſtudents, in public ſpeaking, muſic, &c. all which were highly applauded. In the afternoon the exerciſes were of a military kind, with a mock-battle, and other manœuvres.

A few days ſince, arrived in this river from Hamburgh, the brig Catharine, with upwards of one hundred and thirty paſſengers. They are intended to form a ſettlement in the Geneſee country, and are to be joined by upwards of 500 more of their countrymen in a ſhort time.

On the 24th of July ult. came into Boſton harbour in diſtreſs, a large raſt-ſhip, that had been built at Kennebeck ſome time before, for the purpoſe of carrying timber to London. She is ſaid to be built entirely of timber, in one ſolid maſs, without plank or ſheathing, and has upwards of one thouſand tons on board. Although caulked between the timbers, it ſeems ſhe did not prove ſufficiently tight for ſea, and therefore put back for a refit.

On Sunday (July 22) the following melancholy accident happened at the camp near Alexandria, in Virginia. Serjeant Keech, of capt. Hannah's company, going through the manual exerciſe with a corporal, the latter had chanced to take up a muſket, which, for a particular purpoſe, had been left loaded. When they came to the fatal words—"Preſent---Fire"---the corporal did ſo, and lodged the contents in the ſerjeant's body, which inſtantly put a period to his exiſtence!

Capt Anderſon, in the brig Sally, arrived on Thurſday, in 15 days from St Euſtatius, brings accounts, that, on Saturday the 14th ult. a gale of wind happened at the windward iſlands, that was ſomewhat alarming. It blew from S. to S. S. E and continued about 8 hours with violence. That at St. Euſtatius moſt of the veſſels put to ſea, ſeveral loſt their anchors, and had not returned on Tueſday the 17th.—At Old Road, St. Kitts, a large ſhip, being unable to put ſea, was driven on ſhore, having on board 500 hhds. of ſugar, which with the ſhip, was entirely loſt.—At Guadaloupe and Martinico they had not heard of any damage, but ſuppoſe, at Baſſeterre and St. Pierre they muſt have been much expoſed.—He alſo relates, that at theſe iſlands there are great apprehenſions of a hurricane theſe months—that the ſages among them obſerve, with concern, the ſymptoms that almoſt conſtantly prevail previous to thoſe calamitous phenomena.

On Wedneſday arrived here the ſhip Pennſylvania, capt. Harding, from Havre de Grace, which place he left the 6th of June American produce at that time was low, and there were pleaſing accounts of plentiful crops all over France.

On Thurſday morning was witneſſed a very melancholy event at Mr. Henry Kizer's powder-mill, in lower Merion-townſhip, Montgomery county, between the hours of nine and ten. There was a large quantity of power in the mill, which by accident took fire, and blew up with a great exploſion, which was heard at Schuylkill ferry, and was there ſuppoſed to be an earthquake. Mr. Kizer and three others, who were in the mill, were blown to pieces; and Mr. Henry Fraily, a copartner of Mr. Kizer, was ſo wounded that his life is deſpaired of. A young woman, who happened to be near the mill at the time it blew up, had both her legs broken, and was otherwiſe very much injured, by one of the rafters, which was carried from the building by the violence of the exploſion.

The Pittſburg gazette of July 28, ſays, "The Cornplanter has got home from the council at Buffaloe-creek, and informs that it was determined in that council that a number of chiefs of the ſix nations ſhould go on an embaſſy to the hoſtile Indians, to perſuade them to peace with the united ſtates.—Capt. Brady had been out a thirty days tour into the Indian country, but could not approach the Sanduſki town nearer than five miles, as he was diſcovered and followed a conſiderable diſtance by parties of the hoſtile Indians. From this it appears, that Sanduſki has not been deſerted, as reported ſome time ſince."

*Auguſt* 8. A new ſyſtem of military regulations for his army has been publiſhed by M. Fayette---ſeveral of the articles are ſevere. Whoever within reach of the army breaks ſilence is to be put in irons for ſix years---marauding is to be ſeverely puniſhed, alſo harſh treatment of priſoners. Death is the puniſhment of any ſoldier who cries out, *we are cut off*, *we are betrayed*, or any thing ſimilar. No man in command is to be queſtioned for acts of ſeverity which are neceſſary in an engagment. Officers are ſubject to double puniſhment for any fault they neglect to repreſs, or any act of diſobedience to which they give way. The camp of M. de la Fayette, it is ſaid, favours very little of the priſtine *delicateſſe* of the French armies---every officer being obliged to follow the example of the general, by being night and day in the camp.

*Auguſt* 11. By a perſon from Fort-Waſhington, arrived at Pittſburg, information was received that Col. Hardin, Major Trueman and two others were killed by the Indians, a ſhort diſtance from Fort-Jefferſon, on their way to the Indian towns, to invite them to a treaty.

Mr. Paine being informed that the Britiſh miniſtry intend to bring a proſecution againſt him, in a letter to the "Society for conſtitutional information," obſerves, a nation (as well the poor as the rich) has a right to know what any works are which are made the ſubject of proſecution. The getting out a cheap edition is, I conceive, ſays he, rendered more neceſſary---and he is accordingly proceeding with the work.---

The ſociety took into conſideration the contents of ſaid letter---and voted their thanks to Mr. Paine, for his diſintereſted patriotiſm---the ſociety paſſed ſundry reſolutions expreſſive of their determination to ſupport the author of the Rights of Man ---and to perſevere in the proſecution of the work for which they aſſociated.

There appear ſeveral intimations in foreign papers, that the combination againſt France will be conſiderably weakened by a great part of the ſtrength of the Pruſſian army being diverted towards Poland, to counter-act the pretenſions of the empreſs of Ruſſia to re-eſtabliſh the old form of government in that country. It ſeems certain however, that part of the Pruſſian army has marched with that of Auſtria, againſt

France. "They will amount together, to near 140,000 men, who are to move in five diviſions. From the length of their march it was deemed impoſſible for them to begin the campaign effectually till towards the end of July."---The ſame papers mention the Pruſſian and Ruſſian ambaſſadors at Paris being on the eve of their departure.

The military policy of General Fayete ſeems in every reſpect to be copied from the conduct of the American FABIUS at the beginning of the war with Great-Britain. By ſkirmiſhes with the enemy on the frontiers he will teach his ſoldiers the abſolute neceſſity of diſcipline, and will give them the *habitude* of war, without venturing a deciſive action with troops, who have been taught from their infancy to look upon themſelves as mere machines, and are as abſolutely ſuch, in the military line, as the cannon and mortars that attend them.

In England there appears to be a conteſt between the court party and the people, whether a reform in their government, ſhall or ſhall not take place. The immenſe influence of the crown, tho' unable ſo far to blind the people as to make a union with the continental powers againſt France a popular meaſure, yet it is feared, can ſo far operate upon certain ſprings, as in a great degree to defeat the purpoſes of the reforming ſocieties throughout the kingdom.

Two brigantines are on their way from Old Spain to South-America; their object is ſaid to be a complete ſurvey of the whole extenſive coaſt of South-America, more particularly thoſe parts ſubject to the juriſdiction of Spain.

The ſtrict enforcement of the decree of the national aſſembly, confirming the mulattoes of the iſlands in their privileges, ſeems to be the only practicable method of reſtoring peace and good order to thoſe iſlands. By the lateſt information the adoption and enforcing of the decree in Hiſpaniola has nearly deſtroyed the confederacy between the mulattoes and the inſurgent negroes. In Martinico it has produced the happieſt effects, and as ſoon as it arrived the free men of colour gave themſelves up to the colonial aſſembly, and ſwore to remain inviolably attached.

The American funds had fluctuated in a very uncommon degree in London, within the laſt ſix months. Thoſe who ſpeculated in them in the firſt inſtance had made immenſe ſums, and ſo high was the public opinion in their favour, that the 6 per cents were run up to 150; this fictitious value, however, did not laſt long, and the ſudden fall is ſaid to have been one cauſe of the failures in New-York.

*Auguſt* 15. Reports from the weſtward ſay, that the Indians were aſſembled to the number of four or five thouſand, about the middle of July, at or near the Miamee towns. It is added, that they appear inclined for war, and mean to ſtrike ſome important blow towards or during autumn.

Patriotic collections are making in moſt of the towns through England and Ireland to aſſiſt the French in their war againſt the combination of tyrants.

At a meeting of the preſident and managers of the Schuylkill and Suſquehannah navigation, Auguſt 13th, 1792---It was reſolved, That the work of the canal be immediately commenced on the Crown Level.

*Extract of a letter from Bermuda, July 28.*

"The ſhip Sovereign, capt. Welch, which arrived at Barbadoes the 13th inſt. from London, on her paſſage out ſpoke the Lord Camden Eaſt-Indiaman, bound home with government diſpatches from Lord Cornwallis, containing the particulars of the taking Seringapatam, after a ſevere conflict, but that Tippoo eſcaped. After the capture Tippo entered into treaty with the combined powers in the moſt humiliating manner, in which he gave up half his kingdom, was to pay three millions ſterling in money, one half of which was to be immediately paid down in camp, and the other half in twelve months; his two eldeſt ſons were given as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty." ☞ *The above intelligence has ſince been confirmed.*

*Auguſt* 16. Accounts are received in London from the new colony of blacks at Sierra Leona, dated March 26; they are proceeding with the utmoſt diligence in clearing the land, and building houſes—ſome have been ſick, and ſome have died—Mr. Clarkſon, the ſuperintendent, had been ſick, but was recovering.—The climate is deſcribed as being more ſalubrious than had been expected. The united conſent of all the neighbouring chiefs has been obtained to eſtabliſh the ſettlement—and the diſpoſitions of King Naimbanna have appeared throughout to be extremely friendly. A warrant has received the ſignature of the king of Great-Britain for a grant of

£13,592, for the tranſporta tion of blacks from Nova-Scotia to the above ſettlement.

*Auguſt* 18. A ſoldier, by the name of Henry Hamilton, was condemned for mutiny, in attempting to take the life of enſign Devin, by ſticking him with a bayonet in the breaſt. He was carried to the gallows and every preparation made for his execution, when a reprieve arrived fro m the commander in chief.

An agricultural ſociety was inc orporated in Maſſachuſetts in March laſt; this ſociety is now organized, its officers choſen, and committees appointed in various parts of the ſtates to ſolicit ſubſcriptions, to promote the purpoſes of the inſtitution. There is no country in the world in which there is a greater field for agricultural improvement than America. In ſeveral of the ſtates agricultural ſocieties are eſtabliſhed. A mutual intercourſe and communications of obſervations, experiments, and diſcoveries, will be highly conducive to the promoting of this one of the firſt of all human concerns.

It is the moſt generally received opinion, that Ruſſia would have joined in the cauſe of the princes againſt. France, but for her intentions on Poland. And her views againſt this regenerated kingdom were not diſcloſed until Pruſſia began to engage in the conflict againſt France. Pruſſia, however, jealous of Ruſſia's intention, appears deſirous of preventing her aggrandizement; or, perhaps, wiſhes to aſſert her claim to part of the territory of Poland, ſhould the ruin of that monarchical republic be effected. Be their intentions what they may, the Poles have taſted of the fountain of liberty—the invigorating draught will give them courage, and the juſtice of their cauſe ſtrength to repel, it is hoped, their oppreſſors. The manifeſto of Catharine, againſt the renovated empire, is marked with tyranny in every line—ſlightly veiled by an appearance of candour, founded on pretences ſcarcely plauſible in a deſpot's eye, covering motives of the baſeſt kind; perhaps, upon the whole, forming the darkeſt trait in this woman's character, and it is to be hoped the laſt attempt of her boundleſs ambition.

Auſtria with her whole force preſſes on France, who, with the energy of freedom will reſiſt the blow, and if fortunate enough to make an impreſſion upon the Auſtrian arms or territory, will carry, not death and deſtruction, but liberty and proſperity to the centre of the tyrant's dominions. Since the beginning of the French revolution, the nation has ſhewn marks of unexampled patriotiſm, and an ardent love of liberty; they begin to be diſtinguiſhed for order and ſyſtem, which united to the firſt will produce energy. Upon the whole, though the Auſtrian troops may boaſt of ſuperior diſcipline; yet this is their only advantage. The loſs of ſoldiers with them will be irreparable; but does a French citizen fall in the ranks, two will ſtep forward to fill his place.

Spain will probably take no part in the conteſt. England has declared her neutrality; Sardinia may aſſiſt with her good will, her means in men and money are not great.

A ſpirit of reformation has gone abroad. Engliſhmen call for a more equal repreſentation in the popular branch of their legiſlature, but wealth ſeems to outweigh numbers.

Iriſhmen complain, and the Weſt-India colonies pretend that it is abſurd to be governed by laws made three thouſand miles from them, by men they don't know, and conceit they have a right to ſell the produce of their induſtry to whom they pleaſe, and at the higheſt prices they can get. They begin to entertain an opinion that it is hard to ſtarve when plenty is at their door. In ſhort, they act the part of undutiful children, diſlike the commands of their mother country, and are ungrateful and unnatural enough to prefer their proſperity to that of their common parent. Caſting an eye to the happineſs enjoyed by their elder brothers, they appear deſirous of being conſidered as of age, and wiſh to be permitted to ſhift for themſelves.

By ſeveral late arrivals from the Engliſh windward iſlands, we have learnt that there is the greateſt uneaſineſs between the merchants and planters of thoſe iſlands, reſpecting the regulations which have lately taken place in England on ſugars. A deputation from all the windward and leeward iſlands were to meet on the 24th of July, at Dominica, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the above, as well as the ſlave-trade buſineſs, and to petition parliament on the ſubject. In St. Kitts they had already come to a determination not to pay the king's duty of 4 1-2 per cent on rum, in conſequence of which actions are entered into againſt the defaulters.

—In Jamaica, it is ſaid, this four and an half per cent. duty is the occaſion of clamour equally violent againſt government.

The ſubſequent reſolutions have been agreed to by the council and aſſembly of the iſland of St. Vincents:

"Firſt, They feel it particularly incumbent upon them, in the preſent critical ſtate of affairs, to inſiſt upon their right of internal legiſlation in all matters relating to the internal government of the colony.

"Secondly, They conſider theſe iſlands intitled to a full recompenſe from Great-Britain for whatever loſſes they may ſuſtain in conſequence of either a gradual, or total abolition of the ſlave-trade.

"Thirdly, They feel themſelves at all times entitled to effectual protection from the mother country, and they conceive it eſſentially neceſſary, that the protection now afforded to them ſhould be encreaſed, inaſmuch as the internal ſecurity of the colonies are greatly endangered by the queſtions agitated in the parliament of Great-Britain.

"Fourthly, They conſider themſelves juſtified in expreſſing, in the moſt unequivocal terms, their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the unconſtitutional and oppreſſive meaſures adopted by the Britiſh parliament, for reducing the price of Britiſh ſugars at the Britiſh market, far below the price the ſugars of the foreign iſlands are likely to obtain at all the other European markets: and for the further purpoſes of clogging and reſtricting a trade hitherto ſupported and encouraged by repeated acts of parliament."

The propoſed canal between the Delaware and the Schuylkill is ordered to be ſtaked out, and the work commenced without delay. The water is to be taken from the Schuylkill at the mouth of Stoney-Creek, to lead from thence to the northern bounds of this city. The fall, when it reaches the Delaware, will be about fifty feet.

On monday, the 6th of this inſtant, the ſupreme court of the united ſtates met, when all the judges were preſent. The attorney-general of the united ſtates gave notice, that he ſhould move the court on Wedneſday following, for a mandamus to the circuit-court of Pennſylvania, commanding them to proceed on the petition of William Hogburne, a claimant of a penſion, in which they had refuſed to proceed, from a ſuppoſed nullity of the penſion-law. The motion was accordingly begun on wedneſday; when, after ſome prefatory remarks, the attorney-general was aſked from the bench, whether he conceived it to be an official right to offer ſuch a motion, as he had intimated it to be? He anſwered, that he did conceive it to be an official right. Upon which ſeveral obſervations were made, and the debate continued from day to day, until ſaturday laſt. The opinions of the judges being then taken, they were equally divided. In conſequence of this diviſion, it was improper for the attorney-general to move the ſubject officially. He then appeared as counſel for the invalids; and the motion, after being accompanied with the reaſons, which influenced him to believe that the inferior court had erred, was poſtponed for a final deciſion until the next court. The important queſtion "whether a ſtate can be ſued," is alſo ſet for the firſt day of the next term.

*Auguſt*, 22. There has been another change in the French miniſtry——The miniſters of war, of contributions, and of the interior departments, were diſplaced. M. Dumourier, late miniſter of foreign affairs, has been placed at the head of the war department; M. Jaillac is made miniſter of foreign affairs, and M. Maulde is placed at the head of the interior.

The directors of the weſtern inland lock-navigation in the ſtate of New-York, having formed a board, and choſen general Schuyler preſident, the work is to be commenced immediately.

A canal has been propoſed, down the waters of the Brandywine in the ſtate of Delaware—Commiſſioners were appointed by the government to view the ground through which the canal ſhould paſs—a committee was lately choſen by a large number of the inhabitants met at Cheſter, to attend the commiſſioners on this buſineſs.

From the various circumſtances which are related as attendant on the death of Elizabeth Reeves, we believe that the following particulars reſpecting that atrocious murder, may be relied on as facts.——Miſs Reeves had on wedneſday evening been on a ſhort viſit to a relation in Coombs's alley, which ſhe left about eight o'clock, to go home, alone, and without any thing uncommon having occurred: from that time

ſhe was not ſeen or heard of until early on thurſday morning, when her body was diſcovered lying on the mud with the face down, in the dock near Warder's wharf. On examining, it was found that the moſt brutal violence had been found on her perſon, and a large wound on the left ſide of her mouth, and bruiſes on other parts, ſhewed ſhe muſt have ſuffered much from the moſt ſhameful abuſe; ſeveral of her teeth were looſe.—It appeared, from marks of her feet in the mud, that ſhe had moved ſeveral ſteps from the place ſhe was firſt thrown, where her comb and a ribband were found. Nothing has yet appeared to detect the villainous perpetrators of this infernal deed, but a boy declared that he ſaw two men in a batteau very early in the morning at the particular ſpot where the body was found, who made off upon his approach, and went on board a ſhallop down the river. Miſs Reeves was about 17 years old, and apprenticed to a mantua-maker; and when it is conſidered that ſhe bore a very good character, and was remarkable for her amiable deportment and pleaſing manners, the loſs to ſociety muſt be the greater, and excite in the breaſts of every friend to humanity a deteſtation of the diabolical actors of this horrid tragedy.

There was a conſiderable ſkirmiſh between the van guard of M. la Fayettes' army, and a part of the Auſtrian army, on the 12th of June. It appears the latter gained ſome advantage in the beginning of the action—but M. la Fayette coming up with a reinforcement, he retook all the ground loſt, and the enemy retired—the French followed them upwards of a league,—every ſtation was retaken, and the French army diſplayed on a height to offer battle; but the deſign of the Auſtrians appears to have been only to ſurpriſe and cut off the van-guard of the French; not having ſucceeded, they retired. Of the French the lieut. colonel of the volunteers of Cote d'Or, and M. Gouvion, were killed. The Auſtrians carried off part of their dead, and left a conſiderable number on the field.

The above appears to be the buſineſs, on which the ſtory is founded of M. la Fayette's taking Namur, and killing 2 or 3000 Auſtrians.

The Ruſſians have entered the Poliſh Ukraine, but have been beaten in all the ſkirmiſhes which have hitherto taken place. The king of Poland is to command the army in perſon.

A proclamation againſt ſeditious writings has been iſſued in Ireland.

Conſiderable riots have taken place at Edinburgh, in conſequence of the magiſtrates' interpoſing to prevent the populace from burning Mr. Dundas in effigy.

*Extract of a letter from Charleſton, S. C. Aug.* 14.

"The devaſtations in French Hiſpaniola, which now ſeem to be drawing to a concluſion, the hurricane in the windward iſlands, which has done an immenſity of damage to their buildings, &c. and a variety of other circumſtances, ſeem to point out an increaſing demand in the Weſt-Indies for American lumber. It is well known that the lumber of this country and Georgia is preferable (particularly the pine) to any in the united ſtates, for its firmneſs and durability, yet ſo miſerably thin is our ſtate of the neceſſary hands at preſent, that ſcarcely more ſawed lumber is brought down the river than is ſufficient for our own conſumption, not to mention a conſiderable and conſtant importation from Georgia. It may even be aſſerted, with ample truth and juſtice, that the increaſe of Charleſton is greatly retarded for want of ſufficient ſupplies of this article. With every advantage from nature, this ſtate ſeems to ſuffer not a little from an ill founded prejudice among foreigners of the inſalubrity of its air. In the neighbourhood of the rice ſwamps it is indeed ſickly towards autumn, but as theſe parts are generally inhabited by negroes, who have the entire care of cultivating the rice, it ought not to deter hardy and induſtrious men from the northward from coming and making their fortunes on the immenſe waſte of our interior timber lands. Carolina as yet generally lies in a ſtate of uncultivated nature; no country has more excellent mill-ſeats; our rivers and their branches are innumerable; and the aid of art is ſoon to be called in to form junctions between them by means of canals. Though our rivers are generally ſuppoſed ſhallow, yet there is water enough in moſt of them, at certain ſeaſons, to carry down ſhips of three hundred tons, that might be built ſeveral hundred miles from the ſea coaſt. With all theſe advantages, induſtrious and monied ſtrangers will find no place in which their expectations are likely to be better gratified than in South-Carolina, a ſtate that is riſing into the moſt rapid importance, and only wants the nerves of freemen, and a more improved back country to render her capital the firſt, or only next to the firſt, in the united ſtates."

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of JULY, 1792.

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In | Thermometer of Farenh. D. | Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail Wind | rain | Thunder | Aurora | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 29 10 5 | 72 5 | 18 0 | W | | | | Fair |
| | 29 9 12 | 93 9 | 27 5 | WSW | 1 | 1 | 1 | Overcast, ſtorm |
| 2 | 29 9 11 | 72 5 | 18 0 | WSW | | | | Cloudy |
| | 29 10 4 | 95 0 | 28 0 | W | | | | Fair |
| 3 | 30 0 5 | 73 6 | 18 5 | ESE | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 30 0 2 | 72 5 | 18 0 | ESE | 1 | | | Rainy |
| 4 | 29 10 11 | 72 5 | 18 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 11 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NE | 1 | | | Idem |
| 5 | 30 0 12 | 54 5 | 10 0 | NE | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 1 3 | 70 2 | 17 0 | N | | | | Fair |
| 6 | 30 2 13 | 59 0 | 12 0 | N | | | | Idem |
| | 30 2 6 | 79 2 | 21 0 | N | | | | Cloudy |
| 7 | 30 2 6 | 63 5 | 14 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 0 | 80 0 | 21 4 | Variab. | | | | Idem |
| 8 | 30 0 2 | 64 2 | 14 3 | S | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 29 10 7 | 81 5 | 22 0 | SW | | | | Cloudy |
| 9 | 29 9 4 | 70 2 | 17 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 0 | 88 2 | 25 0 | SSW | | 1 | | Fair, thunder |
| 10 | 29 9 14 | 71 4 | 17 5 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 7 | 91 6 | 26 5 | WNW | | | | Idem |
| 11 | 30 1 2 | 70 2 | 17 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 0 | 88 2 | 25 0 | ENE | | | | Cloudy |
| 12 | 30 0 14 | 68 0 | 16 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 6 | 87 0 | 24 5 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 13 | 29 11 6 | 69 0 | 16 5 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 3 | 85 0 | 23 6 | SW | | | | Overcaſt, |
| 14 | 30 0 1 | 65 3 | 14 8 | SSE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 1 | 89 0 | 25 4 | NNE | | | | Cloudy |
| 15 | 30 1 0 | 64 8 | 14 6 | NNE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 0 6 | 88 7 | 25 2 | W | | | | Idem |
| 16 | 29 11 12 | 72 5 | 18 0 | SW | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 29 10 7 | 91 6 | 26 5 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 17 | 29 9 13 | 70 2 | 17 0 | SW | | | | Rainy |
| | 29 10 0 | 82 61 | 22 51 | SW | 11 | 1 | | Overcaſt |

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In | Thermometer of Farenh. D. | Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail. Wind | rain | Thunder | Aurora | WEATHER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 29 11 7 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NNW | | | | Fair |
| | 29 11 7 | 83 7 | 23 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 19 | 29 10 12 | 65 7 | 15 0 | NE | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 29 9 5 | 87 3 | 24 6 | E | | | | Fair |
| 20 | 29 8 11 | 68 0 | 16 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 3 | 87 0 | 24 5 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 21 | 29 10 3 | 68 0 | 16 0 | NE | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 29 10 12 | 73 6 | 18 5 | NW | | | | Cloudy. |
| 22 | 29 11 9 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 10 | 80 4 | 21 5 | SSW | | | | Idem |
| 23 | 30 0 7 | 65 7 | 15 0 | SSE | 1 | | | Overcaſt, rain |
| | 30 0 ( | 67 0 | 15 5 | NE | | | | Rainy, |
| 24 | 29 11 3 | 61 2 | 13 0 | NE | 1 | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 3 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NNE | | | | Overcaſt |
| 25 | 30 0 0 | 60 0 | 12 5 | NW | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 0 11 | 72 5 | 18 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 26 | 30 2 2 | 59 0 | 12 0 | WNW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 2 3 | 81 5 | 22 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 27 | 30 1 14 | 63 5 | 14 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 0 | 82 6 | 22 5 | WSW | | | | Overcaſt |
| 28 | 30 0 10 | 65 7 | 15 0 | E | 1 | | | Idem, rainy |
| | 30 0 6 | 82 6 | 22 5 | E | | | | Rainy |
| 29 | 30 0 0 | 61 2 | 13 0 | E | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 29 11 15 | 65 7 | 15 0 | ENE | | | | Idem |
| 30 | 29 11 10 | 62 4 | 13 5 | NE | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 29 10 14 | 70 2 | 17 0 | NE | | | | Fair |
| 31 | 29 11 0 | 61 2 | 13 0 | SW | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 29 10 4 | 82 6 | 22 5 | SW | | | | Fair, cloudy. |
| RESULT. | Mean gr. elev. 30 2 13 / 10th leaſt el. 29 8 11 / Variation 6 2 / Mean eleva. 29 11 9 | Mean gr. de. of 95 0 28 0 / 5th leaſt de. of heat 54 5 10 0 / Variation 40 5 18 0 / Mean degree 73 4 18 4 | | SW / & / NE | 10 | 2 | 1 | Fair and variable. |

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY *WILLIAM YOUNG*, BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

## *To* CORRESPONDENTS.

IF the author of *Reflections on the ſtate of the union* meant to burleſque a recent publication bearing that title, he ought to have communicated his performance to ſome of the printers who inſerted the ſubject of his ſneering laughter.—We cannot admit any thing that has the complexion of political party.

The eſſay encloſed by D. E. is inadmiſſible, as it has already appeared in the newſpapers, and does not poſſeſs ſufficient merit to induce us to take it at *ſecond-hand*. In ſelecting from newſpapers, or other publications, we wiſh to exerciſe our own judgment.

*Philo's* candid and judicious "Criticiſms on the Univerſal Aſylum and Columbian Magazine, for 1791," have been received. The learned author is entitled to our ſincere thanks, for this his firſt communication. A continuance of his "Criticiſms," and his correſpondence on other ſubjects are ſolicited.

To "ſhoot folly as it flies" requires a more expert markſman than *Philalethes*. We fear our correſpondent has not been accuſtomed to ſhoot flying. To continue the metaphor, he has loaded with *buck-ſhot*, although *tom-tits* are his game.

*Strictures on the faſhion of the femoral garment, vulgarly called breeches*, might not be ill-ſuited to thoſe whom they more immediately concern, but would be altogether improper for the peruſal of our *fair readers*.

*Lucinda, a novel*, contains ſome good ſentiments, but the ſtile is incorrect; and the characters are by far too romantic, for the age and country in which we live.

*Verſes inſcribed to Miſs K.* would be *too warm* even for our love-ſick readers, if ſuch we have; and could not fail to ſuffuſe with a crimſon hue the cheek of the "angelic being" to whom they are addreſſed.

We ſhall comply with the requeſt of *A country correſpondent*, next month; when the piece tranſmitted by Z. Y. will alſo appear.

Want of ſufficient leiſure has obliged us to poſtpone, till next month, our review of ſome late publications.

---

## PHILADELPHIA, *September* 29, 1792.

### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Six per cents, per £.* - - | 22*s.* | *Bank U. S. whole ſhares per cent advance* | 49 |
| *Deferred ſix per cents,* - - | 13*ſ*7. | *Bank of N. America do.* *do.* | 30 |
| *Three per cents,* - - - | 13*s.* | | |

### COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bills of Exchange on London,* | 90 *days,* | 70. | *Amſterdam,* | 60 *days, per guilder,* | 3*s* |
| *Ditto.* | 60 *days,* | 71. | *Ditto.* | 90 *days,* | 2*ſ*11 |
| *Ditto.* | 30 *days,* | 73 | | | |

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

## FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SIR,

*I HAVE great pleasure in enclosing you an account of a private academy at Bordentown, in the state of New-Jersey, conducted in every respect, upon the principles of reason and humanity. It is communicated to you for publication, with the consent of the worthy and ingenious principal of the academy.*

*From, sir, yours, &c.*

BENJAMIN RUSH.

*September, 13th, 1792.*

*Bordentown, July 2d, 1792.*

DEAR SIR,

IN looking over the Universal Asylum for May 1792, I observed an extract of an original letter from the rev. Mr. Winchester, dated from London; the perusal of which turned my attention toward your address to Mr. Clymer, upon the amusements and punishments proper for schools, published in the Universal Asylum for August 1790, and which I had read at that time with great pleasure, as it so well accorded with my sentiments on that subject. I had some thoughts at that time of transmitting to you, my ideas upon your plan, and of assuring you how consonant they were both with my theory and practice, but some intervening circumstances then preventing, I have since omitted it from time to time, until the subject of your address was brought forcibly into my mind by the letter alluded to above—I have frequently, since I first read your sentiments, had occasion to vindicate them when I heard them opposed, and considered as Utopian, especially by some teachers who have been noted for their brutality, a term which I think applicable to all those, who, by their cruelty to children under their care, prove themselves devoid of those feelings which distinguish us from the brutes!

This, sir, I have it in my power to do, not theoretically only, but from the actual experience of near fourteen years, during which time I have presided over the academy in this place. When I first opened school here, I commenced upon this plan, or nearly the one laid down by you, and have never had reason to alter it. I was both pleased and surprized, upon perusing your sentiments, to find them so nearly to accord with my practice.

With regard to amusements, certainly much may be done to unite the *utile* with the *dulce*, and it must be evident to every person of the least reflection, that if we can contrive to amuse whilst we instruct, the progress will be more rapid, and the impression much deeper. But to connect instruction with the very amusements, during relaxation from the discipline of school-hours, is surely of the utmost consequence, and therefore worth attempting. With an eye to those things, I have gone to some expense, to furnish myself with a variety of materials calculated thereto, such as geographical, historical, teknographical and natural history cards, geometrical blocks, dissected maps, tour of Europe, &c. amusements in optics, magnetism, electricity, &c. some entirely new, and some in use heretofore; which have never failed to afford entertainment and information at the same time; and I have had sufficient proof, that rendering the exercises of oratory more agreeable, by mixing something of the dramatic kind with their orations, gives them a relish for the study, a desire of excelling and an animation in the pursuit, with which I could never inspire them when engaged in nothing but plain speaking; or when nothing of *play* was connected with their business, or amusement with their study. I know there are some who treat this method as chimerical, and the advantages derived from it as imaginary, but experience has evinced the contrary to me. If no other benefit is derived, this certainly is, that the pupil is convinced his preceptor is desirous of contributing to his pleasure as well as profit, at the same time. Convince a lad that you are desirous of promoting his happiness and real interest, and you may mould him almost as you please. Certain it is, that there is nothing more essential in the education of boys, than first to gain their esteem and affection, which is never to be done by severity, or the modes of corporeal punishments used in most schools.

The amusements referred to above, which are a part of those we make use of, so far as relate to the sedentary kind, have naturally led me to participate in them, as perhaps some explanations are sometimes necessary, and in a degree to make companions of the lads themselves. In consequence of this, they feel no embarrassment, but the greatest freedom, in asking any question for information. I have ever endeavoured to make them consider me rather in the light of a parent than a master, and I trust I have so far succeeded, as generally to have had their affections. And I now declare to you, that I would not wish to retain a scholar a minute longer than I can feel an attachment for him, and perceive a reciprocal one in return, or longer than while he would wish to remain with me. Of this, a teacher can have no stronger evidence, than, after having been absent, to see joy gladden the countenances of all his pupils upon his return, and to

receive a hearty salutation, and unfeigned welcome from each of them.

Such, sir, are the effects which the plan long since adopted by me, has uniformly produced in my school, and in my family, where all my pupils board. It has produced friends in different parts of the world, amongst those whom I have educated, and who fail not occasionally to address me with expressions of gratitude and friendship. Hence then it is the interest of the teacher, as well as comfort of the scholars, to treat them in such a way, as their calm reason shall approve, not only at the present time, but also in future life, when their understandings shall be matured. In this way only he will be remembered as a friend, and not execrated as a tyrant.

A considerable degree of sociability may be used with boys in the hours of relaxation, without lessening the master's authority, or derogating from the rules of the school in the least, in the hours of study; and a proper severity may be kept up there, without using severity or corporeal punishment. It is true, I have in some few and particular instances, deviated from this rule, so far as to try chastisement, when other means have failed; but never found in such cases, that *this sovereign remedy*, (as it is deemed by some) ever had the desired effect; and I candidly own, that I think it high time to dismiss such characters from the school, previous to the degrading application of the birch; for I have ever found boys more afraid of expulsion than any other punishment whatever, even so as to petition for the privilege of continuing, with a voluntary submission to any punishment I should chuse to inflict.

The kinds of punishment I make use of, are 1st. a serious remonstrance in private, which, when given with an evident concern for the boy's misconduct, and as the reasoning and remonstrance of a friend, seldom fails of affecting the mind of the offender; in which case, if you can bring him to tears, it is far better than *whipping tears* from him, for in this case they are tears of anger and resentment, whereas in the former case they are tears of contrition.

2nd. Preventing the one in fault from partaking in some favourite amusement, as being unworthy of some usual indulgence while guilty of a misdemeanour. Such prohibition is extremely mortifying, and produces a good effect.

3d. During the hours of school, we mark them for each offence, and make prisoners of them for a term, the duration of which is to be measured by the number of the marks, or frequency of the offence. I find it necessary, however, to vary the nature of the confinement, as to *strictness* or *boundaries*, according to circumstances. Viz.

1st. To give certain limits without doors, which are extended or contracted, as the case may require, or the misconduct merit.

2nd. To limit them only to the house, or to a certain room, where they may see and converse with such as pass and repass, without having any particular task assigned them.

3d. For inattention to, or default of having their lessons, a confinement to the school-room, and all the discipline and decorum of the same exacted, until the lesson is learned.

4th. A ſtrict and ſolitary confinement in a dark room for higher miſdemeanours, until a returning ſenſe of duty, and ſuitable acknowledgements reſtore them to their liberty, and to the favour of their tutor.

Laſtly. After all thoſe means have been tried, if any ſhould prove incorrigible, they are diſmiſſed from the ſchool and family, and ſent home in diſgrace, with letters to their friends confirming the ſame; this is in reality more dreaded, as I hinted above, than all the dreadful inſignia of *birch*, *block*, or *ferula*; and I have ever found this ſyſtem to have the deſired effect, except in one or two boys, where vice had been too deeply rooted prior to my receiving them. I confeſs the circumſtance of having them all under my own roof, conſequently the whole government of them, as to their morals as well as manners, gives me an advantage over thoſe who merely undertake to teach children ſent to them from their parents at certain hours, and enables me more effectually to put my plan in practice. It is but too commonly the caſe, that teachers profeſs not to have any thing to do with the *morals* of their ſcholars; but I ſuppoſe *moral inſtruction* to be one very eſſential branch of education, and ſo nearly connected with their literary purſuits, that when the mind is impreſſed with a ſenſe of duty and obligation to their parents, to their tutors, to ſociety, and even to themſelves, much more is to be expected from them, as to their application, and conſequently to their improvement. But whatever diſadvantages an ordinary ſchool may labour under, I am convinced this mode may be adopted with conſiderable ſucceſs, if both maſters and parents would heartily concur therein. I cannot help lamenting with Rouſſeau, that that part of our lives prior to the cares and anxieties to which all, who are acting on the great theatre of the world, are incident, ſhould be made wretched by the tyranny of our ſeniors! Surely our lives are ſufficiently ſhort, without abridging that happineſs which we are capable of enjoying, and which nature ſeems to have pointed out to us as our right, about the age to which we have reference. From an impreſſion of this kind, I have always endeavoured to promote the happineſs of my pupils as far I could, without allowing them ſuch indulgencies, as would infringe upon their improvement, health, or morals; and every ſtep which can be taken toward making their learning a pleaſure, largely contributes to this deſireable end. In conſequence of which, I hear my former ſcholars, who are now men in buſineſs, ſay the time they ſpent at ſchool was the happieſt part of their lives. And I can teſtify in return, that ſuch is the pleaſure I take in the profeſſion (agreeably to this ſyſtem) of forming the tender mind, and "teaching the young idea how to ſhoot," that were I poſſeſſed of ever ſo capital an independency, I ſhould not leave the employment without the greateſt regret.

I am convinced, my dear ſir, that I need make no apology for the liberty I have taken in writing to you upon the ſubject of an addreſs, which you had made to another perſon; nor fear my having ſo often mentioned myſelf in the courſe of this epiſtle being conſtrued into arrogance or egotiſm, ſince my profeſſed deſign in addreſſing you, was to aſſure you of the *practicability* and *efficacy* of a mode of education recommended by you, and which has been confirmed by ſeveral years

practice in my seminary. That you may more fully have it in your power, to answer the objections which may be made to your system of discipline and amusements, by adducing facts to refute them; and that this instance might be quoted as one, in addition to others of which you may be in possession, is the sincere wish of, dear sir,

With every sentiment of respect,
your humble servant,
BURGISS ALLISON.

*Doctor Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia.*

## *On the* CULTURE *of* FLAX.

*To the Philadelphia County Society for the promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures.*

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING cultivated FLAX with considerable profit and advantage, I wish to recommend it as an object meriting greater attention from our farmers.

The use of flax is as necessary in our clothing, as wheat in our nourishment—our soil and climate are as well adapted to raise the one as the other. Why then should we remain under obligations to distant foreign nations, for this valuable article? It is suggested that it is cheaper to purchase imported linen, than to raise flax and manufacture for ourselves. I always entertained doubts of the truth of this opinion, and am now convinced, from the experience of several years, that it is totally without foundation. Some good husbandmen object to flax, because they say it exhausts the soil more than any other crop: I have not found this to be the case. During the last summer, I cultivated flax and potatoes in the same field; each crop had an equal quantity of manure; on gathering an excellent crop of flax in July, the ground was immediately plowed, and sowed with turnips; produce one hundred bushels of good turnips per acre: on removing the crops of potatoes and turnips, about the middle of October, the ground was put into wheat: the wheat on the flax and turnip ground this harvest was fully equal, if not superior, to the wheat on the potatoe ground—Another objection to flax is, that it is a very uncertain crop: on good ground, under proper cultivation, no crop will better answer the expectation of the farmer. Flax will grow and flower on any soil, but it requires a rich loam or clay to bring it to perfection for the use of the farmer. The Irish, who for many years have had great experience in the cultivation of this valuable plant, generally raise it on ground manured and planted with potatoes the preceding year. They sow on such ground three and four bushels of the best Riga or American seed to the acre. May not the fineness of the Irish flax be owing to this thick sowing, rather than to their flax being pulled before it is ripe? It is said the Flemings never pull the flax intended for their fine cambricks and linen until

the ſeed is ripe.—The quality of the flax may alſo depend very much on the future operations of rotting, breaking and hackling. In America, flax is for the moſt part rotted, by being laid thin on a graſs field.—The time required in that operation depends on the dryneſs or wetneſs, heat or cold of the ſeaſon.—Flax is judged to be ſufficiently graſſed, when its bark is a little bliſtered, towards the extremity of the plant, and when it parts eaſily from the reed, which at this time becomes very brittle; but no written deſcription can poſſibly convey a knowledge of this point, at all equal to that which is acquired by experience. I have expoſed flax in the months of Auguſt, September, and October, and have always found that it rotted in Auguſt, the beſt; and am informed, by farmers of experience, that the injury which the flax is ſaid to receive by the heat of the midſummer ſun, is by no means equal to the benefit it receives by being quickly maturated. When the flax is expoſed in a variety of weather, in a cold ſeaſon, the putrefaction neceſſary to looſen and deſtroy the coheſion of the fibres of the flax from the reed is ſo tedious, as frequently to injure the ſmall fibres themſelves. Mills have been erected for breaking of flax, but the ſucceſs attending them has never warranted their general uſe; recourſe is ſtill had to the Dutch hand-brake. I have ſeen a foot machine for ſwingling or ſcutching, by which one man can ſcutch fifty weight per day: this is double the quantity that can be performed by one perſon by hand in the ſame time. The labour and expenſe of dreſſing flax is, without doubt, the greateſt objection to its cultivation; but in theſe points Europeans have no advantage over us, as they, in every inſtance, are ſubject to the ſame difficulties.

Flax is certainly one of thoſe neceſſary articles, which we ſhould cultivate in ſufficient quantity, to enable us to ſupply ourſelves with every kind of linen, becauſe our country is as well calculated for it as any other. Whatever other nations, on account of climate or ſituation, can raiſe and ſell cheaper than we can do, and are willing to exchange for the produce of our farms, or induſtry, let us import from abroad. This is the baſis of *juſt policy*, *true economy*, and *genuine liberty*.

I am, gentlemen, with great reſpect,
yours, &c.
GEO. LOGAN.

## *An approved method of* WASHING OLD PAINTINGS, *and giving them a* GOOD GLOSS.

TAKE an ounce of tartar, and as much glaſs-wort; boil them in a pint of water till it is half waſted, and then ſtrain it. When it has ſtood till it becomes only lukewarm, dip a ſponge therein, and rub the prints with it. Then immediately waſh it with warm clear water, and wipe it over gently till dry. To varniſh them, take whites of eggs, beat them to a froth, and lay them on the pictures with a feather.

## *A* LETTER *to the Rev.* DOCTOR WHITE, *on* CHURCH MUSIC.

[*From the Works of the late* F. HOPKINSON, *Esq.*]

I AM one of those who take great delight in sacred music, and think, with royal David, that heart, voice, and instrument should unite in adoration of the great Supreme.

A soul truly touched with love and gratitude, or under the influence of penitential sorrow, will unavoidably break forth in expressions suited to its feelings. In order that these emanations of the mind may be conducted with uniformity, and a becoming propriety, our church hath adopted into her liturgy, the book of psalms, commonly called *David's Psalms*, which contain a great variety of addresses to the Deity, adapted to almost every state and temperature of a devout heart, and expressed in terms always proper, and often sublime.

To give wings, as it were, to this holy zeal, and heighten the harmony of the soul, *organs* have been introduced into the churches. The application of instrumental music to the purposes of piety is well known to be of very ancient date. Indeed, originally, it was thought that music ought not to be applied to any other purpose. Modern improvements, however, have discovered, that it may be made expressive of every passion of the mind, and become an incitement to levity as well as sanctity.

Unless the real design for which an organ is placed in a church be constantly kept in view, nothing is more likely to happen than an abuse of this noble instrument, so as to render it rather an obstruction to, than an assistant in, the good purpose for which the hearers have assembled.

Give me leave, sir, to suggest a few rules for the conduct of an organ in a place of worship, according to my ideas of propriety.

1st. The organist should always keep in mind, that neither the time nor place is suitable for exhibiting all his powers of execution; and that the congregation have not assembled to be entertained with his performance. The excellence of an organist consists in his making the instrument subservient and conducive to the purposes of devotion. None but a master can do this. An ordinary performer may play surprising tricks, and shew great dexterity in running through difficult passages, which he hath subdued by dint of previous labour and practice. But *he* must have judgment and taste who can call forth the powers of the instrument, and apply them with propriety and effect to the seriousness of the occasion.

2nd. The voluntary, previous to reading the lessons, was probably designed to fill up a solemn pause in the service; during which, the clergyman takes a few minutes respite, in a duty too lengthy, perhaps, to be continued without fatigue, unless some intermission be allowed: there, the organ hath its part alone, and the organist an opportunity of shewing his power over the instrument. This, however,

ſhould be done with great diſcretion and dignity, avoiding every thing light and trivial; but rather endeavouring to compoſe the minds of the audience, and ſtrengthen the tendency of the heart in thoſe devout exerciſes, in which, it ſhould be preſumed, the congregation are now engaged. All ſudden jerks, ſtrong contraſts of *piano* and *forte*, rapid execution, and expreſſions of tumult, ſhould be avoided. The voluntary ſhould proceed with great chaſtity and decorum; the organiſt keeping in mind, that his hearers are now in the midſt of divine ſervice. The full organ ſhould ſeldom be uſed on this occaſion, nor ſhould the voluntary laſt more than *five minutes* of time. Some relaxation, however, of this rule may be allowed, on feſtivals and grand occaſions.

3d. The *chants* form a pleaſing and animating part of the ſervice; but it ſhould be conſidered, that they are not ſongs or tunes, but a ſpecies of *recitative*, which is no more than ſpeaking muſically. Therefore, as melody or ſong is out of the queſtion, it is neceſſary that the harmony ſhould be complete, otherwiſe *chanting*, with all the voices in uniſon, is too light and thin for the ſolemnity of the occaſion. There ſhould at leaſt be half a dozen voices in the organ gallery, to fill the harmony with baſs and treble parts, and give a dignity to the performance. Melody may be frivolous; harmony, never.

4th. The prelude which the organ plays immediately after the pſalm is given out, was intended to advertiſe the congregation of the pſalm tune which is going to be ſung; but ſome famous organiſt, in order to ſhew how much he could make of a little, has introduced the cuſtom of running ſo many diviſions upon the ſimple melody of a pſalm tune, that the original purpoſe of this prelude is now totally defeated, and the tune ſo diſguiſed by the fantaſtical flouriſhes of the dextrous performer, that not an individual in the congregation can poſſibly gueſs the tune intended, until the clerk has ſung through the firſt line of the pſalm. And it is conſtantly obſervable, that the full congregation never join in the pſalm before the ſecond or third line, for want of that information which the organ ſhould have given. The tune ſhould be diſtinctly given out, by the inſtrument, with only a few chaſte and expreſſive decorations, ſuch as none but a maſter can give.

5th. The interludes between the verſes of the pſalm were deſigned to give the ſingers a little pauſe, not only to take breath, but alſo an opportunity for a ſhort retroſpect of the words they have ſung, in which the organ ought to aſſiſt their reflections. For this purpoſe the organiſt ſhould be previouſly informed by the clerk of the verſes to be ſung, that he may modulate his interludes according to the ſubject.

To place this in a ſtrong point of view, no ſtronger, however, than what I have too frequently obſerved to happen; ſuppoſe the congregation to have ſung the firſt verſe of the 33d pſalm.

> "Let all the juſt to God with joy
> Their cheerful voices raiſe;
> For well the righteous it becomes
> To ſing glad ſongs of praiſe."

How diſſonant would it be for the organiſt to play a pathetic interlude in a flat third, with the ſlender and diſtant tones of the echo organ, or the deep and ſmothered ſounds of a ſingle diapaſon ſtop?

Or ſuppoſe again, that the words ſung have been the 6th verſe of the vi. pſalm.

"Quite tired with pain, with groaning faint,
No hope of eaſe I ſee,
The night, that quiets common griefs,
Is ſpent in tears by me."—

How monſtrouſly abſurd would it be to hear theſe words of diſtreſs ſucceeded by an interlude ſelected from the fag end of ſome thundering figure on a full organ, and ſpun out to a moſt unreaſonable length? Or, what is ſtill worſe, by ſome trivial melody with a rythm ſo ſtrongly marked, as to ſet all the congregation to beating time with their feet or heads? even thoſe who may be impreſſed with the feelings ſuch words ſhould occaſion, or in the leaſt diſpoſed for melancholy, muſt be ſhocked at ſo groſs an impropriety.

The interludes ſhould not be continued above ſixteen bars in *triple*, or ten or twelve bars in *common* time, and ſhould always be adapted to the verſe ſung: and herein the organiſt hath a fine opportunity of ſhewing his ſenſibility, and diſplaying his taſte and ſkill.

6th. The voluntary after ſervice was never intended to eradicate every ſerious idea which the ſermon may have inculcated. It ſhould rather be expreſſive of that cheerful ſatisfaction which a good heart feels under the ſenſe of a duty performed. It ſhould bear, if poſſible, ſome analogy with the diſcourſe delivered from the pulpit; at leaſt, it ſhould not be totally diſſonant from it. If the preacher has had for his ſubject, penitence for ſin, the frailty and uncertainty of human life, or the evils incident to mortality, the voluntary may be ſomewhat more cheerful than the tenor of ſuch a ſermon might in ſtrictneſs ſuggeſt; but by no means ſo full and free as a diſcourſe on praiſe, thankſgiving, and joy, would authorize.

In general, the organ ſhould ever preſerve its dignity, and upon no account iſſue light and pointed movements, which may draw the attention of the congregation, and induce them to carry home, not the ſerious ſentiments which the ſervice ſhould impreſs, but ſome very pretty air with which the organiſt hath been ſo good as to entertain them. It is as offenſive to hear lilts and jiggs from a church organ, as it would be to ſee a venerable matron friſking through the public ſtreet with all the fantaſtic airs of a *Columbine*.

## Account *of Mr.* John S. Hutton, *of Philadelphia, aged* 108 *years.*

After having a few days ſince taken Mr. Hutton's portrait, from the life, which is to be preſerved in my Muſeum, the following particulars, reſpecting the old gentleman, were collected from his children, and others of his acquaintance.

That he was born in the city of New-York, in 1684; and was bound an apprentice to a ſea-faring man, who put him to ſchool, in New-York, to learn navigation; at which time he became intimate with a boy who worked at the white-ſmith's trade, with whom he amuſed himſelf, in acquiring the uſe of the hammer, from whence he obtained a facility in working at plate-work, in the ſilver-ſmith's buſineſs. He followed a ſea-faring life for thirty years, and then commenced the ſilver-ſmith's trade, without having ſerved any apprenticeſhip to it; yet, in Philadelphia, he has been eſteemed one of the beſt workmen, at hollow work, in that line of buſineſs, and there are ſtill pieces of his work in this city much eſteemed. He made a tumbler in ſilver when he was ninety-four years old.

Through the courſe of a long and hazardous life, in various climes, he was always plain and temperate in his eating and drinking; and avoided ſpiritous liquors, excepting once, when he was a lieutenant in a privateer, which ſailed from Barbadoes in Queen Anne's wars; being on a cruiſe on the Spaniſh main, he, with 50 or 60 men, made a deſcent on a village, in pillaging of which, himſelf, with moſt of the men, became intoxicated. The Spaniards took advantage of their ſituation, and got between them and the ſea, and killed every man of his party, except himſelf and one other, whom they made priſoners; from which ſtate he attempted an eſcape, by cutting out a ſloop, but was detected, and again put into confinement.

He married his firſt wife at New-York, whoſe maiden name was *Catharine Cheeſeman*, by whom he had eight children, twenty-five grand-children, twenty-three great-grand-children, and three great-great-grand-children.

At the age of 51 he married his ſecond wife, in Philadelphia, her maiden name *Ann Vanlear*, 19 years old at the time of the marriage; by whom he had ſeventeen children, forty-one grand-children, and fifteen great-grand-children.

The ſtate of his iſſue, at this time, according to the beſt accounts I could collect, are:

| | *born.* | *dead.* |
|---|---|---|
| Children by his firſt marriage, are, | 8 | 7 |
| Grand-children - - | 25 | 6 |
| Great-grand-children, - - | 23 | |
| Great-great-grand-children, - | 3 | |
| Children by his ſecond marriage, are, | 17 | 12 |
| Grand-children, - - | 41 | 16 |
| Great-grand-children, - - | 15 | 4 |
| Total born, - | 132 | 45 |

Now living eighty-ſeven; of whom the greater number reſide in Philadelphia—two families of them in Richmond, Virginia.

His ſecond wife died in Philadelphia, 14th Nov. 1788, aged 72 years and an half. He never had an head-ach; and has often ſaid that he thought himſelf in his prime of life, when at the age of ſixty years. He was always fond of fiſhing and fowling; and 'till his 81ſt year, he uſed to carry, in his hunting excurſions, a heavy Engliſh muſquet. He was ever a quiet, temperate, and hard-working man; and is now, a good humoured, hearty old man. He can ſee, hear, and

walk about, and has a good appetite, with no complaints whatever, except from the mere weakneſs of old age.

In the early part of his life he was on two ſcouts againſt the Indians,—he uſed to tell, that in one of thoſe excurſions, they went out in the night; how they lifted up their feet high in ſtepping, to prevent a noiſe amongſt the leaves; that they took an Indian woman priſoner, who led them to where the Indians lay; that they fired on, and killed moſt of the Indians, before they could get to their arms, and a few only eſcaped. That the Indians came in and made a peace, before this ſcouting party returned.

He knew the noted pirate Teach, called Black-beard; that an act of oblivion had paſſed, which permitted all pirates to return to their allegiance; that Black-beard then came to Barbadoes, where he ſaw him; this was a ſhort time before that pirate made his laſt cruiſe, and was killed in Carolina.

His grand-father, by his mother's ſide, Mr. Arthur Strangeways, died at Boſton, ſitting in his chair, when at the age of 101 years. His father, Mr. John Hutton, was born at Bourneſdures, in Scotland, where, it is ſaid, there are many of the family now living.

C. W. PEALE.

Philadelphia, Sept. 3d, 1792.

## *On the* THEORY *of the* TIDES.

[*Tranſlated from the works of a modern French author.*]

THE *lunar* theory of the tides, with which the world has hitherto been content to be ſatisfied, has nevertheleſs been involved in inexplicable difficulties. For my own part, I am fully of opinion that the ebb and flow of the ſea, the origin of which many writers have left among the ſecrets of nature, are owing entirely to the alternate melting of the ice at the poles, which, in their reſpective winter ſeaſons, are ſurrounded with an ocean of ice, upwards of three thouſand leagues in circumference, but, in their ſummer, are reduced to a much leſs extent.

It has been objected to this new theory, that "it denies the ſuppoſed action of the moon upon the face of the ocean, which agrees ſo well with the various phenomena of the tides." But they who conſider the arguments advanced, with proper attention, will ſee, in a work I have written on the ſubject, that I do not by any means abſolutely deny the lunar influence upon the ocean; but inſtead of making the moon act with moſt power on the ſeas about the equator, by an imaginary attraction, which produces not the leaſt effect, (as there are no tides, or at leaſt hardly any perceivable ones within the tropics) I reſtrain her influence to the frozen ſeas at the poles, where the melting of the ice is partly occaſioned by the rays of the ſun, reflected with conſiderable heat from her ſurface, a fact well known to

the ancients,* and which has been demonstrated by the moderns from the simple experiment of a glass of water. Besides, it is not true that there is a perfect agreement with the phases of the moon and the flow of the tides, in all parts of the world. The ebb and flow upon our own coasts, (France) answers rather to the mean, than the real and exact motion of the moon. In other places, the waters of the great ocean obey other laws, which Newton himself was aware of, when he said, "Undoubtedly there exists in nature some other partial cause of the regular return of the tides, which acts conjointly with that we have assigned, but which is still unknown." These general effects, then, which would not agree with Newton's theory but in part, are clearly accounted for from the direct influence of the sun, and the indirect influence of the moon in reflecting her rays upon, and melting the ice at the poles, alternately, as the sun is in the winter or summer signs. The liquefaction of the ice perfectly accounts also for the regular return of the tides, their delay for several minutes every day, and other phenomena wholly inexplicable upon any other plan.

## HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

*(Continued from our last—page 89.)*

### CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

DURING the continuance of count d'Estaing on the coast of America, in the autumn of 1779, sir Henry Clinton was exceedingly alarmed for the safety of New-York. It was supposed that the reduction of Savannah would be speedily effected by the Americans, when aided by a naval force of such considerable magnitude; and that the next step would be an attack upon New-York, by the French fleet, in conjunction with the American army, under general Washington, which was stationed on the North-river, not far from that city. This apprehension put a period to the offensive operations of the British to the northward, in the latter part of the year 1779, and caused them to act entirely on the defensive. To render New-York capable of a vigorous defence, engaged all the attention of sir Henry Clinton. The troops and marine force, which had long been stationed at Rhode-Island to very little purpose, were withdrawn, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison; and these defensive measures were continued, till the news of d'Estaing's ill success, and of his final departure from the coast, relieved the British from their anxiety, and induced them to prosecute their plan for the reduction of the southern states. South-Carolina was fixed upon as the first object of

* It is well known that the rays of the moon, especially towards the fall, will render fish, and other animal substances, putrid, in a few minutes. Likewise, take two basons or pans, with a small quantity of water in each, just enough to cover the surface, and set them out in a bright moon-light night, one in the shade, the other exposed to the rays of the moon, and the latter will be by far the soonest evaporated.

enterprize; as well on account of the suitableness of the climate for winter operations, as of the richness of the country, and its distance from the centre of force and action, by which the prospect of its obtaining any timely or effectual relief, was rendered extremely faint. Nor was it at all likely, even if the obstacle of distance were removed, that general Washington could afford the southern states any immediate succour; his army being greatly reduced, by the expiration of the time for which a considerable proportion of the soldiers had been enlisted, and their consequent return to their homes.

Sir Henry Clinton having committed the command of the army in New-York to general Knyphausen, embarked for the southward, with a large body of choice troops, including a strong detachment of artillery, and 250 cavalry. Furnished with an ample supply of provisions and military stores, and accompanied by vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable marine force, he sailed from New-York, a few days before the close of the year 1779.—The fleet experienced so much tempestuous weather, that it did not arrive at Savannah until the end of January. The transports and victuallers sustained considerable injury in the passage. Some were lost; others dispersed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance ship went to the bottom, with all her stores; and most of the artillery, with all the horses appertaining to the cavalry, were lost.

Towards the middle of February, the fleet sailed from Savannah; and, after a short passage, the troops were landed at North-Edisto, about thirty miles from Charleston. They immediately took possession of John's-Island and Stono-ferry; and, soon after, of James's-Island and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and a part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley-river, opposite to Charleston.—Sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that the Americans had fortified Charleston pretty strongly, resolved not to risque an attack with his present force, after the losses it had sustained.—He dispatched an order to New-York for a reinforcement of men, and a supply of stores; and directed major-general Prevost to send him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. The royal army, waiting to be reinforced, did not commence the siege until the end of March. This time was assiduously improved by the Americans, in strengthening and extending the works which had been previously thrown up for the defence of Charleston.

The assembly of South-Carolina, which was sitting when the British landed, adjourned, after delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial.—The governor immediately ordered the militia to repair to the standard of their country; but, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, this order was obeyed by few. He was now reduced to the necessity of issuing a proclamation, under the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, requiring such of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants, and owners of property in the town, to join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. It was remarkable, that even this rigorous measure produced little effect. The people were

so much dispirited by a series of ill success, and particularly by the late repulse at Savannah, that they had in general given up the cause of their country for lost.—Their despondency must have been great indeed, when the very men who not a month before had turned out with alacrity could now tamely look on, while the enemy invested their capital, and over-ran their country. Such being the state of the public mind, it is highly probable, that had sir Henry Clinton pushed for the town, immediately after his landing, he might have possessed himself of it in a very few days. But his design was, to run no risk; he therefore proceeded slowly, and with the utmost circumspection, both before and after the commencement of the siege. He had taken care, however, to block up the harbour, previously to the debarkation of his troops; so that the shipping of the Americans could not have been saved by their evacuating Charleston; and their baggage, field artillery, and stores, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, for want of waggons to remove them.

General Lincoln had taken uncommon pains to render the garrison capable of sustaining a siege. Until the near approach of the enemy called him to other duties, he had made it his constant practice, to assist personally in forwarding the works; and this example was attended with very beneficial effects—it excited such a degree of emulation among all ranks of people, that they seemed to vie with each other, in this necessary, but laborious service. Lines and redoubts were extended across Charleston neck, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of these were strong abbatis, and a wet ditch, which last was made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, that run in opposite directions. Deep holes were dug, at short distances from each other, between the abbatis and the lines. On the right and left, the lines were of considerable strength; and were so constructed, as to command the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. In the centre was erected a citadel of mason-work; and at all the landing places, around the town, works were thrown up by the garrison.—It had been expected that commodore Whipple's squadron, which was stationed at Five-fathom-hole, and consisted of the Bricole, of forty-four guns, and five other vessels, mounting from thirty-two to sixteen guns each, would have been able to prevent the shipping of the enemy from crossing the bar; but upon the approach of admiral Arbuthnot, with one ship of fifty, two of forty-four, four of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ship, it was found that Whipple's force would be inadequate to the undertaking. He therefore fell back to Fort-Moultrie, whence he soon after retreated to Charleston. The crews and guns of all the vessels, except one, were put on shore, to reinforce the batteries; and, with a view to prevent the shipping of the enemy from passing into Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines, eleven vessels, with chevaux-de-frize on their decks, were sunk in the channel, opposite to the exchange. Congress, and the states of North and South-Carolina, had given general Lincoln reason to expect an army of nearly 10,000 men; and it was not till it was too late to attempt a retreat, that the assurances he had received were found to be fallacious. When the town was invested

by the enemy, his whole force, including militia, conſiſted of little more than 3000.

In the mean time, ſir Henry Clinton was employed in forming a depot at Wappoo, on James's-Iſland, and in erecting fortifications on that iſland, and on the main, oppoſite to the ſouthern and weſtern extremities of Charleſton, that he might proceed to the commencement of a regular ſiege, as ſoon as the expected reinforcement ſhould arrive, from Savannah. Accordingly, upon being joined by a detachment of twelve hundred men, from that garriſon, he, on the 29th of March, cauſed an advanced party to croſs Aſhley river; and, in a few days, broke ground, at the diſtance of eleven hundred yards from the American works.

Admiral Arbuthnot had croſſed the bar, and anchored at Five-fathom-hole, on the 21ſt of March. Here he remained till the 9th of April, when, ſeizing the advantages of a ſtrong ſoutherly wind and a flowing tide, he paſſed Fort-Moultrie, and anchored, near the remains of Fort-Johnſon, in the vicinity of Charleſton. Colonel Pinckney, the commanding officer at Fort-Moultrie, kept up a briſk and well directed fire on the ſhips, during their paſſage; but they paſſed the fort with ſuch rapidity, that their loſs, in killed and wounded, was but twenty-ſeven. Taught by the unſucceſsful attempt of ſir Peter Parker to reduce that fort, in 1778, admiral Arbuthnot adopted the more prudent plan, of not ſtopping to engage it.

Sir Henry Clinton diſcovered the utmoſt circumſpection, in his manner of conducting the ſiege. His approaches were made with ſuch extraordinary caution, that the field-works of the Americans, which had been haſtily thrown up, coſt him no leſs than three parallels. On the 10th of April, the day after admiral Arbuthnot paſſed Fort Moultrie, the firſt parallel was completed, and the garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender; but general Lincoln anſwered, that the ſame ſenſe of duty which had prevented him from abandoning Charleſton, during ſixty days knowledge of their hoſtile intentions, operated now, with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the laſt extremity. This anſwer ſerved as a ſignal for the opening of the Britiſh batteries, which began to play on the 12th, and ſoon acquired a decided ſuperiority over thoſe of the garriſon. This advantage aroſe from two cauſes—the Britiſh had twenty-one mortars and royals, whereas the Americans had no more than two; and the regular force in the garriſon was much inferior to that of the beſiegers. Beſides, the attention of the Americans was divided, by the joint attack of the land and naval forces of the enemy, at the ſame time.

Feeble indeed were the exertions made by the people of South-Carolina, to afford relief to their ſuffering brethren in Charleſton. About the beginning of the ſiege, a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from Charleſton, and another at Lempriere's point, to preſerve a communication with the country, by water. Meaſures were alſo taken to ſecure a ferry over the Santee, as well to favour the coming in of reinforcements, as to facilitate the retreat of the garriſon, if a retreat ſhould eventually be found neceſſary.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who commanded the Britiſh cavalry, had landed at Savannah, where he ſoon obtained a freſh ſupply of

horſes for his corps, to replace thoſe which had been loſt on the paſſage from New-York. Attaching himſelf to the troops which marched from Savannah, as a reinforcement to ſir Henry Clinton, he miſſed no opportunity of ſcouring the country, in different directions, wherever he had any expectation of coming up with ſmall parties of militia, which he frequently ſurpriſed. In theſe attacks he was almoſt uniformly ſucceſsful. On the 27th of March, however, he was checked, for the firſt time, by lieut. col. Waſhington, at the head of his corps of horſe. The Americans took ſeven priſoners, and obliged Tarleton to retreat; but, being unſupported by infantry, they did not venture to purſue him. At the beginning of the ſiege, general Lincoln ordered the cavalry, in number about 300, to keep the field, for the purpoſes of covering the country, and preſerving a communication between it and the town. The country militia were ordered to act as infantry, in conjunction with this corps; but with this order they did not, generally, comply; ſo that the cavalry was not ſupported in ſuch a manner as would enable them to render any eſſential ſervice. On the 14th of April, this corps was ſurpriſed and routed, at Monk's-corner, by a Britiſh detachment, under lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webſter. About twenty-five were killed or taken. The remainder effected an eſcape, by concealing themſelves, for ſeveral days, in the adjacent ſwamps. The Britiſh having now but little to fear, from any American force without the lines of Charleſton, extended themſelves to the eaſtward of Cooper river, with no more than two hundred and fifty horſe, and ſix hundred infantry. It was determined, in a council of war, held on the 16th of April, that the weak ſtate of the garriſon rendered it improper to ſend out a detachment, capable of encountering even this ſmall force. On the 6th of May, the remains of the American cavalry, which eſcaped from the ſurpriſe at Monk's-corner, experienced a ſtill greater diſaſter. They were ſurpriſed, at Laneau's ferry, on the Santee, by Tarleton, who charged them with a ſuperior force, and killed, captured, or diſperſed the whole. Major Call and ſeven others eſcaped on horſe-back, by urging their way through the Britiſh cavalry; a number got off, by concealing themſelves in ſwamps; and lieut. col. Waſhington, major Jameſon, and about half a dozen privates, ſaved themſelves by ſwimming acroſs the Santee. On the ſame day, Fort-Moultrie was ſurrendered to the Britiſh. The garriſon, however, was ſmall; col. Pinckney, with about 150 men, having been previouſly withdrawn to Charleſton.

While the Britiſh were thus ſucceſsful in all their undertakings, the Americans acquitted themſelves with great reſolution, in defending Charleſton againſt the attack of a much ſuperior force; but their hope of being able to prevent the town from ultimately falling into the hands of the enemy, became every day more faint.

On the 19th of April, the ſecond parallel was completed; and on the following day the beſiegers were joined by a reinforcement of 2000 men, from New-York. On the 21ſt, it was agreed by the garriſon, in a council of war, that a retreat would be attended with many diſtreſſing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable. They therefore adviſed, that, before their affairs became too critical, offers of capitulation ſhould be made to ſir Henry Clinton, which might ad-

mit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants. These terms being proposed, were rejected without hesitation; but the garrison, though disheartened by this offer to capitulate, did not yet entirely despair of succour. They therefore determined not to recede from the terms which had been asked, till their situation should become more desperate. Hostilities were accordingly renewed.

About this time, a party of 200 men, commanded by lieut. col. Henderson, made a sally. They attacked the advanced working parties of the British, killed and wounded several, and took eleven prisoners. This was the only sally made during the siege. The garrison was too weak to engage frequently in such hazardous service.

On the 6th of May the besiegers had completed their third parallel; but, before its batteries were opened, sir Henry Clinton entered into a correspondence with general Lincoln, on the subject of a capitulation. Lincoln was disposed to close with Clinton's offers, so far as they respected the army; but it was thought that more favourable terms might be obtained for the citizens. With this view, a conference was asked; but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered, that hostilities should re-commence at eight o'clock. The firing, however, was not renewed before nine; when it was begun by the garrison. A severe cannonading now took place, on both sides. The British cannon and mortars played on the garrison, at a distance of less than one hundred yards. Vast numbers of shells and carcases were thrown into almost every part of the town, and several houses were burned. The Hessian chasseurs were so near, that they could strike, with their rifles, almost every person who showed himself above the lines. The besiegers, by pushing a sap to the dam which supplied the ditch with water on the right, had drained it, in several parts, to the bottom, insomuch that they were enabled to pass the ditch. They then advanced within twenty-five yards of the main works, and began to prepare for a general storm. The garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. No hope of succour remained. A considerable part of their cannon was dismounted, and some of the remainder rendered useless, for want of shot. The militia of the town had thrown down their arms; and the citizens, in general, were exceedingly discontented and clamorous. Under such circumstances, it would have been the height of madness, to attempt, with a force short of 3000 men, scattered along extensive lines, to stand the assault of 9000 well disciplined troops, especially when they must expect to be attacked by a strong naval force at the same time. The citizens, fully sensible of their situation, addressed general Lincoln, expressing their willingness to agree to the terms which had been offered by the besiegers, and requesting that they might be accepted. General Lincoln accordingly wrote to sir Henry Clinton, and offered to accept the terms which had been proposed. The British commanders, wishing to avoid the cruel extremity of a storm, and aware of the impolicy of pressing to unconditional submission, an enemy, whose friendship was desirable above all things, and to conciliate which was their chief object, granted the same conditions which they had before offered. Articles of capitulation were signed on the 11th of May.

The garriſon were allowed ſome of the honors of war; but they were not to uncaſe their colours, nor to beat a Britiſh march. The continental troops and ſeamen were to keep their baggage, and remain priſoners of war till exchanged. The militia to return to their reſpective homes, as priſoners on parole; and, while they adhered to their parole, were not to be moleſted, in perſon or property, by the Britiſh troops. The citizens, of every condition, to be conſidered as priſoners on parole, and to hold their property on the ſame terms with the militia. The officers, of the army and navy, to retain their baggage, unſearched; and alſo their ſervants, ſwords, and piſtols. They were permitted to ſell their horſes in Charleſton, but not to remove them. And a veſſel was permitted to carry general Lincoln's diſpatches to Philadelphia, unopened.

The Britiſh return of priſoners, by including every adult male inhabitant, was ſwelled to upwards of 5000; but the proper garriſon, at the time of the ſurrender, did not exceed half that number. The number of continental privates was ſomewhat ſhort of 2000, and of theſe 500 were in the hoſpitals. The number of officers captured was out of all proportion to that of the privates. One major-general, ſix brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, and thirty-two ſecond lieutenants and enſigns, became priſoners of war. Many country gentlemen, who were moſtly militia officers, repaired to the defence of Charleſton, although they were not able to muſter privates, equal to their reſpective commands. The regular regiments were alſo fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates. Hence aroſe that diſparity which has been mentioned. It was unfortunate for the Americans that ſo many of their officers were made priſoners. The reaſons for retaining ſo many in the town, during the ſiege, were chiefly founded in an apprehenſion, that their being ordered out would diſpirit the army. It is not unworthy of remark, that, notwithſtanding the gloomy proſpects of the Americans, at this diſaſtrous period, only twenty ſoldiers deſerted during the ſiege.

The opinion of the world with reſpect to the merits of a military commander, is generally founded upon the degree of ſucceſs which may have atttended his arms. Good or ill fortune, uſually ſtamps the character of the general with celebrity or diſgrace, although every reaſoning or obſerving man muſt acknowledge the concluſion, in ſuch general terms, to be unſupported either by reaſon or experience. Had general Lincoln ſucceeded in the defence of Charleſton, it is probable that his conduct would have been highly extolled; but as this was not the caſe, he was very ungenerouſly and undeſervedly cenſured, for having riſked ſo much for its preſervation. It will not be denied, that ſound policy dictated to the Americans, the propriety of abandoning their towns to deſtruction, rather than riſk too much for their defence. And ſo uniformly was this rule obſerved by the commander in chief, and by the officers acting under him, that this was the firſt inſtance in which the Americans attempted to defend a town. But general Lincoln had particular reaſons for this deviation from the example of the commander in chief. Charleſton was the only conſiderable town in the ſouthern extremity of the union; and

South-Carolina and the adjacent ſtates ſeemed willing to make great exertions for its preſervation. Reinforcements, which would have been fully adequate to its defence, were promiſed, and expected. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had ſuch aſſurances of ſupport that he could not, with propriety, attempt it. Before the futility of theſe aſſurances was aſcertained, the Britiſh force was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that, in the opinion of a council of war, a retreat, if not wholly impracticable, would at leaſt have been attended with extraordinary hazard, and many diſtreſſing inconveniencies.

*(To be continued.)*

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *A* PROJECT *for* LESSENING *the* EXPENSES *of* GOVERNMENT.

[*Written in* 1784, *but now altogether inapplicable in Pennſylvania.*]

HONEST and ſenſible men may differ in opinion reſpecting the forms of government, but all agree in this, that frugality is neceſſary in the adminiſtration; not only as a ſaving to the pockets, but to the morals of a people: for, as a great author obſerves, the emoluments of office are generally waſted in the exceſſes of diſſipation and luxury.—It is therefore that I have contemplated, with the anxiety of a good citizen, our civil liſt, to the enormous amount of which, not only the multiplication of needleſs offices, but the ſupernumaries in the ſeveral departments, thoſe excreſcences (or, as they have been emphatically ſtiled, fifth wheels) as uſeleſs, as they are unornamental, to the machine of government, do ſo largely contribute.

Having ſaid thus much, I muſt beg the reader's attention to a project I have conceived, for ſaving to the ſtate a conſiderable ſhare of the expenſe incurred by means of theſe *redundants*: from which I can hope to derive no immediate benefit to myſelf, but what will be common to my countrymen, in proportion each one to the extent of his taxable property, being incited thereto by the unmixed ſpirit of patriotiſm.

My firſt thoughts were, to employ my project upon the great council for the executive affairs of the ſtate, of whoſe conformation and ſtructure I did not at all approve. In the diſtribution of power, under the conſtitution, this diviſion of it ever appeared to me as an awkward and unwieldy ſuccedaneum for a ſecond legiſlative branch; an inadequate counterpoiſe to a one-legged legiſlature.—But what I chiefly condemned in it was, the number of counſellors required, to which the paucity of the buſineſs committed to them was ſurely mightily diſproportioned; but the council of cenſors having, by the fortuitous, though judicious reſtoration of a comma, and the introduction of a parentheſis, in the frame of government, found means conſidera-

bly to multiply the employment of that board,* I was obliged to turn aſide from my original mark.

Forced, for this reaſon, to begin with that great legiſlative department which ſhares, with the former body, the ſovereignty of the ſtate, I am peculiarly lucky in timing my project ſo juſt in the nick, and when it will beſt bear: that is, when this department is about, with unprecedented humility, voluntarily and patriotically to caſe itſelf of the labour of executing ſome of its moſt important functions, rights, and privileges;† all which gives my ſcheme a double propriety.

This branch of the public authority, it is well known, conſiſts now of between ſeventy and eighty members; a number which, though inconveniently great for diſcuſſion and deliberation, reſpect for our law-givers would not ſuffer us greatly to wiſh an abridgment of, but rather put us to ſeek for reaſons to juſtify.

I will ſuppoſe, then, that the following conſiderations might have had conſiderable influence in this point.

That numbers, in a legiſlative body, as in the military, would have a certain effect in producing reſpect and impreſſing awe, and ſo were eſſential to the dignity of the commonwealth. That matter, as well as ſpirit, is requiſite to animal life, both giving effect to it. And that, as, in mechanicks, the lead of the jack is as neceſſary to motion as the wheels or flyers; ſo the certain weight of dulneſs and ſluggiſhneſs, inſeparable from, and the concomitants of large bodies, were indiſpenſable to all legiſlative movements. And, laſtly, that as the repreſentative ſhould be, as it were, the image of the conſtituent, or the perſon repreſented, and reflect, as in a mirror, his likeneſs, condition, and faculties; the larger the proviſion made in this caſe, the better would be the chance of accommodating the various characters, the wiſe, the fooliſh, the refined, the groſs, the honeſt, and the knaviſh, who make ſo many claſſes in ſociety, with each its proper and diſtinct repreſentative.

But to come nearer to my project, which does not reſpect our preſent members of aſſembly, who are all noted for wiſdom, in literal conformity to a rule of the conſtitution, but may be applicable to their ſucceſſors, who, as we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, will be made up, like all other popular bodies, of what I ſhall call, for want of ſome better diſtinction, *effectives* and *non-effectives*. It is upon the latter I propoſe to try it. The former do actually *think* and *vote*; the latter only *vote*: the former employ the faculty of ſpeech; to the latter it is wholly unneceſſary—the former ſhould be endued with as much loco-motion, at leaſt, as to carry them to and from ——— tavern, where every buſineſs of the houſe, but the formal, is uſually tranſacted; the latter need no other uſe of the motive faculty, than what will raiſe them into an erect poſture, when it is neceſſary to affirm a queſtion.

Now, ſir, I humbly conceive that theſe *non-effectives*, which, I ſuppoſe, may be two parts in three of the whole body, if made of *wood*,

* The conſtitutionaliſts, conceiving their ſtrength to lie rather in the executive council than in the aſſembly, contrived, by this manœuvre, to throw the appointment to almoſt all the ſtate offices into the hands of the former.

† An act paſſed the aſſembly, co-operating with the executive in the new plan of power.

whether beech, oak, aſh, or poplar, would be to the full as uſeful as in an animal ſtate; and to the unſpeakable benefit of the commonwealth, in point of ſaving.

I would therefore humbly propoſe, that a bill be brought in, as ſoon as may be, authorizing and directing the ſupreme executive council to contract with Mr. Cutbuſh, who has ſo long diſplayed the delicacy and excellency of his chiſel in the carving of ſhips lions, to prepare, in his beſt manner, the complete figures or effigies of any number, not exceeding fifty, of able-timbered aſſembly-men, to be delivered in time to take their ſeats, and be aſſigned to the city and counties reſpectively, at the firſt meeting after the autumnal election. To engage with the ingenious Mr. Rittenhouſe, to endow the ſaid members with ſo much of the automatical powers, as will enable them to give their affirmative vote, which, as we have ſaid before, being performed by the ſimple act of riſing, will be but an inoperoſe work to his journeymen, eaſily executed by them, under the orders of that great maſter. To employ Mr. Peale in decorating and finiſhing the ſaid automata, with his various tints—a ſober brown for the cloathing, and yellow for as many wigs in the group, as ſhall be thought expedient.*

Economy, ſir, ſhould ever be the butt and aim of governmental arrangement, and I flatter myſelf to have hit on an idea, that will ſecure to me as much praiſe in this reſpect, and, I hope, more ſucceſs, than what has attended the great Mr. Burke, in his late plans of reformation in the government of Great-Britain; for aſſuming one hundred and fifty days in the year for the ſeſſions, fifty non-effectives, at fifteen ſhillings per diem wages, are an annual expenſe to the ſtate of five thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds; whereas my men, from the firſt hewing of the outline to the laſt ſtroke of the bruſh, will not, at one hundred pounds a-piece, coſt in the whole more than five thouſand pounds; which may be funded by a trifling charge upon the impoſt, or exciſe, of three hundred pounds per annum—an important difference, in the preſent exhauſted condition of the treaſury, and when people are ſo little diſpoſed to pay taxes.

No other ſaving occurred to me at firſt, but I have ſince conſidered that there will be a further one in the article of *mileage*, which has ſometimes amounted to a capital ſum. On a cloſer view of this my political bantling, I have diſcovered ſome other agreeable features in it, not to be omitted in the preſent tablature.

My members ſo conſtituted being of a ſober, *ſolid*, and *luggiſh* caſt, and of natural immobility, will ſeldom give the ſpeaker occaſion to call to order; neither, from faction, miſunderſtanding, or miff, will they be ſo apt to make haſty receſſions, and leave the public buſineſs at ſixes and ſevens—an inſtance of which we lately had cauſe to regret, in ſome of their prototypes.

Being alſo fixures, they will, thereby, be in a great meaſure removed from the influence of out-door juntos, from which ſuch pernicious conſequences have often flowed; and, beſides, being conſiderable dulled in

* One of the parties in the ſtate, frequently called *yellow-whigs*, whether they wore wigs or not.

the auditory faculty, and labouring under the infirmity of a locked-jaw, it would be ſomewhat more difficult for the conſtitutional and republican parties, the one to catch them by the ear, the other to take them by the teeth. *

Furthermore, it would reflect peculiar honour upon the ſtate, in being the only inſtance of public encouragement, that I know of, exiſting in America, given to the nobleſt of the polite arts, *ſtatuary;* ſo highly eſteemed and cultivated by the illuſtrious ancients, ſo neglected by the modern nations of Europe, but altogether a ſtranger to theſe weſtern ſhores—my ſcheme would moreover be the means, in the ſeſſion, of carrying genteel ſtrangers, men of taſte, to *ſee*, if not to *hear;* and in receſs would afford a handſome perquiſite to the door-keeper.

My expedient, beſides, whilſt it can give no juſt offence to the jealous principle of rotation, eſtabliſhed in our government, can only reſpect animal repreſentation, and which, in that caſe, is the only ſecurity we have againſt the tyranny of a ſingle branch, unchecked as it is by any co ordinate body, is happily free from its great defect, the neceſſary newneſs and greenneſs of the members from the frequent change; whereas, by my method, the members will, after a time, be fully matured, and well *ſeaſoned* to their places.

I am not unaware, that ingenuity and plauſibility may ſuggeſt ſome objections to my improvement. The old ſaying may be urged againſt me, *ex quove ligno non fit Mercurius*, but this, it ſhould be remembered, was ſpoken in reference to *wits*, and not to *legiſlators*. It may be inſinuated that ſuch wooden members would not know when and which way to vote; but ſurely this may be obviated, by aſſigning them over to the will and diſpoſal of the leaders of the houſe, at the beginning of each ſeſſion, by ſome equitable and convenient rule, as ſhall be agreed on—little different indeed from a practice long eſtabliſhed in all public bodies, with reſpect to animal non-effectives.

I expect, too, it will be objected, that my members will not be able to anſwer at roll-calling; but this ceremony, unprecedented in the Britiſh houſe of commons, from which we pretend to derive our rules, and borrowed from the practice of privateers, or of iron-works, in muſtering their crew of ſeamen and labourers, may well be waved in favour of my members, as the clerk may be aſſured that he has them on the ſpot: And I am certain it will not eſcape remark, that my method will be the only one always to obtain an early quorum, through the want of which the public buſineſs often greatly ſuffers, but which the pains and penalties of the half-crown fines generally fail to procure.

Having ſucceeded ſo well in parrying all objections, whether ſober or captious, I publiſh this my ſcheme, for the conſideration of the reſpectable body it is meant to affect, and I flatter myſelf the great ſavings pointed out, and the other advantages in it, of a public nature, will induce a diſpoſition for proceeding forthwith to its execution, which I ſtand ready further to aſſiſt with my advice and opinion, whenever any committee of the houſe ſhall incline to confer with me on the ſubject.

A.

* The republican party in the city, frequently accuſed of debauching the country members of the oppoſite ſide with good dinners.

# *A* PATHETIC STORY.

[*From* MODERN CHIVALRY—*By* H. H. BRACKENRIDGE. *Esq.*]

AS there were some circumstances in the account of the young woman, that were a little striking, the captain's curiosity was excited to let her be called in, and present herself. Accordingly, the old lady stepping out, a young woman made her appearance, of considerable beauty; but in her countenance expressions of woe. Her blue eye seemed involved in mist; for she shed no tears—her sorrow was beyond that.

Young woman, said the captain, it is easy to perceive that you have not been in this way of life long; and that you have been brought to it, perhaps, by some uncommon circumstances. My humanity is interested; and it occurs to me to ask, by what means it has come to pass. The part which he seemed to take in her distress, inspiring her with confidence; and being requested by him to relate her story frankly, she began as follows:

My father, said she, lives at the distance of about twenty miles from this city, and is a man of good estate. I have two brothers, but no sisters. My mother dying when I was at the age of fourteen, I became house-keeper for the family.

There was a young man that used to come to the same church to which we went. He was of the very lowest class, mean in his appearance, of homely features, and a diminutive person. Yet he had the assurance to put himself in my way on every occasion; endeavonring to catch my eye; for he did not dare to speak to me. But I hated him, and was almost resolved to stay at home on Sundays, to avoid him; for he began to be very troublesome. His attention to me were taken notice of by my brothers. They were confident that I must give him some encouragement, or he would not make such advances. My father was of the same opinion. I assured them I had never given him any encouragement, and I never would; that I was as much averse to him as possible.

I shunned him and hated him. He persisted a long time, almost two years, and seemed to become melancholy, and at last went away from the neighbourhood; and, as I heard afterwards, to sea. I began now to reflect upon his assiduity, and endeavours to engage my affections. I recollected every circumstance of his conduct towards me, since the first time I was obliged to take notice of him. I reasoned with myself, that it was no fault of his, if his family was low; and if he himself had not all that comeliness of person which I wished in a husband; yet he was sufficiently punished in his presumption in thinking of me, by what he must have suffered, and by his going to sea, which he did to get out of my sight, finding his attempts to gain my affections, hopeless. I dreamed of him; and scarcely a moment of the day passed, but my thoughts were running on the danger to which he was exposed. It seemed to me that if he came back, I should be more kind to him. I might at least shew him, that I was not insensible of his attachment.

In about a year he returned, and the moment I saw him, I loved him. He did not dare to come to my father's house. But I could not help giving him encouragement, by my countenance, when I met him in public. Emboldened by this, he at last ventured to speak to me; and I agreed that he might come to a peach orchard, at some distance from my father's house, and that I would give him an interview. There he came often; and with a most lowly and humble behaviour, fixed my regard for him. Not doubting the violence of his love for me, and my ascendency over him, I at last put myself in his power. Becoming pregnant, I hinted marriage; but what was my astonishment to find, that, on various pretences, he evaded it; and as I became more fond, he became more cold; which had no other effect, than to make me more ardent than before. It had been usual, for many months, to meet me every evening at this place; but now I had gone often, and did not find him there. At last he withdrew altogether, and I heard he had left the settlement. Worthless and base, as I now knew him to be; and, though my reason told me, that in person he was still as homely as I first thought him, yet I continued to love him to distraction.

What was my distress, when my father, and my brothers, found that I was with child? They charged me, unjustly, of having deceived them with respect to my attachment to this low creature, from the first: In fine, my father dismissed me from the house: My brothers, no less relenting than he, in their resentment against me, upbraided me with the offers I had refused, and the treatment I had given to several gentlemen, in their advances to me. For, indeed, during the absence of this worthless man, I had been addressed by several; but my pity and compassion for the wretch, had so wrought upon me, that I could not think of any, or scarcely bear them to speak to me.

Dismissed from my father's house, (even my younger brother, who was most soft and yielding in his nature, seeming to approve of it,) I went to the habitation of a tenant of my father; there remained some time, and endeavoured to make compensation, by the labour of my hands, for the trouble I was giving them. But these poor people, thinking my father would relent, had informed him where I was, and of the care they had taken of me. The consequence was, that, at the end of three months, he sent for the child, of which I had been brought to bed some weeks before; but ordered them instantly to dismiss me, that I might never more offend his hearing with my name.

I wandered to this city, and the first night lay in the market-house, upon a bench. The next morning mixed with the women that came to market, and enquired for work of any kind. I could find none; but at last meeting with a young woman who felt for my distress, she told me, that she had a small room in this city, where she had lived some time with an aunt that was lately dead; and that now she supported herself by doing a little in the millinery way; that if I would come and take breakfast with her, and see where she lived, I was welcome. Going with the poor girl, I found her lonely and distressed enough. Nevertheless I continued with her several months. But the work was small that we got to do, and times becoming still worse, I was obliged to sell the clothes that I brought with me, to the last

petticoat and ſhort gown, to ſupport ourſelves and pay rent. To bring me to the laſt ſtage of miſery, the poor girl, who was more expert than I was, in making any little proviſion that could be made, fell ſick, and in ſhort time died. I could bear to ſtay no longer in the room, and coming out to wander in the ſtreets, like a forlorn wretch indeed, and ſobbing ſorely by myſelf, when I thought no one heard me, I was obſerved by this woman, at whoſe houſe you now are, and preſſed by her to go home. I ſoon found what ſort of a houſe it was, and had I not been watched, when I talked of going away, and threatened to be ſent to jail, for what, it is pretended I owe ſince I came to the houſe, I ſhould not have been here longer than the firſt day.

The captain, feeling with great ſenſibility, the circumſtances of her ſtory, made reply: Said he, Young woman, I greatly commiſerate your hiſtory and ſituation, and feel myſelf impelled to avenge your wrong. But the villain which has thus injured you, is out of my reach, in two reſpects: firſt, by diſtance; and ſecond, being too contemptible and baſe to be purſued by my reſentment, even on your account. But revenge is not your object, but ſupport and reſtoration to your friends, and the good opinion of the world. As to money, it is not in my power to advance you any great ſum; but as far as words can go, I could wiſh to ſerve you: not words to yourſelf only; but to others, in your behalf. It is evident to me, that you have ſuffered by your own too great ſenſibility. It was humanity and generoſity, that engaged you in his favour. It was your imagination, that gave thoſe attractions to his vile and uncomely perſon, by which you was ſeduced. You have been a victim to your own goodneſs, and not to his merit. The warmth of your heart has overcome the ſtrength of your judgment; and your prudence has been ſubdued by your paſſion: or, rather, indeed, confiding in a man whom you had ſaved from all the pains, and heart-felt miſeries of unſucceſsful love, you have become a ſacrifice to your compaſſion and tenderneſs. The beſt advice I can give you, is, to compoſe yourſelf for this night. Preſerve your virtue; for I do not conſider you as having loſt it: your mind has not been in fault, or contaminated. I will endeavour to find out ſome perſon, who may be diſpoſed to aſſiſt you; and though it may be difficult for you yet to eſtabliſh loſt fame, it is not impoſſible. So ſaying, he left the room; but the young woman, impreſſed with theſe laſt words eſpecially, viz. the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of regaining reputation, ſunk down upon her chair, and could not pay him the compliment of thanks, at his departure.

During the night, through the whole of which he lay awake, at the public houſe, he ruminated on the extraordinary nature of this incident, and the means which he would adopt to recover this woman from her unfortunate ſituation.

Thought he, I am in a city where there are a great body of the people called Quakers. This ſociety, above all others, is remarkable for humanity, and charitable actions. There is a female preacher, of whom I have heard; a Lydia Wilſon: I will inform this good woman of the circumſtance; and, if ſhe gives me leave, I will bring this ſtray ſheep to her; ſhe may have it in her power to introduce her to ſome place, where, by needle-work, and induſtry, ſhe might live, until it may be

in my power, taking a journey to her father, and ſtating the caſe, and giving my ſentiments, to reſtore her to her family.

Early next morning, as ſoon as it could be preſumed, the Quaker lady had *ſet her houſe in order*; that is, after the family might be ſuppoſed to have breakfaſted, which was about nine o'clock, the captain ſet out; and being admitted, ſtated to Mrs. Wilſon, the exact circumſtances as before related. The pious woman readily undertook every office in her power. Accordingly, taking leave, the captain ſet out for the houſe of Mrs. Robeſon.

At the door, he met a number of men coming out, and, on inquiry, he found a coroner's inqueſt had juſt ſat on the body of a young woman of the houſe, who had the preceding evening, ſuſpended herſelf from the bedpoſt with her garter. He was ſtruck, ſuſpecting it muſt be the young woman whom he had ſo much in his thoughts. Going in, and enquiring, he found it to be the caſe; and that they propoſed to bury as ſoon as the few boards of a coffin could be got ready. As a man of humanity, he could not but ſhed tears; and blame himſelf that he had not given her ſtronger aſſurance of his interpoſition before he left her, that ſhe might not have fallen into deſpair, and taken away her life.

The coffin being now ready, the funeral ſet out, not for the burying ground of a church-yard; but for a place without the city, called the Potter's-field: For ſuicide forfeits chriſtian burial: Her obſequies attended, not by a clergyman in front, nor by ſcarfed mourners, holding up the pall; nor was ſhe borne on a bier, but drawn on a cart; and the company that followed her uncovered herſe, were not decent matrons, nor venerable men, but old bauds and ſtrumpets, and cullies, half drunk, making merry as they went along.

Being interred, they returned home; but the captain remaining ſome time, contemplating the grave, thus ſpoke:

Earth, thou covereſt the body of a lovely woman, and with a mind not leſs lovely; yet doomed in her burial, to the ſame ground with negroes, and malefactors; not that I think the circumſtance makes any difference; but it ſhews the opinion of the world with reſpect to thy perſonal demerit. Nor do I call in queſtion the juſtneſs of this opinion; having ſuch circumſtances whereon to found it. But I reflect with myſelf how much opinion, operating like a general law, may do injuſtice. It remains only with heaven's chancery to reach the equity of the caſe, and abſolve her from a crime; or at leaſt qualify that which was the exceſs of virtue. If the fair elements that compoſed her frame, ſhall ever again unite, and riſe to life, and, as the divines ſuppoſe, her form receive its ſhape, and complexion from her mental qualities, and conduct on earth, ſhe will loſe nothing of her beauty; for her daring diſdain of herſelf and fate, was a mark of repentance,—ſtronger than all tears. Yet had ſhe acted the nobler part of holding herſelf in life, preſerving her mind and body chaſte until famine had taken her away, or the hand of heaven moved for her relief, ſhe had ſhone, at the laſt, riſing with ſuperior brightneſs; been ranked amongſt the firſt beauties of heaven, and walked diſtinguiſhed in the paradiſe of God. Doubtleſs the Almighty muſt blame, and chide her for this premature and raſh ſtep. Fallen to the laſt

point of depreſſion, he was about to relieve her, and the ſequel of her days might have been happy and ſerene. It was a diſtruſt of his providence. She heard my words, though ſhe did not know my heart. And ſurely it was my intention to relieve her. But ſhe erred againſt my thoughts; ſhe eluded the graſp of my humanity. For this ſhe will be reprimanded by the Moſt High; and fail of that ſupereminent glory which awaits heroic minds. Yet, O world, thou doſt her wrong, in ſentencing her to ſo low a bed. Shall the wealthy, but diſhoneſt men; matrons chaſte, but cold and cruel in their feelings; ſhall theſe have a ſtone built over them, and occupy a conſecrated ſpot; whilſt thou, unworthy, art thrown amongſt the rubbiſh of carcaſes, ſwept from jails; or of emigrants, unknown as to their origin and place.

Farewel, lovely form, whom late I knew; and let the graſs grow green upon thy grave. Thy ſorrows are expunged; but mine are awake; and will be ſo, until I alſo come to the ſhades inviſible, and have the ſame apathy of heart with thee.

## DIRECTIONS *to* STUDIOUS PEOPLE *for the* PRESERVATION *of their* HEALTH.

AS ſtudious people are neceſſarily much within doors, they ſhould make choice of a large and well-aired place for ſtudy. This would not only prevent the bad effects which attend confined air, but would cheer the ſpirits, and have a moſt happy influence both on the body and the mind. It is ſaid of Euripides, the tragedian, that he uſed to retire to a dark cave to compoſe his tragedies; and of Demoſthenes, the Grecian orator, that he choſe a place for ſtudy where nothing could either be heard or ſeen. With all deference to ſuch venerable names, we cannot help condemning their taſte. A man may ſurely think to as good purpoſe in an elegant apartment as in a cave; and may have as happy ideas where the all-cheering rays of the ſun render the air wholeſome, as in places which they never reach.

Thoſe who read or write much ſhould be very attentive to their poſture. They ought to ſit and ſtand by turns, always keeping as nearly in an erect poſture as poſſible. Thoſe who dictate may do it walking. It has an excellent effect frequently to read or ſpeak loud; this not only exerciſes the lungs, but almoſt the whole body. Hence ſtudious people are greatly benefited by delivering diſcourſes in public. Such indeed ſometimes hurt themſelves by over-acting their part; but this is their own fault. The man who dies a martyr to mere vociferation merits not our ſympathy.

The morning has by all medical writers been reckoned the beſt time for ſtudy. It is ſo; but it is alſo the moſt proper ſeaſon for exerciſe, while the ſtomach is empty, and the ſpirits refreſhed with ſleep. Studious people ſhould therefore ſometimes ſpend the morning in

walking, riding, or ſome manly diverſions without doors. This would make them return to ſtudy with greater alacrity, and would be of more ſervice than twice the time after their ſpirits are worn out with fatigue. It is not ſufficient to take diverſion only when we can think no longer. Every ſtudious perſon ſhould make it a part of his buſineſs, and ſhould let nothing interrupt his hours of recreation more than thoſe of ſtudy.

Muſic has a very happy effect in relieving the mind when fatigued with ſtudy. It would be well if every ſtudious perſon were ſo far acquainted with that ſcience, as to amuſe himſelf after ſevere thought, by playing ſuch airs as have a tendency to raiſe the ſpirits, and inſpire cheerfulneſs and good humour.

It is the reproach of learning, that ſo many of her votaries, to relieve the mind after ſtudy, betake themſelves to the uſe of ſtrong liquors. This indeed is a remedy; but it is a deſperate one, and always proves deſtructive. Would ſuch perſons, when their ſpirits are low, get on horſeback, and gallop ten or a dozen miles, they would find it a more effectual remedy than any cordial medicine in the apothecary's ſhop, or all the ſtrong liquors in the world.

It is much to be regretted that learned men, while in health, pay ſo little regard to theſe things. Nothing is more common, than to ſee a miſerable object over-run with nervous diſeaſes, bathing, walking, riding, and, in a word, doing every thing for health, after it is gone; yet, if any one had recommended theſe things to him by way of prevention, the advice would, in all probability, have been treated with contempt, or at leaſt with neglect. Such is the weakneſs and folly of mankind, and ſuch the want of foreſight, even in thoſe who ought to be wiſer than others.

With regard to the diet of the ſtudious, we ſee no reaſon why they ſhould abſtain from any kind of food that is wholeſome, provided they uſe it in moderation. They ought, however, to be ſparing in the uſe of every thing that is ſour, windy, rancid, or hard of digeſtion. Their ſuppers ſhould always be light, and taken ſoon in the evening. Their drink may be water, fine malt liquor, not too ſtrong, good cyder, wine and water, or, if troubled with acidities, water mixed with a little brandy.

We ſhall only obſerve, with regard to thoſe kinds of exerciſe which are moſt proper for the ſtudious, that they ſhould not be too violent, nor ever carried to the degree of exceſſive fatigue. They ought likewiſe to be frequently varied, ſo as to give action to all the different parts of the body; and ſhould, as often as poſſible, be taken in the open air. In general, riding on horſeback, walking, working a garden, or playing at ſome active diverſions, are the beſt.

We would likewiſe recommend the uſe of the cold bath to the ſtudious. It will, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the place of exerciſe, and ſhould not be neglected by perſons of a relaxed habit, eſpecially in the warm ſeaſon.

The ſtudious ought neither to take exerciſe, nor to ſtudy, immediately after a full meal.

# MODERN HONOUR.

MAN of honour! what a proſtituted term! by all repeated, by few underſtood—the vain man's riddle, and the wiſe man's ſtumbling-block! As every principle implanted in the human breaſt, that incites to noble and virtuous action, ought to be foſtered with caution and treated with care; ſo when this active quality called honour, warms the paſſions and the blood, it ought to be treated with reſpect, for many are its precious qualities. But the misfortune is, a fate attends this ſimilar to what attends on all rich and valuable metals---it is often counterfeited. Honour is a ſplendid and comely garment; and therefore every hare-hearted knave, ſince he cannot put *it* on, will put on its likeneſs. He will make a ſcurvy merit of imitating that virtue which he has not. The flower which would bloom and flouriſh in the ſoil of virtue, will ſpread and wanton as a rank weed in the ſoil of vice.---Hence we may trace the abuſe of honour: every one gives it his own definition; and when a man has an inclination to play the knave, it is eaſy to reduce it to the ſtandard of his own principles and convenience.

Who, then, is this man of modern honour? who, but a fellow that is fiery as flint, and who pretends to be *feeling* all over---one who ſtarts at the ſhadow of an affront, yet paſſes his whole life in affronting religion and virtue---one who can tell a thouſand lyes with the greateſt indifference, yet would run a thouſand men through the body if they charged him with telling any---one who would not hear a diſreſpectful word of his ſiſter, yet would ruin half the young women in the neighbourhood, merely for the *reputation* of doing it?---are not theſe the features of the man of honour?

The character of this *man of honour* is perhaps the moſt deſpicable in ſociety. Let thoſe therefore be ſatisfied with it, who can attain to nothing elſe: 'tis purchaſed at too low a price to create any jealouſy in noble ſouls. Some fortune, and many vices, will make it complete: virtue has nothing to do with it.

And yet the laws of this falſe principle are conſidered as indiſpenſible. It is almoſt impoſſible to evade them. It is in vain that the brave man has vindicated his courage in a thouſand dangers, a thouſand fields: if a fool beckons him to a duel, he muſt follow, and rob at once his family, his friends, and his country, to gratify the ignorance of men who ought not to be regarded. What a diſtreſſing dilemma! What a delicate ſituation is a brave man reduced to, when he heſitates between the laws of his country and the laws of *honour!* On one ſide he ſees the ſword of juſtice hanging over his head, if he ſhould dare to act in violation of them; and on the other he hears the ſtimulating voice of the point of honour cry aloud, "It is better to periſh a thouſand times than to live diſhonoured." What a cruel alternative! Death or infamy.

De L'Iſle and De la Foſſe were two French officers, who lived not long ago. They had both been born in the ſame town, the ſame ſtreet, and were almoſt next-door neighbours. They had paſſed their infancy, and the firſt part of their youthful years, together as play-

fellows or ſchool-fellows, and a moſt cordial friendſhip was contracted.

Unfortunately for them and their parents, an officer's commiſſion for each was purchaſed, in two different regiments, between whom had long ſubſiſted an inveterate animoſity. Whenever a rivalſhip of this kind happens between two regiments, it is the buſineſs of their ſuperiors to caution againſt their meeting each other, either on march or in garriſon, and even to guard againſt a meeting of the individuals; for which reaſon, before the one regiment arrives at garriſon, it is evacuated by the other.

De L'Iſle's regiment was upon duty at Montpelier, and De la Foſſe bore his commiſſion in a regiment that was to ſucceed it. The latter having a ſtrong deſire to ſee the former, obtained leave to go a day or two before, on pretence to ſee a friend of his who was much indiſpoſed.

De L'Iſle was tranſported with joy at ſeeing him, as well as on account of the obliging ſtratagem he had invented for that purpoſe.

Having dined and drunk a cheerful glaſs of Frontiniac together, De L'Iſle conducted his friend to a kind of licenſed gaming-houſe in the environs of Montpelier. They played a few games: De L'Iſle, having the run of cards in his favour, won every one. The other, ſomewhat piqued, ſaid unguardedly, "It is impoſſible to win ſo! how do you contrive to get ſuch cards?" Keep your temper (replied De L'Iſle) the cards may favour you in a game or two more.---This friendly altercation ended in a laugh on both ſides. They paid the uſual tax of the place for cards, went home, ſupped together, and on parting, took a farewel embrace of each other, De L'Iſle being to ſet out from Montpelier with his regiment the next morning, in order to make room for De la Foſſe's.

It ſeems, unhappily for them both, and quite unknown to De L'Iſle, that an officer belonging to his corps, who had got intelligence of De la Foſſe's belonging to the regiment adverſe to theirs, ſtood behind while they played at cards, in order to obſerve what ſhould paſs between them. The buſy liſtener had remarked the impatient expreſſions at loſing, which De la Foſſe's too warm temper had let eſcape. Theſe ſeeming to imply an innuendo of foul play, he conſtrued as an affront; which, on account of the then ſubſiſting regimental antipathy, was not then to be put up with. Wherefore waiting on De L'Iſle in the morning, he told him his ſenſe of the affair, and that he muſt go the demand immediate ſatisfaction, both for the ſake of his own honour, and that of the corps to which he belonged.

De L'Iſle, alarmed at the cruel purport of this unexpected viſit, remonſtrated to his brother officer the undeſigning and good-natured warmth of his friend; that they had been intimate from their infancy; that the fatal conſequences, perhaps, of ſuch a requiſition would effectually ruin his peace of mind for ever, ſhould he be even the ſurvivor.

All his excuſes, however, were treated as unmanly; and he was told, he might do as he pleaſed; but, that a faithful narrative of the affair ſhould be laid before the ſuperior officers.

Torn with anxiety and horror, he went to De la Foſſe's lodgings, and acquainted him with the terrible dilemma they were both in, and that the horrid mandate of military uſage muſt be obeyed. They went out upon the ramparts of the town, drew their ſwords, with great regret, againſt each other, and ſoon received on both ſides wounds ſufficient to diſable them from continuing the combat any more that day, as well as to atone, in the judgment of any men but refined barbarians, for ſo trifling, nay, imaginary an affront.

This duel was fought in the ſight of ſome of De L'Iſle's officers, who had been ſent on purpoſe to obſerve him. As ſoon as he got his wounds dreſt, he repaired to ſatisfy his ſuperior officers: theſe refuſed to ſee him, but ordered it ſhould be intimated to him that what he had done was not enough, becauſe one of the parties muſt die.

In conſequence of this mercileſs injunction, the diſtracted youths, neither deſiring to outlive his friend, by mutual agreement ran upon each other's ſword, in the fond hope of expiring together: which was nearly the caſe; for De la Foſſe dropt in the inſtant at De L'Iſle's feet, who was ſo terribly wounded that his recovery was deſpaired of for ſix weeks by the ſurgeon, to whoſe houſe he had been privately conveyed, and where he was kept ſecreted from all the enquiries of juſtice.

De la Foſſe was, by the immediate care of the military gentlemen, thrown into a hole dug for that purpoſe, and round which they ſtood with their ſwords drawn, till the fleſh was all conſumed, or ſo far diſfigured that the ſentence of the law could not be executed upon it, viz. That the body of a perſon ſlain in a duel is to be dragged on a ſledge, through the ſtreets, &c.

In about three months after this unhappy cataſtrophe, De L'Iſle eſcaped privately in the night time from Montpelier, and fled to Spain, where he has lived ever ſince, lamenting the loſs of his country, his parents, and his friend.

Is there no one now who bluſhes for this ſavage honour? Let us leave this character to thoſe who are willing to be ſatisfied with ſounds and emptineſs. All the *men of honour* in the univerſe are not worth one virtuous man. True honour is the bright ſun which warms noble ſouls to noble deeds. To be honourable is to be virtuous: The temple of VIRTUE leads to the temple of HONOUR.

## *The* FURIES, *a Fable. From the German of* M. LESSING.

MY furies begin to turn old, ſaid Pluto to the meſſenger of the gods: I muſt have others more freſh and young: go then, and take a circuit through the earth, and chooſe me three perſons proper to fulfil the employment which I deſtine them. Mercury obeyed, and departed.

A ſhort time after this, Juno ſaid to Iris, could you not find out for me among the mortals, two or three girls, ſage, but perfectly ſo?

You underſtand me: I have a great deſire to confound Venus, who who ſo often boaſts that ſhe has ſubjected the whole ſex to her dominion. Go, and endeavour to make this diſcovery. Iris departed, and ſearched every corner of the earth, but in vain. She at length reſolved to return. Ah! cried Juno, ſeeing her return alone, is it poſſible! O virtue! O chaſtity!

Goddeſs, ſaid Iris, I ſhould have brought you three girls, who were all three perfectly ſage—who all three never in their life ſmiled upon a man---who all three had deſtroyed in their heart, the very ſeeds of love; but alas! I arrived too late. How, too late! ſaid Juno? Yes too late:---Mercury had juſt carried them off for Pluto---

For Pluto!---and what would Pluto make of theſe virtuous girls?---FURIES.

## SINGULAR ACCOUNT *of the* STORMING *and* CAPTURE *of a* FORT *by a* DRUNKEN SAILOR.

[*From Ives's Voyage to the Eaſt-Indies.*]

IN 1756, Admiral Watſon, having ſailed with his ſquadron, and the king's troops, from fort St. David, to the aſſiſtance of Calcutta, in the Eaſt-Indies, ſtopped at Mayapore, on the banks of the Ganges, where the enemy had a place of conſiderable ſtrength, called Bougee Fort, which it was neceſſary to ſecure before he proceeded farther in the expedition. The action was begun by a briſk cannonade from the ſquadron, which ſoon ſilenced the cannon of the fort: but the garriſon not offering to ſurrender, and continuing to diſcharge fire-arrows and ſmall arms, it was determined, in a council of ſea and land officers, that colonel Clive ſhould endeavour to take it by aſſault. For this purpoſe, at five in the evening, the admiral landed an officer, two midſhipmen, and about forty ſailors from each ſhip, under the command of captain King, to aſſiſt the colonel in ſtorming the fort, which he intended doing juſt before daylight, under the cover of two twenty-four pounders mounted cloſe to the ditch. In the mean time, the colonel had given directions that the whole army, (the neceſſary guards excepted) and the detachment from the ſhips, ſhould reſt on the ground, in order to recover themſelves, as much as poſſible, from the great fatigues they had undergone in the preceding day's ſervice.

All now was quiet in the camp; and we on board the ſhips, which lay at their anchors but at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, had entertained thoughts of making uſe of this interval to refreſh ourſelves alſo with an hour or two of ſleep; but ſuddenly a loud and univerſal acclamation was heard from the ſhore, and ſoon after an account was brought to the admiral, that the fort had been taken by ſtorm. This was a joyful piece of news, and the more ſo as it was quite unexpected; but when the particular circumſtances that uſhered in this ſucceſs were related, our exultation was greatly abated, becauſe we found

that the rules so indispensibly necessary in all military exploits had been entirely disregarded in the present instance, and therefore could not help looking upon the person who had the principal hand in this victory, rather as an object of chastisement than of applause. The case was this.

During the tranquil state of the camp, one Strahan, a common sailor belonging to the Kent, having been just served with a quantity of grog (arrack mixed with water,) had his spirits too much elated to think of taking any rest; he therefore strayed by himself towards the fort, and imperceptibly got under the walls. Being advanced thus far without interruption, he took it into his head to scale at a breach, that had been made by the cannon of the ships; and having luckily gotten upon the bastion, he there discovered several Moor-men sitting upon the platform, at whom he flourished his cutlass, and fired his pistol, and then, after having given three loud huzzas, cried out, "*The place is mine.*" The Mooriſh soldiers immediately attacked him, and he defended himself with incredible resolution, but in the recounter had the misfortune to have the blade of his cutlass cut in two about a foot from the hilt; this mischance, however, did not happen, till he was near being supported by two or three other sailors, who had accidentally straggled to the same part of the fort on which the other had mounted. They, hearing Strahan's cries, immediately scaled the breach likewise, and echoing the triumphant sound, roused the whole army, who, taking the alarm, presently fell on pell-mell, without order and without discipline, following the example of the sailors. This attack, though made in such confusion, was followed with no other ill consequence but the death of the worthy captain Dougal Campbell, who was unfortunately killed by a musket-bullet from one of our own pieces in the general confusion. Capt. Coote commanded the fort for that night, and at day-light the fort saluted the admiral. It was never exactly known what number of Moors there were in the fort when our people first entered. We took in the fort eighteen cannon, from twenty four pounders downwards, and forty barrels of powder.

Strahan, the hero of this adventurous action, was soon brought before the admiral, who, notwithstanding the success that had attended it, thought it necessary to shew himself displeased with a measure in which the want of all military discipline so notoriously appeared. He therefore angrily inquired into the desperate step which he had taken. "Mr. Strahan, what is this that you have been doing?" The fellow, after having made his bow, scratched his head, and with one hand twirling his hat upon the other, replied "Why, to be sure, Sir, it was *I* who took the fort,—but I hope *there was no harm in it.*" The admiral with difficulty, was prevented from smiling at the simplicity of Strahan's answer; and the whole company were exceedingly diverted with his awkward appearance, and his language and manner in recounting the several particulars of his mad exploit. Mr. Watson expatiated largely on the fatal consequences that might have attended his irregular conduct, and then, with a severe rebuke, dismissed him; but not before he had given the fellow some distant hints, that at a proper opportunity he would be certainly punished for his

temerity. Strahan, amazed to find himself blamed where he expected praise, had no sooner gone from the admiral's cabin than he muttered these words—"*If I am flogged for this here action, I will never take another fort by myself as long as I live, by G—d!*"

The novelty of the case, the success of the enterprise, and the courageous spirit which he had displayed, pleaded strongly with the admiral in behalf of the offender; and yet, at the same time, the discipline of the service required that he should shew him outwardly some marks of his displeasure: this the admiral did for some little time; but afterwards, at the intercession of some officers, which intercession the admiral himself prompted them to make, he most readily pardoned him. And it is not improbable, that had Strahan been properly qualified for the office of boatswain, he might on some other pretence, before the expedition had ended, have been promoted to that station in one of his majesty's ships. But, unfortunately for this brave fellow, the whole tenor of his conduct, both before and after the storming of the fort, was so very irregular, as to render it impossible for the admiral to advance him from his old station to any higher rank, how strongly soever his inclinations led him to do it.

## *On* MONOPOLIES.

OF all the scourges which Providence, in the course of its administration, has suffered mankind to impose or inflict upon each other, this has been the most severe;—other evils were temporary in their nature, and limited in their operation; but this, like the stroke of the torpedo, attacked the vital principle—and of countries, comparatively fair and populous, made frequently a howling wilderness:—it acted like the cramp on the human system, and tended to depress every effort of national industry.

By monopolies I mean any and all privileges granted by sovereigns to a few in their dominions, for the purpose of carrying on any branch of trade or commerce exclusively; whereby, to the inequalities which by nature and education subsist among mankind, were superadded an artificial mean of acquiring riches, at the expense of the peace and comfort of a nation, that the throne of an outrageous despot might be supported, by the creatures and satellites of its own power.

Not contented with armies of hired and disciplined assassins, ready to execute their mandates—not satisfied with prisons, doleful and obscure, in which to deposit, in perpetual oblivion, the victims of their malice;—insecure in the midst of treaties and stratagems devised for their preservation, and of family compacts instituted for the maintenance of their authority;—they invented also monopolies, in order to divide, as it were, the people among themselves, and to create among them an order, not decorated indeed with titles, nor ornamented with mystic ensigns of supposed and hereditary rank, but, what was

much worse, bearing in their train innumerable evils, and in their hands charters of unequal and arbitrary privileges.

Awful and afflicting would be the detail of excesses flowing from this lamentable source, were the pages of history traced, as far as they could lead us, in the search of miseries endured from this quarter!—But it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to a few instances, of such modern date as are, or have been, within every body's view.

And, first, of the East-India company of England, deservedly pre-eminent in the list:—What horrors—what devastations—hath not this incorporation produced in Asia!—What a destruction of private industry and virtue hath it not occasioned in Britain!—Fair and populous regions of India have been laid waste, by sword and famine!—and the navigation of England was not suffered to exist, but for the benefit of this company, beyond the Cape of Good Hope. On the one hand, you see Asia given up to private rapacity and avarice;—on the other, a few ships employed, as might suit the fancy of the India managers! In the one case, generals and contractors, supercargoes and directors, riot in the spoils of Hindostan; on the other, a few influential ship-owners divide the profit of all the freight the company would suffer to be earned in those seas. In a minute of lord Cornwallis's, of Sept. 18, 1789, he says, "I can safely assert, that one third of the Company's territories in Hindostan, is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts."—In a private letter from India, dated in Nov. 1791, it is said, "The Mahratta and Nizam's forces have burnt, plundered, and devastated, wherever they have marched; and it is impossible to give any probable computation of the number of unfortunate people, who have already perished by this war and its consequences: but I am confident I should not exceed the truth, if I put it at above *one million of souls!*"—Both these papers were read in the house of commons of England, so late as the sixth of June last, by Mr. Francis, a member of that house; about which time, Mr. Flott, a spirited merchant of London, proved to a meeting of India stockholders, assembled in Leaden-Hall-Street, that upwards of 200 000l sterling per annum had been, for many years past, paid by the company, for freight to certain favoured old ship-owners, more than they needed to have done, in case of a fair and general competition for such freight, by way of public contract.

By the operation of this company, then, thus incorporated, it happens,

*First.* That a stock is created in the market that becomes food for the bulls and bears of the alley.

*Second.* That loans are made to the government, increasing the national debt, and, of course, the national burthens.

*Third.* That this money is ready at the call of the minister, to be employed against America, or any other people daring to be free.

*Fourth.* That this company contract themselves debts of eight millions, in the manner of the national debt, affording further aliment to purposes of stock-jobbing.

*Fifth.* That India is devastated—its miserable inhabitants put to fire and sword—its sanctuaries invaded—its princes dethroned—its

treasuries pillaged;—as has been fully described by Sheridan, by Burke, and by numerous other writers.

*Sixth.* That the marine of England is deprived of that freedom of spreading its sails to the breeze, that it enjoys in all but the Indian seas.

*Seventh.* That the officers of the company alone enjoy the fruits of victory, while they pay not the expenses of the war;—returning rich to their own country, to purchase seats in parliament, or to be the subject of state-trials, ending in nothing but immense expense and loss of time to the nation: and

*Lastly.* That for all this the stockholders get 6 to 8 per cent per annum, on their capitals, which they might as well, and more easily have earned in any other way——

Let these facts be long impressed on the memory of Americans, who draw from India only the fruits of an honourable and equitable trade—and if ever, in a moment of national frenzy and delusion, it should be proposed to them to engage in similar establishments, let the still weeping shade of Asia arise to avert at once the misery of her sister and her own.

RUSSELL.

*Philadelphia, September,* 1792.

## *On* PUBLIC CREDIT.

THERE is no subject generally so fascinating to popular declaimers, as that of public credit, wherein they appear to include all possible description of national good—and doubtless it is a benefit for a nation, as it is for an individual, where either have contracted just debts, to have the easy means, as well as the disposition to pay them; but there is this difference between the two cases, an individual considers his credit as concerned in the extinction of his debts, whereas nations usually place theirs, in an ingenious minister's ability to provide for the interest of them;—in the one case, a man is said to be in a state of sound credit when he is clear of pressure; in the other, a nation is said be rich, when it is subjected to perpetual and increasing burthens. If you say of a man, he is a man in good credit, you suppose of him as either out of debt, or as competent and willing instantly to pay his debts, out of his real or personal property;—if you say of a nation that it is in good credit, as it is in England for instance, it is only meant that the minister contrives to pay the interest, without ever dreaming of the principal.

It would seem also, that an individual became in good credit, in proportion to the small amount of his debts, whereas a nation is in better credit, just in proportion to the largeness of them,—as in England, where the funds never were so high as since they have become of an almost incredible magnitude.

The subject is new in this country, and certainly merits, by its importance, the investigation of our ablest statesmen—a debt has been contracted during the war, which became, by general neglect of it, so in-

conſiderable in value, as to be compared and called after thoſe balloons, that have lately ariſen to excite matter of ſpeculative curioſity: this debt, by a new order of things, has become reſtored to its priſtine value, and the public credit of the country has been proportionably applauded. Were this all, the proſpect would be flattering and agreeable; but, unfortunately, we are every now and then told of new loans made in Holland, or of the bank; theſe are cited as proofs of public credit, whereas, unleſs applied to pay off other debts, they ought rather to leſſen the credit, in proportion as the ſum owing is increaſed.

The truth is, public credit, as every other thing, has its good and its evil;—let it be our ſtudy to ſecure the one and to avoid the other: the good of public credit conſiſts, in the ſettled order it ſuppoſes of payment of the debts of the ſtate, whereby its creditors are benefited; but the evil conſiſts, and a very formidable one it has proved in other countries old in the ſcience, that it adminiſters to the officer at the head of the treaſury, an eaſy facility to borrow; this is connected with a conſtant readineſs, in the government of a country, to enter into any war or adventure, however abſurd in itſelf, and deſtructive to the human race, where the head of the treaſury can eaſily obtain the neceſſary loans; theſe again are never paid off, nor meant to be, but are only to be put on intereſt, and taxes impoſed on the people in the moſt plauſible, and leaſt obnoxious manner, to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to pay that intereſt; ſuch has been the hiſtory of public credit in England, and ſuch it will be here, unleſs guarded againſt by a vigilance on the part of the people, almoſt beyond what it is to be expected they will exert.

In ſuch a ſtate of things, public credit means public taxes; the more debt, the more impoſts; and unfortunately ſhould there come into government, men, admirers of the ſyſtem, fond of proving to their conſtituents the excellence of their credit, by the free uſe they make of it; ſuch men will be for war, becauſe war of any kind creates debt, debt creates taxes, taxes create offices and officers, and ſo it goes on, till the poor are ſaddled, as in England, with unſupportable burthens, contributing to the enriching and aggrandizing only of a few; hence, you will ſee, in their papers, on the one ſide, the queen ornamented at a ball, with a dreſs and jewels worth 100,000 guineas, and on the other, miſery and wretchedneſs attending the common people, and reducing many of them to want the neceſſaries of life: In one part of the picture, you behold the ſplendour of opulence exiſting in the caſtles of the noble and the affluent; in the other, the wretched peaſantry abandoning the country—here, a poet-laureat ſinging his birth-day ode; and there, a Goldſmith lamenting over his deſerted village.

To conclude, while we applaud a ſound ſtate of public credit, let us build it only ON THE PAYMENT of our debts; for whatever our ſophiſters may ſay on the ſubject, we ſhall then beſt deſerve credit when we leaſt ſolicit it.

RUSSELL.

*Philadelphia, Auguſt, 1792.*

## *On the* INDIAN WAR.

THAT a profperous ſtate of credit is apt on nations, as on individuals, ſometimes to work ill effects, by leading them into hazardous and unprofitable adventures, the ſubject we are conſidering ſufficiently evinces;—before the reſtoration of the finances of the Union all was peace, or if it was diſturbed by any temporary and fugitive alarms, they ſubſided, by the neceſſity of forbearance on the one ſide, or of moderation on the other; but no ſooner was money plenty, than war follows on its heels; inſtead of cultivating peace every where, retrenching expenſes, and paying off our debts,—the country is, as it were ſuddenly, and by ſurpriſe, involved in a new war, and heavy expenditures—a war, wholly unprofitable in its object, and hopeleſs as to its ſucceſs; for what is the object of it? To extirpate the Indians: as it would be inhumane, ſo it would be without benefit to us; and as to compelling them to an honourable peace, little is to be expected from a treaty, dictated by force on the one ſide, and neceſſity on the other; were any treaty capable of continuance with a wandering herd, ſubject to continual warfare, offenſive or defenſive, with the frontier ſettlers, it is hopeleſs as to its ſucceſs; for what armaments can penetrate regions comparatively unknown, to purſue an enemy that flies as you advance, unleſs he ſees a fair occaſion to ſtrike deciſively, in a country without reſource to our troops in caſe of a misfortune.

To have formed an effectual barrier on our borders, and limited our territorial poſſeſſions within their juſt bounds, would at once have kept both the ſettlers and the indians in awe, and would have ascertained the hitherto unknown limits of our purſuits; war might thus have been avoided, and the country have been left to purſue that pacifick ſyſtem, by which alone its public credit can be ſupported, and its debts be honourably extinguiſhed—but then, how many offices had been wanting, how many lucrative contracts would have been loſt, and how great a waſte of money would have been prevented from flowing into the coffers of thoſe concerned in this buſineſs?

If this war continues, it is eaſy to ſay its expenditures will be growing, and it will prove a regular and conſtant drain upon the treaſury, very little calculated to enliance its credit,—to ſay nothing of the diſcouragement it affords to Europeans to come into this country, engaged in a ruinous warfare: many of them are prevented by it from viſiting us, our lands ſuffer in the ſale, by being conceived to be the bone of conteſt, and the nations of the earth exclaim againſt the injuſtice of a people, unable to cultivate what ground they have, ſtill panting after more.

Let it be the ſtudy then of the people, in their elections, to chooſe thoſe men to repreſent them that may lay the axe at the root of this evil, men of ſuch patriotiſm, independence, and diſintereſtedneſs, as anxious above all things to ſecure their own rights, may be at the remoteſt diſtance from invading thoſe of others; thus the poor Indian may become ſafe in the hunting grounds allotted him,—and the country enjoy a dignity, credit, and peace proportionate to the wiſdom and integrity of its views.

RUSSELL.

*Philadelphia, Auguſt, 1792.*

## *Of* Farm-Yard Manure.

[*From a valuable little Treatiſe, entitled* "Sketches on Rotations of Crops"—*lately publiſhed in Philadelphia.*]

TO conduct the buſineſs of a farm to full advantage, we muſt exerciſe our reaſoning faculties, and build up principles which ſyſtematically embrace ſuch a regular courſe of particulars, as will beſt follow and depend on each other for obtaining the one whole of the deſign of farming. It is not immediate product alone that we aim at: for, whilſt we we with to obtain repeated full crops, our reaſon aſſures us it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to that end, that the ſoil be preſerved in full vigor. The mind then is employed, principally, on the objects of preſervation and improvement of the productive powers of the earth. Obſervations on the ſtate of common farming fix the opinion, that in general no unconnected, random purſuits tend to enſure a ſucceſſion of advantageous huſbandry for any length of time.

Well choſen rotations of crops, together with due culture, are believed to be ſo favourable to the ground, as to need but little addition of manure, in compariſon of what the common random crops abſolutely demand. Still the application of manures is held to be an eſſential branch of farming, a great link of the chain, in every inſtance. If very rich ſoils require, comparatively, but a moderate quantity, in a rotation where ameliorating crops are prevalent, yet middling and poor ſoils want all that can be obtained; and under the *old courſes*, all ſoils eagerly demand *more manure than can be procured.* Theſe exhauſting courſes, we ſee, are continually impoveriſhing our farms. Too many farmers, therefore, incline to move to freſh lands; where they would preciſely act the ſame murderous part over again.

The two principal links in good farming, are proper *rotations of crops*, which are treated of above; and *manures*, of which it is wiſhed the occaſion would admit of more than the few obſervations that follow.

In the American practice, *hay and fodder are ſtacked in the fields*; and the cattle are *fed round the ſtacks and fodder houſes*: the diſadvantages whereof are,

1. A *waſteful* uſe of the provender;
2. The *dung* lying *as it is dropped without ſtraw*, or other vegetable ſubſtance brought to it, the manure is little in quantity; and
3. That little, *not lying in heaps*, is reduced abundantly by *exhalation* and *rain*; leaving ſcarce any thing to the ſoil.

In the Engliſh and Flemiſh practice (feebly obſerved by a few of our huſbandmen) cattle are carefully *houſed*, or otherwiſe confined to a fold-yard (ſtraw-yard) in which are *ſhelters* againſt cold rains, during the whole winter, and as far through the ſpring as food will laſt: the advantages of which are,

1. A fair expenditure of the provender, *without waſte*:
2. *Leſs exhauſtion* of the juices; becauſe of the dung lying together in *large heaps*:

3 The dung being mixed with the *ſtraw*, and other vegetable ſubſtances brought to the beaſts as *litter*, the whole is trod together, and forms a large quantity of very valuable manure.

It may be no exaggeration to affirm, that the *difference* in the quantities of manure obtained from an equal ſtock of cattle by theſe ſeveral methods, may be as three to one. If ſix acres may be annually manured by the inferior method, then may eighteen by the ſuperior. Now on a ſuppoſition that *manured land is kept in heart five years* without repeating, in the one caſe but thirty acres will always remain in good order; in the other ninety acres: A very important difference! Indeed it is all the difference between an huſbandman's poverty and his riches.

Do cattle, when foddered round hay-ſtacks and fodder-houſes, or ricks, give twelve large loads of manure (forty heaped buſhels) each? do they yield *one* ſuch load? It is an eſtabliſhed fact that, in the courſe of a winter, cattle do yield full twelve ſuch loads; and if foiled or fed well, during the ſummer, with green cut graſs or clover, they may be expected to yield more and richer manure; provided that in both caſes they are *kept up*, on a *full quantity of litter*. Here, by the way, it may be noted that a lot of graſs only ſufficient to keep one beaſt in *paſturing*, has ſufficed five or ſix in *ſoiling*: and what is of immenſe importance to the ſtate of the ground and of future crops, the ground being *untrod*, is left *light* and *mellow*. Another favourable circumſtance attends this method: the beaſts are kept in *ſhade*, and conſiderably protected from flies, eſpecially if the houſe be kept dark during the heat of the day, with only air-holes near the ground and above their heads. But it will be ſaid, the ground round the ſtacks receives the dung dropt, as a dreſſing to ſo much of the field. Alas! we know this extends to a very ſmall diſtance, and even then the effects are in no part conſiderable. The place where, is ſome eminence: the rains and winds of half the year waſh away or evaporate from the frozen ground moſt of the rich ſubſtance of the winter's lean dung ſo dropt about; and the ground is, when unfrozen, during all that time, trod down and poached, to a degree that nearly deſtroys the benefit remaining from the dung dropt. A fodder houſe (a hollow rick, made of maiz tops in the way of thatch) was ſet up in a field, as is uſual; it was fenced in: at the ſouth front of it the maiz was huſked, and the huſks were ſheltered in the fodder-houſe; they were fed out in the courſe of the winter to cattle in front of the rick; in April, the rick or fodder-houſe, being then empty, was pulled down, and the covering given to the cattle. The ſoil thus *ſheltered* by the fodderhouſe for ſix months (October to April) ſhewed marks of richneſs, greatly ſuperior to the ground on which the cattle were foddered during the ſame time: graſs, weeds and crops, during the four or five following years, ſhewed this in their great growth: where the fodderhouſe, 300 feet in length and 20 in breadth, ſtood and ſheltered the ground, the richneſs of the ſoil was ſtrongly marked; when but a faint ſuperiority, over the common field, appeared where the cattle were fed.

*Litter* is an eſſential, without which farm-yard manure is of no account; and unleſs it be in *full proportion* to the number of cattle, it is not thought highly of—but is as a half done thing. Good farmers in England deem *full* littering of ſuch importance, that after reaping with ſickles and inning their wheat, they chop the *ſtubble* with ſcithes, and ſtack it for litter, for their live ſtock. Beſides the ſtraw and ſtubble for litter, they apply to the ſame uſe, fern and ſuch other vegetable ſubſtances as they can procure; and they buy ſtraw from common farmers who are not in the practice. In all countries, moſt farmers are careleſs of improvement: they look not beyond their old habits.

The like materials may be ſo applied in America—ſtraw, ſtubble, maiz ſtalks, fern, weeds before they ſeed, flags, wild oats, ſea-graſs, leaves of trees, &c. Our farmers ſay, "there is no manure in corn-ſtalks;" and they leave them ſtanding in their fields. I have been uſed to draw them into my fold-yard, in the fall and during the winter; where they were laid thick, as litter to grown cattle, and were ſoon trod into a ſponge-like ſtate; in which condition they catch and *retain* the dung and *urine* of the cattle, ſo as to give a great quantity of manure, uncommonly rich.

In November, all the cattle are to be *confined* from wandering about the fields. The fold yard is then well littered; and as often as the litter is trod into the dung, or is ſoaking wet, more litter is added; ſo that the beaſts may always lie *clean* and *dry*. They are thus confined and littered till there is a full bite of graſs in May. All the cattle that can are to be under ſhelter from cold rains during that time. It is an indiſpenſable meaſure that all horſes and young cattle be ſo ſheltered. Litter is to be given them as above.

"In many ſituations," ſays Mr. *Young*, "the dependance of a farm for manure, is on the ſtraw-yard. If in that caſe the farmer does not properly *proportion* his arable crops which *feed* cattle, to thoſe which *litter* the yard; and both theſe to the quantity of his *graſs* fields, the farm will be long before it gets well manured."

## *To* PREVENT *the* FIRING *of* HAY-STACKS.

IN Hertfordſhire, (Eng.) the farmers, for this purpoſe, ſtuff a ſack as hard as they can with hay, and tie the top tight with a cord, making the rick round it, and pulling it up as the rick advances in height: it is pulled out at the top when the rick is finiſhed, and leaves a tunnel in the middle of the hay, which admits a circulation of air, and prevents the heat, which otherwiſe might occaſion its deſtruction.

In ſome counties, farmers place a ſheep-crib in the middle of the rick, which admits a current of air, and keeps the hay from heating.

## MIRA; *A* FRAGMENT.

——SHE was fantaſtically dreſt.—I wiſh, ſaid I to my uncle, as ſhe paſſed by us, that thoſe ladies who ſtudy to look fine, would conſider what will be the advantage of their labour and expenſe. They ſeem to believe, that the more tawdry their appearance, the more acceptable they will be to the gentlemen.—It is true, they may gain by this the admiration of coxcombs; but the heart of a man of ſenſe was never caught by ribands. Would you chooſe her for a friend, who had ſo deſpicable an opinion of you, as to ſuppoſe you more pleaſed with a new cap, than a refined underſtanding!

"*Mira*" ſaid my uncle, looking after her with a ſigh, "has been changing her dreſs and complexion once a day, for fifteen years; ſometimes ſhe is too white, and at other times too red: Always poſſeſſed of the miſtaken notion, that beauty of perſon is all that is needed to make one altogether amiable; and that the next change will render her more beautiful than the laſt. But Mira, ſave her fondneſs for dreſs, and a wiſh to appear more handſome, was a girl of good ſenſe.—I was her intimate friend at the age of twenty, and had a ſincere affection for her:—I told her of her faults; ſhe thought I exaggerated, and was affronted: Few girls, Timothy, can bear you ſhould be ſo friendly. I incloſed the little poem, of which you ſaw the copy yeſterday, in a letter to her, and bade her adieu."

I ſhall conclude with my uncle's

*ODE TO MIRA.*

MIRA, can *rouge* of bluſhing hue,
Or all the waſhes France e'er knew
Add beauty to the roſe?
Or, ſprinkled with the lov'd perfume,
Say, will it richer ſweets aſſume,
Or more regale the noſe?

Then ceaſe, nor hope by art to place
New charms upon that lovely face;
Nature alone can pleaſe.
'Tis affectation ſpoils the fair;
*Mira*, avoid the affected air,
And act, I pray, with eaſe.

But grant it true, that by your ſkill
You'll make that face more beauteous ſtill;
Are you by this more bleſt?
Did beauty ever gain a friend;
Or with life's ills one pleaſure blend,
Or ſooth the grief-ſwoln breaſt?

A mind illumed and virtuous heart,
Well pleaſed to eaſe a wretch's ſmart,
To me endear the more
Than beauteous Venus ſelf could boaſt,
Or could coquettes complain they've loſt,
From ſixteen to four-ſcore.

# THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*A* PARAPHRASE *on the 16th chapter of of* St. LUKE'S GOSPEL, *from the 19th verse to the end.**

AMONG the various tribes which breath'd on earth,
Of man's frail race, of mortal boasted birth,
A certain *nobleman*, supreme in power,
Tasted fresh pleasures every circling hour.
Rich *purple robes* his soften'd limbs infold;
His garments glistened with resulgent gold:
The Tyrian-Crimson blush'd upon his vest;
And finest linen his nice taste confest.
Exotic dainties grac'd his lordly board;
With choicest wine his massy cups were stor'd.
Each day's repast was as a sumptuous treat;
With every elegance of life replete.
Day followed day, while each succeeding night
Teem'd with gay novelty and fresh delight.

But mark the contrast—at his gate there lay
A wretched cripple off the *common way*;
Rank *sores* and *ulcers* did his body fill,
Undress'd by pity, and unprob'd by skill:
No tender hand had sooth'd the poignant smart,
No touch of *friendship*, no relief from *art*.
Naked and hungry, he sends forth a groan,
And, dying, makes his heart-felt anguish known;
Pleads for a morsel of the glutton's crust,
A little morsel of the very worst;—
The very crumbs his dogs refus'd to chew,
The most despised wretched scrap would do.
But this denied, he ordered from the gate;
Nor suffer'd there his sorrows to relate;
The dogs, much kinder than their churlish lord,
A transient comfort from their tongues afford;
His sores they lick, but ah! too late all aid;
For Death's cold hand had all his sorrows laid.

Just as his soul had left its shatter'd case,
A guard of angels did the spirit grace.
With airy swiftness, soft they soar on high,
Beyond the limits of the vaulted sky.
To holy Abraham they their charge translate
And place him in the most enraptured state.
No funeral obsequies his body grace;
His *mortal* part you on a *dunghill* trace:
Where soon curruption seizes its remains;
Scarce any form the squallid mass retains.

The rich man gorg'd, replete with pamper'd food,
Cram'd with each dainty that the great term good,
Fill'd with diseases, from luxurious fare,
Met too the doom which *Adam's* race must share;
Sighed his last breath on velvet's softest down,
Torn from life's treasures, with a poignant groan!
In state superb the sumptuous carcase lay,
Where blazing tapers made a midnight day;
With solemn pomp, at length, consign'd to dust
Were the vile fragments of disease and lust.

* *When we recollect this* important parable, *and remember who spoke it, and join the description, in the 25th of Matthew, of the last judgment, where it is said* "*Then shall he also say unto those, depart from me ye accursed,*" *see* 41, 42, 43, *to the end---One would almost wonder that any professing wealthy* christian *should not be liberal in alms; for the poor seem to be like the steps of the* patriarch's ladder; *the steps for the rich to climb up on from* earth *to* heaven; *not to trample on, but to ascend as on the hallowed steps of the altar.*

A stately tomb of polish'd *marble rose*,
Where the nice *architect* each touch bestows
That skill and fancy can with taste unite.
And by its form the curious eye delight,
Or wandering stranger to the spot invite,
To read the praises on the *speaking stone*,
And view the fair inscription wrote thereon.
Here lie the atoms of the loathsome thing,
While rival *bards* his great eulogium sing;
Call him *good*, *learned*, *great*, *polite* and *wise!*
And hail his spirit in its native skies!

But oh behold! the sad reverse here view,
And let your thoughts the rich man's soul pursue:
To hell's dark, dreary mansion he hurl'd,
Deep to the center of a burning world!
Here former comforts prove a source of woe,
When he those comforts could no longer know.

His eyes he lifts, in anguish and despair;
Sees distant regions, placid, sweet, and fair;
Views happy *Lazarus*, serenely laid,
Fanned in the zephyrs of a heavenly shade;
Then in the agony of dire distress,
The wretched rich man does his suit address:
O father *Abraham!* in mercy hear;
And listen to my first, my only prayer!
Send *Lazarus* down from his delightful seat,
And let him enter this profound retreat;
One drop, one little drop but let him bring,
From the pure fount of heaven's refreshing spring;
One *little drop*, perchance, would cool this flame,
And the fierce burnings of these torments tame.

My son! my son! the *patriarch* replied,
Remember now your former fatal pride;
You had your good things in life's giddy sphere,
While *Lazarus* remain'd unpitied there;
You ask a *drop of water*, but too late;
He ask'd a *morsel* at your sumptuous gate.
Both, both denied, you have exchanged your bliss—
Be thine the sorrow, and the glory his.

Besides, a gulph impassable remains,
Betwixt your dreadful and these blissful plains;
A gulph so awful, that the spirits here,
Cant dart across the terminated sphere;
Nor dare the spirits of the dark abode
Bound o'er the barrier of their gloomy road;
This the grand *Isthmus* which divides the plains,
Where awful horror and where pleasure reigns—
A line tremendous to the sinner's eye;
A screen of mercy to the saints on high.

Then thus spake *Dives*, Since all good below,
Is quite excluded, let my brethren know
This place of anguish is no priest-craft scheme,
No tale of poets, no *enthusiast's* dream!
But a dread certainty, a *very hell*,
Where wretched spirits are consign'd to dwell,
Perhaps for ever, if some cheering ray
Shines not to bless us with a glimpse of day.
*Five sons* my mother to my father gave;
I first descended the untimely grave.
Perchance forewarn'd, they yet may shun my doom,
Nor like me enter this tremendous gloom.

Then *Abraham* thus the pleading soul bespoke,
For them in vain thou dost mine aid invoke.
The law of *Moses* points the road to *truth*;
The prophets preach to each attentive youth;
Let them then listen to the points they tell,
And these shall guide them from the paths of hell.

O father! father! *Dives* ardent cried,
That's not enough their devious steps to guide:
If from the dead a soul commission'd flew,
And stood before my thoughtless brethren's view,
They might repent, not take the dreary road
Which leads immediate to this dread abode.

The saint once more the sinner thus addrest,
And this grand truth in these clear words express'd;

The law lies open to mankind below;
*Moses* forewarns them of impending woe:
The prophets tell them of their future fate,
And draw the portrait of life's fleeting date:
If these prevail not on the harden'd mind,
No other motives shall admission find.
Tho' from the dead a ghostly spirit rose,
And hallow'd souls their dark contents disclose,
A sinner's tongue would ridicule the voice,
And to the last, in vicious ways rejoice.

LAURA.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

FEMALE LUSTRE; *an* ODE.

FAIR Chloe youthful minds subdues,
Whil'st e'en the old her empire own:
Honoured by her is every muse;
The graces bend before her throne.
Her heart by goodness is refined,
And knowledge triumphs in her mind.

Behold her in the dance appear!
Whilst grace o'er every step presides;
The maid in conversation hear,
Each sentiment whilst reason guides.
To prudence and to reason true,
She charms the many and the few.

Loved Chloe! still thy power maintain
On reason and discretion's plain;
Thus shalt thou general favour gain,
Till thou shalt bless the happy man:
Nor even then that favour lose,
Since none to worth can praise refuse.

Ye glitt'ring gems, withdraw your blaze,
Nor emulate the source of light!
How weak, how transient are your rays!
Meanly they vanish, wrapped in night.
Meteors awhile may gild the skies;
But Virtue's radiance never dies.

*Phila. Sept.* 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* HEROINE *in* HUMBLE LIFE.

EVEN in early youth her solid mind
To sacred truth was steadily inclined.
By worth regarded, favoured by the wise,
Earth she adorned, and panted for the skies.

Bereft of either parent, soon she found
The clouds of dark dependence gather round;
Yet to these ills she studied to conform,
And with becoming firmness met the storm.

Received beneath the hospitable roof,
Patient the toil endured, and bore reproof.
By virtue governed, and with prudence blest,
E'en base Suspicion all her worth confessed.
But death soon shifts the scene of mental ease,
And Betty must another mistress please;
Another master too—within whose doors
Not e'en the hour of midnight, peace insures.
Here Revelry's loud voice was often heard;
Here Luxury in all her pomp appeared.
Oft in the kitchen Ribaldry prevailed,
And in respect to modest Virtue failed.
Still patient, soon she bid a mild adieu,
And from wild Dissipation's scenes withdrew.

An humble roof she sought; that roof was found,
Which promised quiet, by reflection crowned.
But ah! how vain the hope!—A Fury here
Reigned like the storm, which blasts the fruitful year—
'Twas Jealousy!—Rage triumphed in her mien,
And on her face Suspicion's gloom was seen;
Which, like the gust, its fury would reveal
In many a flash, and roar in many a peal.

Contention's home she quits; her peaceful mind,
By worth endeared, to Heaven was still resigned.
But now disease attacks her feeble frame,
And malice on her conduct dares declaim.
Of every friend, and all support bereaved,
By public charity at length received,
Weaning from earthly comforts her desires,
This heroine without a groan expires.

This simple tale, ye mild! with pity hear,
And shed Compassion's tribute o'er her bier.

*Philadelphia, Sept.* 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* IRRESOLUTE MAN.

BY vanity oft led astray,
Yet hoping reason's path to gain,
I tread misfortune's dreary way,
And wisdom court, yet disobey.
Henceforth, the foot-ball of despair,
Victim of folly and confusion,
In pleasure's path I persevere,
*Resolve!* to make—*no resolution.*
*Philadelphia, Sept.* 1792.

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ADVICE *to the* LADIES,

NOT TO NEGLECT THE DENTIST.

SINCE time too soon the race of man impairs,
And age comes on with all its pains and cares,
Why then, by nature subject to decay,
Ah! why invite what art might long delay?---
Foes to the bloom of health, neglect and sloth
Corrode the ivory of the loveliest tooth,
And that coarse breath, where every sweet might dwell,
Tempts the nice beau to slight his careless belle,
And think no longer 'tis his heaven to sip
Love's draft of pleasure from the damask lip.

The *Dentist's* care, bright maids, can shield from harms,
And to your kisses lend a thousand charms;
Safe from the ills of torture and decay,
Love there would perch, and all his flames display---
Low at *their* shrine more constant lovers fall,
Who leave not *nature* to accomplish all---
Revere that art which thus prevents your pain,
Which ages past have sought, but sought in vain;
So shall your lovers to their oaths be true,
And, years elaps'd, each beauty still be new;
While *she*, who proudly would all art despise,
And trusts alone the conquests of her eyes,
Too soon beholds her wonted influence lost,
Neglected wit, and love congeal'd to frost.
In vain her *rouge* the mask of health restores,
No more the lover sighs, the slave adores;
Insulting prudes no more a rival fear,
But cruel whispers thus insult her ear;
*In Love's bright circle, why should they be seen*
*Whose toothless charms encroach on gay* six teen?
*Philadelphia, Sept.* 1792.

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*The* DISH *of* TEA.

LET some in grog place their delight,
O'er bottled porter waste the night,
Or sip the rosy wine;
A dish of tea
More pleases me,
Yields softer joys,
Provokes less noise,
And breeds no base design.

From China's clime, this present brought,
Enlivens every power of thought,
Rigs many a ship for sea.;
Old maids it warms,
Young widows charms,
And misses' men
Not one in ten
But courts them for their tea.

When throbbing pains assail my head
And dulness o'er my brain is spread,
The muse no longer kind,
A single sip
Dispels the hyp:
To chase the gloom
Fresh spirits come,
The flood-tide of the mind---

When worn with toil, or vext with care,
Let Susan but this draught prepare
And I forget my pain;
This magic bowl
Revives the soul,
With gentle sway
Bids care be gay,
Nor mount to cloud the brain.

If learned men the truth would speak
They prize it far beyond their Greek,
More fond attention pay:
No Hebrew root
So well can suit;
More quickly taught,
Less dearly bought,
And studied twice a day——

This leaf, from distant regions sprung,
Puts life into the female tongue,
And aids the cause of love.
Such power has *tea*
O'er bond and free,
Which priests admire,
Delights the 'squire,
And Galen's sons approve.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the ſeſſion which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October*, 1791.

*(Continued from page* 137.)

### FISHERY BILL.

ON the 12th of January, an act for the encouragement of the bank and other cod-fiſheries, was ſent from the ſenate, for the concurrence of the houſe of repreſentatives. This act was founded on the report of the ſecretary of ſtate, reſpecting the fiſheries; which had been preſented to congreſs in the preceding ſeſſion, and for which our readers are referred to the Aſylum for Oct. 1791, page 270.—In the debates on this bill, we again find the narrow principle of local intereſt evidently forming a bias in the minds both of its friends and opponents, though not openly avowed by either. By one party, the juſtice and policy of the propoſed bounty were ſtrenuouſly urged; while the unconſtitutionality of the meaſure ſeemed to form the baſis of the oppoſition.

The bill being taken up, in a committee of the whole, on the 3d of February. Mr. *Giles* moved that the whole of the firſt ſection, which provided for the payment of the bounty, ſhould be ſtruck out. This he conſidered as the moſt effectual mean of collecting the ſenſe of the committee, with reſpect to the principle of the bill, which he conceived to be a bounty on occupation, and therefore at variance with the conſtitution; for the conſtitution contained no ſuch power, either direct or implied. It might, perhaps, be defended by a rule of conſtruction already adopted by the houſe, viz.—that of *ways and ends*; but he wiſhed ever to ſee ſome connexion between a ſpecified power, and the means adopted for carrying it into effect.

There was, he contended, a great difference between giving encouragement and granting a direct bounty, Congreſs might paſs laws for the regulation of commerce; and any advantage thence reſulting to a particular occupation, connected with commerce, came within that authority. But the propoſed bounty, to a particular employment, was ſtepping beyond the circle of commerce, and would affect the whole manufacturing and agricultural ſyſtem. He declared his averſion to bounties, in almoſt every ſhape, and expatiated on the injuſtice of excluſive privileges, monopolies, &c. as derogations from the common right. Under a juſt and equal government, every man was entitled to protection in the enjoyment of the whole product of his labour, except ſuch portion of it as might be neceſſary to enable government to protect the reſt. In every bounty, excluſive right, or monopoly, government violated the rights of a part of the community, by tranſferring the product of one man's labour to the uſe and enjoyment of another.

The principle of the bill, as it reſpected political economy, he conceived to be equally unjuſtifiable. All occupations, ſaid he, that ſtand in need of bounties, inſtead of increaſing the real wealth of a country, tend to leſſen it; for as the real wealth of every country conſiſts in the product of uſeful labour employed in it, the impolicy of encouraging any occupation that would diminiſh the aggregate wealth of the community, muſt be manifeſt. If an occupation is really productive beyond the capital employed, and thus augments the general wealth, no bounties are neceſſary for its ſupport;—when it falls ſhort of this, any forced advantage that is given to it, by governmental bounties, only tends to decreaſe the wealth of the country.

It might perhaps be ſaid, in favour of the bill, that it made proviſion for the defence of the united ſtates, and that the only queſtion to be decided was—whether the bounties were more than equivalent to the portion of defence to be expected from the fiſheries. But any man, ſaid he, who takes a view of this country, muſt be convinced that its real ſtrength ariſes from the land, and not from the ſea. The oppoſite miſtake has ariſen from a ſervile imitation of the conduct of Great-Britain. That country, ſurrounded by the ſea, finds a navy neceſſary to ſupport her commerce; while America, poſſeſſed of an immenſe territory, and having yet ample room to cultivate that territory, has no occaſion to contend by ſea with any foreign power. He next

proceeded to ſhow, that that portion of the national defence which might be derived from the fiſheries, would coſt too much. He obſerved, that, although the apparent intention of the bill was to convert the exiſting drawbacks into the propoſed bounty, yet they had no neceſſary relation to each other. The drawbacks were allowed only on the exportation of the fiſh, but the bounties would be granted on the tonnage of the veſſels, ſo that there could be no comparative value between them. He read a calculation, tending to ſhow that the propoſed bounties would conſiderably exceed the exiſting drawbacks, and what expenſe each man employed in the fiſheries would be to the united ſtates. He did not think it wiſe to enter into a competition with Great-Britain and France, for ſupplying the different markets with fiſh. Thoſe nations being able to hold out greater encouragement to their fiſhermen, than we could to ours, ſuch a competition would only exhauſt the treaſury of the united ſtates, to no purpoſe.

Mr. *Murray* obſerved, that, in order to demonſtrate the propriety of the meaſure, in would be incumbent on the friends of the bill, firſt, to prove that the fiſhery trade was in a ſtate of decay; that the ſtock employed in it did not yield the ordinary profits, ſo as to juſtify the merchants in embarking their capital in this branch of trade; that there was a ſyſtem of defence in contemplation, which the circumſtances of the country called for, and which this trade was calculated to furniſh; that other branches of trade, which did not ſtand in need of encouragement, were not equally capable of furniſhing ſeamen for the purpoſe; that this particular object ſo peculiarly claimed the attention and encouragement of the united ſtates, as to leave far behind every conſideration of the manufacturing intereſt, the agricultural, &c.—all this he thought neceſſary for gentlemen to prove, and to ſhew ſome very ſtrong neceſſity for encouraging one particular claſs of men, in preference to all others.

Mr. *Goodhue* ſtated the advantages that would ariſe to the country, from encouraging a nurſery of hardy ſeamen, who would, in caſe of emergency, contribute largely to the national defence, as they had done during the late war.

The drawback, allowed by the exiſting law, on the exportation of ſalt fiſh, was calculated to be only equal to the duty beforehand paid, on the quantity of ſalt uſed in curing the fiſh; but the fiſhermen complained, that, as the act ſtood, they were wholly excluded from any participation in the benefit, which centered entirely in the coffers of the merchants:---the object of the preſent bill, was only to repay the ſame money into the hands of thoſe perſons who were immediately concerned in catching the fiſh; and there could no reaſonable objection be made to ſuch a transfer of the drawback, as government would not loſe a ſingle dollar by the change.

The fiſhermen, he continued, are now under no control; and in conſequence of this want of a proper reſtraint, they often take whims into their heads, and quit the veſſels during the fiſhing ſeaſon. To prevent the inconveniencies of this practice, the bill contemplates their excluſion from the bounty, unleſs they enter into ſuch contracts and regulations, as may be found neceſſary for the proper and ſucceſsful conducting of the buſineſs, which, from our advantageous ſituation, would be entirely in our hands, if we did not meet with ſuch oppoſition and diſcouragement from foreign nations, whoſe bounties to their own fiſhermen, together with the duties laid upon our fiſh, would, to perſons leſs advantageouſly ſituated than us, amount almoſt to a total prohibition.

In the report from the ſecretary of ſtate, a drawback is contemplated of the duties on all foreign articles, uſed by the ſeamen employed in the fiſhing trade, ſuch as coffee, rum, &c. &c.—but we aſk it, on the ſalt alone; nor is it aſked as a bounty, but merely as a transfer from the hand of the merchant to that of the fiſhermen.

Mr. *Ames*, after ſome introductory obſervations, adverted to the neceſſity of fixing ſome point in which both ſides would agree. Diſputes, he ſaid, could not be terminated, or rather, they could not be managed at all, if ſome firſt principles were not conceded. The parties would want weapons for the controverſy.

Law is in ſome countries the yoke of government, which bends or breaks the necks of the people—but, thank heaven, in this country it is a man's ſhield; his coat of mail, his caſtle of ſafety; 'tis more than his defence—,tis his weapon to puniſh thoſe who invade his rights—'tis the inſtrument which aſſiſts—'tis the price that rewards, his induſtry.

If I ſay that fiſhermen have equal rights with other men, every gentleman feels in his own boſom a principle of aſſent; if I ſay that no man ſhall pay a tax on ſending

his property out of the country, the conſtitution will affirm it; for the conſtitution ſays, *no duty ſhall be laid on exports:* If I ſay, that on exporting dried fiſh, the exporter is entitled to a drawback of the duty paid on the ſalt, I ſay no more than the law of the land has confirmed.

Plain and ſhort as theſe principles are, they include the whole controverſy; For I conſider the law allowing the drawback as the right of the fiſhery; the defects of that law as the wrong ſuffered, and the bill before us as the remedy.

| | *Dollars.* |
|---|---|
| The defects of the law are many and grievous. | |
| Suppoſe 340,000 quintals exported, the ſalt duty is - - | 42,744 |
| The drawback is only - - - - | 34,000 |
| Loſs to the fiſhery - - - - | 8,744 |
| Whereas government pays, at 13½ cents including charges, which are 3½ cents on a quintal, - - - | 45,900 |
| Which is beyond what the fiſhery receives - - | 11,900 |
| And a clear loſs to government of - - | 3,156 |

So that, though the whole is intended for the benefit of the fiſhery, about one fourth of what is paid is not ſo applied; there is an heavy loſs, both to government and the fiſhery.

Even what is paid on the export is nearly loſt money; the bounty is not paid till the exportation—nor then till ſix months have elapſed: Whereas the duty on ſalt is paid before the fiſh is taken; it is paid to the exporter, not to the fiſherman. The bounty is ſo indirect that the poor fiſherman loſes ſight of it. It is paid to ſuch perſons, in ſuch places, and at ſuch periods, as to diſappoint its good effects—paſſing through ſo many hands, and paying ſo many profits to each, it is almoſt abſorbed. The encouragement too is greateſt in ſucceſsful years, when leaſt needed—and is leaſt in bad fiſhing ſeaſons, when it is moſt needed.

It is a very perplexed, embarraſſing regulation, to the officers of government, and to the exporter—hence the great charge; and, with all this charge and trouble, it is liable to many frauds. Four hundred miles of coaſt—little towns, no officer.

All theſe defects the bill remedies—and beſides, gives the money on condition that certain regulations are ſubmitted to, which are worth almoſt as much as the money.

The bill is defended on three grounds—1ſt, it will promote the national wealth—2d, the national ſafety—3d, juſtice requires it---the laſt is fully relied on.

To ſhew that the fiſhery will increaſe the wealth of the nation, it cannot be improper to mention its great value.

The export before the war, brought more than a million of dollars into this country; probably it is not leſs at preſent, and no ſmall part in gold and ſilver: It is computed that 30,000 perſons, including 4,000 ſeamen, ſubſiſt by it. Many ſay, very compoſedly, if it will not maintain itſelf, let it fall. But we ſhould not only loſe the annual million of dollars which it brings us; an immenſe capital would be loſt. The fiſhing towns are built on the naked rocks or barren ſands on the ſide of the ſea. Thoſe ſpots however, where trade would ſicken and die, which huſbandry ſcorns to till, and which nature ſeems to have devoted to eternal barrenneſs, are ſelected by induſtry to work miracles on: Houſes, ſtores and wharves are erected, and a vaſt property created—all depending on this buſineſs.—Before you think it a light thing to conſign them to ruin, ſee if you can compute what they coſt; if they outrun your figures, then confeſs that it would be bad economy, as well as bad policy, to ſuffer rival nations to ruin our fiſhery.

The regulations of foreign nations tend to bring this ruin about. France and England equally endeavour, in the language of the ſecretary of ſtate, to mount their marine on the deſtruction of our fiſhery.

The fiſh of Newfoundland is allowed liberal bounties by the Engliſh government; and in the French Weſt-Indies—we meet bounties on their fiſh, and duties on our own, and theſe amount to the price of the fiſh. From the Engliſh iſlands we are quite ſhut out—yet ſuch is the force of our natural advantages that we have not yielded to theſe rivals. The ſecretary of ſtate has ſtated theſe, page 5th and 6th of his report.

The more fiſh we catch, the cheaper; the Engliſh fiſh will need a greater bounty—whereas if we ſhould yield, the Engliſh would probably need no bounty at all; they would have the monopoly. For example, ſuppoſe the Engliſh can fiſh at two dollars

the quintal—we catch ſo much, that we ſell at one dollar and two thirds; the loſs to them is $\frac{1}{3}$ dol. each quintal. They muſt have that ſum as a bounty.

Whereas, if we increaſe our fiſhery, a greater and a greater bounty is needed by foreign nations—the conteſt ſo painfully ſuſtained by them muſt be yielded at laſt, and we ſhall enjoy alone an immenſe fund of wealth to the nation, which nature has made ours; and though foreigners diſturb the poſſeſſion, we ſhall finally enjoy it peaceably and excluſively. If the lands of Kentucky are invaded, you drive off the invader, and ſo you ought—why not protect this property as well.

Theſe opinions are ſupported by no common authority.—The ſtate of Maſſachuſetts having repreſented the diſcouragements of the fiſhery, the ſubject has received the ſanction of the ſecretary of ſtate; he confirms the facts ſtated in the petition; he ſays it is too poor a buſineſs to pay any thing to government.

Yet inſtead of aſking bounties, or a remiſſion of the duties on the articles conſumed, we aſk nothing, but to give us our own money back, which you received under an engagement to pay it back, in caſe the article ſhould be exported.

If nothing was in view therefore, but to promote national wealth, it ſeems plain that this branch ought to be protected and preſerved; becauſe, under all the diſcouragements it ſuffers, it increaſes, and every year more and more enriches the country, and promiſes to become an inexhauſtible fund of wealth.

Another view has been taken of the ſubject, which is drawn from the naval protection afforded in time of war by a fiſhery.

Our coaſting and foreign trade are increaſing rapidly; but the richer our trade becomes, the better prize to the enemy: So far from protecting us, it would be the very thing that would tempt him to go to war with us. As the rice and the tobacco planter cheerfully pay for armies, and turn out in the militia, to protect their property on ſhore, they cannot be ſo much deceived as to wiſh to have it left unprotected when it is afloat; eſpecially when it is known that this protection, though more effectual than the whole revenue expended on a navy could procure, will not coſt a farthing; on the contrary, it will enrich while it protects the nation. The coaſters and other ſeamen, in the event of a war, would be doubly in demand, and neither could protect themſelves nor annoy the enemy, to any conſiderable degree; but the fiſhermen thrown out of buſineſs by a war, would be inſtantly in action.—They would, as they formerly did, embark in privateers—having nothing to loſe, and every thing to hope, they would not diſhonour their former fame. Their mode of life makes them expert, and hardy ſeamen. Nothing can be more adventurous. They caſt anchor on the banks, 300 leagues from land, and with a great length of cable ride out the ſtorms of winter: If the gale proves too ſtrong, they often ſink at their anchors, and are food for fiſh which they came to take; for ever wet, the ſea almoſt becomes their element—cold and labour, in that region of froſt, brace their bodies, and they become as hardy as the bears, on the iſlands of ice; their ſkill and ſpirit are not inferior—familiar with danger, they deſpiſe it. If I were to recite their exploits, the theme would find every American heart already glowing with the recollection of them; it would kindle more enthuſiaſm than the ſubject has need of: My view is only to appeal to facts, to evince the importance of this fiſhery as a means of naval protection. It is proper to paſs over Bunker's-hill, though memorable by the valour of a regiment of fiſhermen; nor is it neceſſary to mention further, that five hundred fiſhermen fought at Trenton.

It is proved that the privateers manned by fiſhermen, in want of every thing, not excepting arms, which they depended on taking from their enemies—brought into port warlike ſtores of every kind, as well as every kind of merchandiſe, ſufficient for the army and the country: the war could not be carried on without them. Among other exploits almoſt beyond belief, one inſtance is worth relating—theſe people, in a privateer of ſixteen guns and one hundred and fifty men, in one cruiſe, took more than twenty ſhips, with upwards of two hundred guns, and nearly four hundred men.

The privateers from a ſingle diſtrict in Maſſachuſetts, where the fiſhery is chiefly ſeated, took more than two thouſand veſſels, being one third of the Britiſh merchant veſſels, and brought in near 1200. An hundred ſail of privateers, manned by fiſhermen, *would* ſcour every ſea in caſe of a war.

Some gentlemen think of a navy: but what navy could do more? what nation would provoke a people ſo capable of injuring them? Could fifty ſhips of the line afford more ſecurity? and yet this reſource of the fiſhery, always ready, always ſuffici-

ent, will coſt nothing. The ſuperior naval force of our foes ſhould not diſcourage us; our privateers would iſſue, like ſo many ſword-fiſh to attack the whale.

I leave theſe obſervations to their weight, and forbear to preſs them further—ſtrong as I think them, I reſt my ſupport of the bill on another ground.

I will only aſk whether you will ſuppreſs, if you will not encourage them? whether if you will not give them the money of the public, you will partially ſeize their own? This is all they aſk—if your policy demands for them ſo much, will your juſtice deny them ſo little?

I have repeatedly aſſerted that the bill will not coſt the public a farthing: you only take the money which the fiſhery brings into the treaſury for the ſalt duty, and pay the ſame or a leſs ſum back in bounties, inſtead of a drawback on the exportation of the fiſh; here I reſt the argument. Before I adduce my proofs, I cannot forbear to lay open the ſtate of my mind.

I rely on the truth of the facts I propoſe to offer; I rely on the proof of them, being as near demonſtration as the nature of the caſe will admit: I make no doubt of the good ſenſe and good intentions of the gentlemen whom I wiſh to convince; and yet, I am ſorry to ſay, I am far from being ſanguine in the hope of gaining a ſingle vote for the bill. I will explain my meaning, and then I think no gentleman will take exceptions at it: this debate depends on calculation. In print or writing, or in private converſation, figures have the advantage of every other mode of inveſtigation: the mind is fixed to a point, and made to perceive it clearly.---But in public debate it is otherwiſe---figures not only diſguſt attention, but, as the mind cannot carry them along, they confound it; they make a plain thing look myſterious, and bring it into ſuſpicion. When I aſk of the committee an hearing, and it is granted, I get nothing---I want a cloſe attention, and I have to beg, and earneſtly too, that gentlemen will not truſt their firſt opinions, and vote againſt the bill, without condeſcending to receive and to weigh the facts and calculations of its advocates.

The firſt queſtion is, how much does government receive by the duty on the ſalt uſed in curing the fiſh which is exported?

The quantity of fiſh muſt be known.

Several ways of information are to be explored.

The ſecretary of ſtate ſuppoſes the fiſh of 1790, to be 354,276 quintals.

A treaſury return of fiſh exported from Aug. 20th, 1789, to Sept. 30th, 1790, which which is 13⅓ months, is 378,721 quintals.

For a year equal to 340,849.

*See ſecretary's report, page* 16.

Foreign dried fiſh imported from 15th Aug. 1789, to Aug. 1790,3701 quintals---5 per cent. drawback thereon is only 310 dollars, at 1⅔ dollars per quintal.

Mr. Giles is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that foreign fiſh deducts 16,000 dollars from our eſtimate.

Return of fiſh in ſeven months, from May 30th, to December 1790. exported---all fiſh of the united ſtates, 197,278 quintals;

Which for a year is 331,184 do.

The medium may be fairly taken for the time paſt at 340,000 quintals a year.

Six gentlemen of Marblehead certify, that 5043 hogſheads, or 40,344 buſhels of ſalt were uſed on 38,497½ quintals; which for 340,000 quintals, gives 356,200 buſhels.

| | dols. |
|---|---|
| The duty at 12 cents is 42,744 dollars, which government receives. | |
| But the charge to the united ſtates is, at 13½ cents per quintal, - | 45,900 |
| Whereof the fiſhery receives 10 cents on each quintal exported, - | 34,000 |
| Charges as the law ſtands, - - - | 11,900 |

Further, this is but an eſtimate made up from what the laſt year proved. The next may be very different, and probably it will be. If more money ſhould be demanded than 44,000 dollars, we muſt not be accuſed of miſleading congreſs. But in that caſe an increaſe would be made by the law---for the more fiſh is exported, the more 13½ cents to be paid; ſo that the bill creates no burden in that way. But the increaſe of the export of fiſh will probably operate in favour of government. For it is known that the economy, ſkill, and activity of the fiſhery are making progreſs. Its ſucceſs has progreſſed. The more fiſh to a veſſel, the cheaper the allowance on the tonnage

—therefore the tonnage of veſſels will not increaſe in a ratio with the increaſe of the fiſh.

The very objections prove this. For they deem the encouragement too great. But any encouragement muſt have the effect.

The difference of the agreements for diſtributing the fiſh according to the preſent practice, or by this bill, makes a great one in the quantity taken. The bill reforms the practice in this point. Marblehead veſſels take leſs than thoſe from Beverly. The former throw the fiſh into a common ſtock, which is afterwards divided upon a plan very unfriendly to exertion. A man works for the whole---perhaps twelve hours, and they take about 800 quintals to a veſſel. But in Beverly, the exertion is as great as can be made—eighteen hours a day, becauſe each man has what he catches, and they catch 1100 quintals.

Marblehead ſeamen, ſailing from other towns, and dividing as laſt mentioned, which the bill eſtabliſhes, ſeldom fail to catch two or three hundred quintals more than veſſels or men from Marblehead on the firſt plan. Accordingly, I aſſert, on good authority, that the increaſe in Marblehead only may be computed at 15,000 quintals, merely in conſequence of the reform by the bill. The beſt informed perſons whom I have conſulted, entertain no doubt that the export, in caſe the bill ſhould paſs, would not be leſs than 400,000 quintals, probably more—but at 400,000 quintals, it would add 7,200 dollars more to the ſalt duty: a ſum more than equal to any eſtimate of the actual tonnage, or any probable increaſe of it, 42,744

7,200

49,944 Salt duty on 400,000 quintals.

Other facts confirm the theory, that ſkill and exertion are increaſing in this buſineſs.

In 1775, tons 25,000, ſeamen 4,405. Fiſh ſold for 1,071,000 dollars,

In 1790, three fourths of the ſeamen, and three fourths of the tonnage, take as much fiſh. It is owing to this that our fiſhery ſtood the competition with foreign nations.

Finally, the average in future may be relied on not to be leſs than 350,000 quintals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salt duty on which | 43,944 | dollars. |
| Bounties | 44,000 | |
| Wanted | 56 | |

The calculation firſt made will anſwer the purpoſe.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 340,000 quintals pay ſalt duty | 42,744 | dollars. |
| Tonnage bounty | 44,000 | |
| Wanted | 1,256 | |

This is the mighty defect. Obſerve, the authentic return of the export of fiſh may be, and we can almoſt prove it to be, below the future export---Whereas, to baniſh all doubt, we go to the top of the ſcale for the tonnage; we take what we know to be the utmoſt. This we might have preſented more favourably, if we had choſen to conceal any thing. But even this will anſwer our purpoſe. For 200 tons are wanting in the eſtimate of the bounties, being 19,800, not 20,000, which will take off one third of the deficient ſum. The tonnage over 68, which receives nothing, is not mentioned---which probably is not leſs than another third. The boats under five tons, though trifling, are to be noticed---they receive nothing.

But above all, the chances of non-compliance with the regulation are in favour of the remainder of the 1,256 dollars being ſtopped. Boats may not get twelve quintals to the ton, or veſſels may have their voyages broke up, and not ſtay four months on the fiſhing ground; in either caſe, they would receive nothing. Take all theſe together, it is not to be doubted that 1,256 dollars will remain of the 44,000 in the treaſury.

But theſe are trifles which I cannot believe gentlemen are anxious about. For the event cannot be reduced to certainty. What quantity of fiſh will be exported, no man can tell now. But as government may receive more than it will pay, the chance may turn the other way, and it may have to pay a few hundred dollars more than it will have received. We have ſeen that the chance is moſt in favour of government. But one chance muſt balance the other. This anſwer is ſincerely relied on as a good one.

I barely mention that the wear of cordage, cables, ſails, and anchors is very great. Theſe articles, on being imported, pay duties. So that it is probable the extra duty paid by the fiſhery on their extra conſumption, will over balance any little ſums ſuppoſed to exceed in the bounty.

It has been aſked, as if ſome cunning was detected, why, if the money received in the treaſury to pay the drawbacks is equal to the propoſed bounties, a further appropriation ſhould be made? This cunning queſtion admits of ſeveral very ſimple anſwers.

The bill being for ſeven years, the average product is the ſum to be calculated. But the three firſt years may fall ſhort of the bounties, ſay 2,000 dollars a year; which is 6,000

The four laſt may exceed 2,000 8,000

Shall a poor fiſherman wait for the whole, or, if he takes his part according to the money in the treaſury---for a twenty-fourth part of the bounty on his veſſel, from 1792 to 1795?

2d. This delay would happen after a bad year, the very time when he would moſt need prompt pay.

3d. But fiſh taken this year will not be exported till December next. Therefore the money will not be ſtopped by the drawback, as the law ſtands, till ſix months after.

A ſubſtitute has been propoſed for the clauſe, to appropriate the drawback only. This is abſolutely improper. For the 10 cents allowed as drawback is but a part of the duty paid on ſalt---It is not eaſy to ſee any reaſon why a part ſtopped at the treaſury ſhould be equal to the whole paid there long before. The drawback falls near 9,000 dollars ſhort of the ſalt duty received by the government. The expenſe of the drawback would be very heavy and uſeleſs. Nor may gentlemen apprehend that government, by paying next December, will advance money to the fiſhery. The ſalt duty will have been paid, and government will have the uſe of the money many months, before the fiſhermen will have a right to call for their bounties. It is left to the candour of the gentlemen who have urged this objection, whether a better or further anſwer is deſired.

After having laboriouſly gone through the eſtimate of the probable export of fiſh, it will not be neceſſary to be equally minute, as to the quantity or kind of veſſels which are to receive the bounty The eſtimate we believe to be very high. That it is high enough, we ſuppoſe very probable, from the eſtimate of the ſecretary of ſtate, which is only 19,185 tons.

This mode of paying the bounty on the tonnage is very ſimple and ſafe---the meaſurement is already made, and coſts nothing; and as it was made to pay a duty on tonnage, we are very ſure that government will not be cheated by an over meaſure. The mode of paying the drawback, as the law now ſtands, is expenſive, perplexed, and embarraſſing; liable to frauds and delays.

This intricate and diſguſting detail of calculations was neceſſary, to ſatisfy the committee that each of the three grounds of defence on which the bill reſts, is tenable. Inſtead of impoveriſhing the nation, by ſcattering the treaſure of the whole to benefit a part, it appears that we are preſerving a mine of treaſure. In point of naval protection, we can ſcarcely eſtimate the fiſhery too highly. It is always ready, always equal to the object---it is almoſt the only ſufficient ſource of ſecurity by ſea. Our navigation is certainly a precious intereſt of the country. But no part of our navigation can vie with the fiſhery, in reſpect to the protection it affords. There is no point, which regards our national wealth or national ſafety, in reſpect to which it ſeems practicable to do ſo much with ſo little.

We rely on the evidence before you, that the public will not ſuſtain the charge of a dollar. Thoſe ought not to doubt the evidence, who cannot invalidate it. If then the fiſhermen aſk you to reſtore only their own money, will you deny them? Will you return to every other perſon, exporting dutied goods, the money he has paid, and will you refuſe the poor fiſhermen?---If there muſt be an inſtance of the kind, will you ſingle out for this oppreſſive partiality, that branch which is deſcribed by the ſecretary of ſtate as too poor even to bear its part of the common burden? That branch which nevertheleſs has borne the neglect of our nation, and the perſecution of foreign prohibitions and duties:---A branch which, though we have received much, and expect more, both of money and ſervices, urges no claims but ſuch as common juſtice has ſanctioned.

Mr. *Gerry.* The propoſed allowance has been called a bounty on occupation, and is ſaid to be very different from that encouragement, which is the incidental reſult of a general commercial ſyſtem:---but in reality it is no bounty:-- a bounty is a grant, made without any conſideration whatever, as an equivalent; and I have no idea of a bounty, which admits of receiving from the perſon, on whom it is conferred, the amount of what is granted. We have impoſed a duty on ſalt, and thereby draw a certain ſum of money from the fiſhermen:---the drawback is, in all inſtances, the amount of the money received:---this is all we aſk; and we aſk it for a ſet of men, who are as well entitled to the regard of government, as any other claſs of citizens.

It has been ſuppoſed, that the allowance, made to the fiſhermen, will amount to a greater ſum than the drawback on the exportation of the fiſh: but I think it has been clearly ſhewn, that this will not be the caſe:---on the contrary, it is preſumable, that the drawback on the fiſh would, on the whole, exceed the ſum which is propoſed to be allowed to the fiſhermen; ſometimes it might be more, ſometimes leſs.

The calculation is made on general principles; and it is impoſſible to calculate to a ſingle cent: the quantity of ſalt, to be expended on the fiſh, cannot be minutely aſcertained; but this was not heretofore conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon, why congreſs ſhould refuſe to allow the drawback: they allow it, though in a different ſhape.---It is now propoſed to make a further commutation: gentlemen call this a bounty on occupation:---but is there any propoſition made for paying to the fiſhermen, or other perſons concerned in the fiſhery, any ſums, which we have not previouſly received from them?---if this were the caſe, it would indeed be a bounty:---but if we beforehand received from them, as much as the allowance amounts to, there is no bounty granted at all.

If however it really was a bounty on occupation, it would after all be only an indulgence ſimilar to what has been granted to the landed and agricultural intereſts:---we have laid on hemp a duty of 45 cents per hundred weight; and on beer, ale, and porter, five cents per gallon:---now I aſk gentlemen, whether the profeſſed deſign of thoſe duties was to raiſe a revenue, or to prevent the importation of thoſe articles? they were laid for no other purpoſe, than to prevent foreigners from importing them, and thereby to encourage our own manufactures; and was not that encouragement a bounty to the perſons concerned in producing ſuch articles in this country?

I wiſh to know on what principle gentlemen can expect, that the citizens of Maſſachuſetts ſhould contribute 200,000 dollars, or perhaps a greater ſum, for the protection of the weſtern frontier againſt the Indians, when no contribution is made to ſupport the commerce of Maſſachuſetts, which, without this ſupport, will be as effectually ruined, as if their veſſels were captured by an enemy. The principle is carried farther, with reſpect to the protection of the frontier: we have voted large ſums as preſents to the ſavages, to keep them friends to the frontier ſettlers: there is, however, no clauſe in the conſtitution, that will authoriſe a meaſure of this kind: it is true, indeed, we have a power to regulate trade and commerce with the Indian tribes; but does that give us a power to render the united ſtates tributary to the ſavages? and if we make them ſuch grants every year, do we not in fact become tributary to them?

Here Mr. Gerry read a ſtatement, to ſhew the diminution of the revenue in conſequence of the failure of the fiſheries;---and added,

To ſupport the fiſhery, is to ſupport the revenue: by that ſtaple, the citizens of Maſſachuſetts are enabled to pay the revenue that is expected from them; and, by an attempt to ſave 10,000 dollars, government would probably ſacrifice an hundred thouſand;---and beſides, loſe the confidence of the citizens of that ſtate.

Mr. *Williamſon.* We have been told that congreſs may give bounties for uſeful purpoſes:---that is to ſay, they may give bounties for all imaginable purpoſes, becauſe the ſame majority that votes the bounty, will not fail to call the purpoſe a good one. Eſtabliſh the doctrine of bounties, and let us ſee what may follow. Uniform taxes are laid to raiſe money---and that money is diſtributed---not uniformly; the whole of it may be given to people in one end of the union. Could we ſay in ſuch a caſe, that the tax had been uniform? I think not.

We are told that a nurſery of ſeamen may be of great uſe to the nation, and the bounty propoſed is a very ſmall one. Theſe, ſir, are the reaſons why I have marked this as a dangerous bill: the moſt dangerous innovations are made under theſe circumſtances. To begin with a great bounty would be imprudent, and to give a ſmall bounty for a doubtful purpoſe, might deſerve a worſe epithet. Half a million of dol-

lars per annum, would have been too much for a beginning, and perhaps a bounty on the use of sleighs, though they are convenient for travelling in winter; or a bounty on stone fences, though they are durable, would not at this time be prudent. The object of the bounty, and the amount of it, are equally to be disregarded in the present case: we are simply to consider whether bounties may safely be given under the present constitution; for myself, I would rather begin with a bounty of one million per annum, than one thousand: I wish that my constituents may know, whether they are to put any confidence in that paper, called the constitution.

You will suffer me to say, that the southern states have much to fear from the progress of this government, unless your strength is governed by prudence; the operation of the funding system, has transfated at least two millions of dollars, from the southern states, that is to say, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, to the northern states. The interest of that sum, when it shall be six per cent. will be 120,000 dollars; but the quota of those states, is at least one third of the whole; whence it follows, that they must pay forty thousand dollars every year, in the form of interest, to the northern states. This, it seems, is not sufficient, and other measures are to be adopted for draining the southern states. Bounties, to promote the general welfare, are already brought forward; we shall not hear of a bounty for raising rice, or preparing naval stores. If that was the question, the general welfare would not have such prominent features. Unless the southern states are protected by the constitution, their valuable staples, and their visionary wealth, must occasion their destruction.

Perhaps I have viewed this project in too serious a light; but if I am particularly solicitous, on the subject of finance, that we do not even seem to depart from the spirit of the constitution, it is because I wish the union may be perpetual. The several states are now pretty well relieved from their debts, and our fellow-citizens in the southern states, have very little interest in the national funds; press them a little with unequal taxes, and the remedy is plain.

While I would shun bounties, as leading to dangerous measures, I am not inattentive to every argument that has been advanced by the honourable member who first rose in defence of the bill. That gentleman tells us, that more than a bushel of salt is used in curing a quintal of fish. If this fact be established, the former act should be amended, by giving a greater drawback. He says, the drawback, as it is now paid to the merchant, does noto perate so as to encourage the seamen, who have most need of such assistance. This is very probable, and the parties may be relieved by dividing the drawback in the very manner that is proposed by the bill. If it is true, that the proposed bounties will not exceed the average of the drawback that should be paid on salt, why do they contend about names, unless they are solicitous about the precedent. If our object is to encourage industry, and to increase our commerce, by sending fish to a foreign market, we must adhere to the drawback; for, according to the terms of the bill, the bounty is to be paid, though every fish that is caught should be consumed in the country; in which case we should be paying a visionary drawback, when nothing was exported; according to the terms of the bill, there is no proportion between the labour and the reward, so far as the bank fishery is concerned; the bounty in all cases being the same.

If the drawback on dried fish exported, is not equal to the duty on the salt used in curing such fish, let the drawback be increased to eleven cents, or twelve cents, as the case may be. Let us suppose that the drawback for the next year, will be equal to the drawback on the last year; and let that sum of money, being the expected drawback, be divided between the seamen and owners, according to the terms of the bill; the accounts must be made up annually. If the drawback exceeds the allowance that had been made, the difference will be considered as advanced to the fishery, and the allowance for the next year must be somewhat reduced, according to the actual amount of the drawback. If the fishermen are more fortunate or more active, and the exports are increased, the allowance for the next year must be raised. The rule being fixed by law, all that remains being pure calculation, may be done from year to year by the executive. Every important object of this bill, that has been presented to our view, may be obtained by safe and constitutional steps. Why should a man take a dangerous and a doubtful path, when a safe one presents itself? If nothing more is desired than to regulate and protect the fishery, the bill may be altered and accommodated to that purpose; if the theory of bounties is to be established, by which the southern states must suffer, while others gain, the bill informs us what we are to expect.

Mr. *Goodhue.* The gentleman, (Mr. Williamson) allows that we may commute the present drawbacks, and give them to the fisherman instead of the merchant: but it is impossible to do this with safety, in any other mode than that pointed out in the bill—Shall we leave it to the fisherman, to be determined by his oath? This would not be advisable.

The plan proposed is a much less exceptionable one: it is founded on a calculation, that a certain quantity of tonnage is employed in taking a certain quantity of fish:—on this calculation the allowance is apportioned to the tonnage: if gentlemen think the allowance too high, let the sum be reduced; but let it not be stigmatised as a bounty: it is no such thing.—The word '*bounty*' is an unfortunate expression; and I wish it were entirely out of the bill.

Mr. *Lawrance* said, from examining the section, he conceived it contemplated no more than what the merchant is entitled to by existing laws. The merchant is now entitled to the drawback: but it is found by experience, that the effect has not been to produce that encouragement to the fishermen which was expected; and he presumed the way was perfectly clear to give a new direction to the drawback—and this is all that is aimed at in the bill. He supposed that the clause had no necessary connection with the question which had been stated, respecting the right of the government to grant bounties—but, since the question has been brought forward, it may be proper to consider it: In discussing the question, he enquired, what has congress already done? Have we not laid extra duties on various articles, expressly for the purpose of encouraging various branches of our own manufactures—these duties are *bounties*, to all intents and purposes; and are founded on the idea only of their conducing to the *general interest*.—Similar objections to those now advanced, were not made to these duties—they were advocated (some of them), by gentlemen from the southward; he traced the effects of these duties, and shewed that they operated fully, as indirect bounties.

Mr. Lawrance then adverted particularly to the constitution—and observed that it contains *general* principles and powers only—these powers depend on *particular* laws for their operation; and on this idea he contended that the powers of the government must, in various circumstances, extend to the granting bounties; he instanced in case of a war with a foreign power, will any gentleman say that the general government has not a power to grant a bounty on arms, ammunition, &c. should the general welfare require it? The general welfare is inseparably connected with any object or pursuit, which in its effects adds to the riches of the country.

Mr. *Madison.* In the conflict I feel between my disposition, on one hand, to afford every constitutional encouragement to the fisheries, and my dislike, on the other, of the consequences apprehended from some clauses in the bill, I should have forborne to enter into this discussion, if I had not found that in discussing it, over and above such arguments as appear to be natural and pertinent to the subject, others have been introduced, which are, in my judgment, contrary to the true meaning, and even strike at the characteristic principles of the existing constitution. Let me premise, however, to the remarks which I shall briefly offer, on the doctrine maintained by these gentlemen, that I make a material distinction in the present case, between an allowance as a mere commutation and modification of a drawback, and an allowance in the nature of a real and positive bounty. I make a distinction also, as a subject of fair consideration at least, between a bounty granted under the particular terms in the constitution, "a power to regulate trade," and one granted under the indefinite terms, which have been cited as authority on this occasion. I think, however, that the term "bounty" is in every point of view improper, as it is here applied, not only because it may be offensive to some, and in the opinion of others, carries a dangerous implication; but also because it does not express the true intention of the bill, as avowed and advocated by its patrons themselves. For if in the allowance nothing more is proposed than a mere reimbursement of the sum advanced, it is only paying a debt; and when we pay a debt, we ought not to claim the merit of granting a bounty.

It is supposed by some gentlemen, that congress have authority not only to grant bounties, in the sense here used, merely as a commutation for drawbacks; but even to grant them under a power, by virtue of which they may do any thing which they may think conducive to the "general welfare." This, sir, in my mind, raises the important and fundamental question, whether the general terms which have been cited, are to be considered as a sort of capitation or general description of the specified

powers, and as having no further meaning, and giving no further power, than what is found in that ſpecification, or as an abſtract and definite delegation of power extending to all caſes whatever; to all ſuch, at leaſt, as will admit the application of money, which is giving as much latitude as any government could well deſire.

I, ſir, have always conceived,---I believe thoſe who propoſed the conſtitution conceived, and it is ſtill more fully known, and more material to obſerve, that thoſe who ratified the conſtitution conceived, that this is not an indefinite government, deriving its powers from the general terms prefixed to the ſpecified powers, but a limited government, tied down to the ſpecified powers, which explain and define the general terms.

The gentlemen who contend for a contrary doctrine, are ſurely not aware of the conſequences which flow from it, and which they muſt either admit, or give up their doctrine.

It will follow, in the firſt place, that if the terms be taken in the broad ſenſe they maintain, the particular powers afterwards, ſo carefully and diſtinctly enumerated, would be without meaning, and muſt go for nothing. It would be abſurd to ſay firſt, that congreſs may do what they pleaſe, and then that they may do this or that particular thing; after giving congreſs power to raiſe money, and apply it to all purpoſes which they may pronounce neceſſary to the general welfare, it would be abſurd, to ſuperadd a power to raiſe armies, to provide fleets, &c. In fact, the meaning of the general terms in queſtion, muſt either be ſought in the ſubſequent enumeration, which limits and details them; or they convert the government from one limited, as hitherto ſuppoſed, to the enumerated powers, into a government without any limits at all.

It is to be recollected, that the terms "common defence and general welfare," as here uſed, are not novel terms, firſt introduced into this conſtitution. They are terms familiar in their conſtruction, and well known to the people of America.

They are repeatedly found in the old articles of confederation, where, although they are ſuceptible of as great latitude as can be given them by the context here, it was never ſuppoſed or pretended that they contained any ſuch power as is now aſſigned to them. On the contrary, it was always conſidered as clear and certain, that the old congreſs could not give away the monies of the ſtates in bounties, to encourage agriculture, or for any other purpoſe they pleaſed. If ſuch a power had been poſſeſſed by that body, it would have been much leſs impotent, or have borne a very different character from that univerſally aſcribed to it.

The novel idea now annexed to theſe terms, and never before entertained by the friends or enemies of the government, will have a further conſequence, which cannot have been taken into the view of the gentlemen. Their conſtruction would not only give congreſs the complete legiſlative power I have ſtated: it would do more: it would ſupercede all the reſtrictions underſtood at preſent to lie in their power, with reſpect to the judiciary. It would put it in the power of congreſs to eſtabliſh courts throughout the united ſtates, with cognizance of ſuits between citizen and citizen, and in all caſes whatſoever. This, ſir, ſeems to be demonſtrable: for if the clauſe in queſtion really authoriſes congreſs to do whatever they think fit, provided it be for the general welfare, of which they are to judge, and money can be applied to it, congreſs muſt have power to create and ſupport a judiciary eſtabliſhment, with a juriſdiction extending to all caſes favourable in their opinion to the general welfare, in the ſame manner as they have power to paſs laws and apply money, providing in any other way for the general welfare—I ſhall be reminded perhaps, that, according to the terms of the conſtitution, the judicial power is to extend to certain caſes only, not to all caſes. But this circumſtance can have no effect in the argument, it being preſuppoſed by the gentlemen, that the ſpecification of certain objects does not limit the import of general terms. Taking theſe terms as an abſtract and indefinite grant of power, they compriſe all the objects of legiſlative regulation, as well ſuch as fall under the judiciary article in the conſtitution, as thoſe falling immediately under the legiſlative article; and if the partial enumeration of objects in the legiſlative article does not, as theſe gentlemen contend, limit the general power, neither will it be limited by the partial enumeration of objects in the judiciary article.

There are conſequences, ſir, ſtill more extenſive, which, as they follow clearly from the doctrine combated, muſt either be admitted, or the doctrine muſt be given up. If congreſs can apply money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the ſole and ſupreme judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own

hands; they may establish teachers in every state, county, and parish, and pay them out of the public treasury; they may take into their own hands the education of children, establishing in like manner schools throughout the union; they may undertake the regulation of all roads, other than post roads: In short, every thing, from the highest object of state legislation, down to the most minute object of police, would be thrown under the power of congress; for every object I have mentioned would admit the application of money, and might be called, if congress pleased, provisions for the general welfare.

The language held in various discussions of this house, is a proof that the doctrine in question was never entertained in this body. Arguments, wherever the subject would permit, have constantly been drawn from the peculiar nature of this government, as limited to certain enumerated powers, instead of extending, like other governments, to all places not particularly excepted. In a very late instance, I mean the debate on the representation bill, it must be remembered, that an argument much urged, particularly by a gentleman from Massachusetts, against the ratio of one for 30,000, was that this government was unlike the state governments, which had an indefinite variety of objects within their power, that it had a small number of objects only to attend to, and therefore that a smaller number of representatives would be sufficient to administer it.

Several arguments have been advanced to shew that, because, in the regulation of trade, indirect and eventual encouragement is given to manufactures, therefore congress have power to give money in direct bounties, or to grant it in any other way that would answer the same purpose; but surely, sir, there is a great and obvious difference, which it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon. A duty laid on imported implements of husbandry, would, in its operation, be an indirect tax on exported produce; but will any one say, that, by virtue of a mere power to lay duties on imports, congress might go directly to the produce or implements of agriculture, or to the articles exported. It is true, duties on exports are expressly prohibited; but if there were no article forbidding them, a power directly to tax exports could never be deduced from a power to tax imports, although such a power might directly and incidentally affect exports.

In short, sir, without going further into the subject, which I should not have here touched on at all, but for the reasons already mentioned,—I venture to declare it as my opinion, that, were the power of congress to be established in the latitude contended for, it would subvert the very foundation, and transmute the very nature of the limited government established by the people of America:—and what inferences might be drawn, or what consequences ensue from such a step, it is incumbent on us all well to consider.

With respect to the question before the house, for striking out the clause, it is immaterial whether it be struck out, or so amended as to rest on the avowed principle of a commutation for the drawback; but as a clause has been drawn up by my colleague, in order to be substituted, I shall concur in a vote for striking out, reserving to myself a freedom to be governed in my final vote, by the modification which may prevail.

*Mr. Bourne* (Mass.)—Mr. chairman, I think little can be added after so full a discussion of the subject before you. The object of the first section in this bill, is intended for the relief of the fishermen and their owners; they complain that the law now in force was meant for their benefit, by granting a drawback on the fish exported; this they find by experience is not the case—for they say that neither the fishermen who catch the fish, or the importer of the salt, receives the drawback; and I rather suppose, sir, it is the case. The owners of the greater part of the fishing vessels are not merchants, neither do they import the salt they consume; but when the fish they take are cured for market, they are sold for the market price; and it frequently happens, that those persons who purchase the fish, are not the exporters of them, or the importers of the salt—but a third person, who purchases with a prospect of selling them at a profit, is the exporter; and when it so happens, neither the fisherman who catches the fish, or the importer of the salt, receives any benefit from the drawback, unless the purchaser (the third person) gives a greater price in contemplation of the drawback, which I think is not to be supposed.

Is it worthy the attention of government that the codfishery should be preserved? It appears to me that it is. When we consider the labour and assiduity bestowed on this object by our ministers, at the settlement of peace between us and Great Britain;

and the care then taken to secure this privilege, as appears by the treaty, and consider the struggle made to deprive us of this inestimable branch of commerce, I cannot suppose that any one would at this day voluntarily relinquish it, and suffer Great-Britain to monopolize this branch, and supply the Mediterranean, French, and other markets. Great-Britain, at present, enjoys a sufficient portion of this commerce, while France is confined to the narrow limits of St. Peters and Miquelon. If we relinquish this branch of the codfishery, what is left us?—Our whale fishery is nearly at an end, and unless government speedily interposes by granting relief, we shall totally lose it.—Does not the British government wish to deprive us of this branch also? have not letters or agents been sent to the island of Nantucket, as well as New-Bedford, where this branch of business is principally prosecuted, inviting the whale fishermen to remove, and offering them permanent settlements at Milford-Haven, at the expense of their government?---This must be viewed as a great encouragement, in addition to their bounties on oil, to a class of poor men employed in that business. If the codfishery is relinquished, the fishermen have only to remove to the opposite shore of Nova-Scotia, where they will find encouragement fully adequate to their services---of all which they are not unapprised. By encouraging this class of men, your revenue will be encreased; for in return for the fish exported, you will receive sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, molasses, pimento, cotton, dying woods, rum, wine, salt, fruit and other articles subject to duty, and consumed in the country.---And again, your treasury will receive an excess by the provision in this bill---for I presume the greater proportion of vessels employed in this business, are from 20 to 40 tons---the town of Marblehead, perhaps, has principally large ones. Suppose then a vessel of 30 tons obtains in a season 600 quintals of fish (a very moderate voyage indeed) her tonnage is 75 dollars, the drawback on exportation would be 78 dollars, so that your treasury retains three dollars gain by this bill, which would be a loss on the drawback.

*(To be continued.)*

# POLITICAL REGISTER.

## LETTER *from* M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *of* FRANCE, *dated Camp of Maubeuge, June* 16, 1792.

AT this moment, too long delayed perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has long since accused; I am informed that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of their power, that the least excuseable, the most noted of these ministers, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger: the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; of them the nation expects her salvation. But, when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

Persuaded, gentlemen, that the Rights of Man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the law of the legislators appointed under it: it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall hinder me from exercising this right of a freeman, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither their momentary errors of opinion; for what are opinions when they deviate from principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the constitution is the will supreme; nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumſtances are difficult. France is menaced from without, and agitated within---While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national ſovereignty, and thus declare themſelves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticiſm and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and fatigue us ſtill more with their inſolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to ſuppreſs them, and you cannot have the power to do ſo, without being yourſelves conſtitutional and juſt.

You deſire to be ſo without doubt, but caſt your eyes on what paſſes in your own body, and all around you.

Can you diſſemble that a faction, and, to avoid vague denominations, that the Jacobine faction has occaſioned all theſe diſorders. It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a ſeparate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this forms a diſtinct corporation in the midſt of the French people, whoſe power it uſurps, by ſubjugating their repreſentatives and their mandatories.

It is there that, in public ſittings, love of the laws is denominated ariſtocracy, and their infraction patriotiſm. There the aſſaſſins of Defilles receive triumphs---the crimes of Jourdon find panegyriſts---there alſo the recital of the aſſaſſination that ſtained the city of Metz excited internal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will eſcape reproaches by ſheltering themſelves under an Auſtrian manifeſto, in which theſe ſectaries are named? Are they become ſacred becauſe Leopold has pronounced their name? And becauſe we have to fight with foreigners, who preſume to meddle in our quarrels, are we releaſed from the duty of delivering our country from domeſtic tyranny?

What import to this duty either the projects of foreigners, or their connivance with counter revolutioniſts, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce this ſect; I who, without ſpeaking of my paſt life, can anſwer to thoſe who feign ſuſpicions of me; "Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will ſoon be known, and let us ſee which of us, moſt inflexible in his principles, moſt firm in his reſiſtance, will beſt brave the obſtacles and the dangers which traitors wiſh to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her ſake."

And how ſhould I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the conſtituted authorities, and ſubſtitutes the ſpirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators impoſes ſilence on peaceable citizens and ſupplants uſeful men; when devotion to a ſect is made the ſubſtitute of all public and private virtues, that in a free country ought to be the auſtere and only means of arriving at the firſt functions of government?

It is after having oppoſed to all obſtacles and all ſnares the courageous and perſevering patriotiſm of an army, ſacrificed perhaps to combinations againſt its leader, that I can now oppoſe to this faction, the correſpondence of a miniſtry, the worthy production of its club—a correſpondence of which all the calculations are falſe, the promiſes vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having preſſed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without the means, they began to tell me that reſiſtance would ſoon be impoſſible, when my indignation repelled the daſtardly aſſertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between theſe factions, men who avow their ariſtocratic ſpirit, and thoſe who uſurp the name of patriots. Both wiſh to ſubvert our laws, rejoice in diſorders, riſe up againſt the authorities conferred by the people, deteſt the national guard, preach indiſcipline to the army, and ſow ſometimes diſtruſt, ſometimes diſcouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who eſpouſed the American cauſe, at the very moment when its ambaſſadors declared to me it was loſt; who thenceforward devoted myſelf to a perſevering defence of liberty, and the ſovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on preſenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it;* I come now, full of confidence in the juſtice of our cauſe, of contempt for the cowards who deſert it, and of indignation againſt the traitors who would ſelly it: I come to declare that the French nation, if ſhe is not the moſt vile in the univerſe, may and ought to reſiſt the conſpiracy of kings formed againſt her.

It is not, undoubtedly, in the midſt of my brave army, that timid ſentiments are permitted; patriotiſm, energy, diſcipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. In it the principles of liberty and equality are cheriſhed, the laws reſpected, property ſacred; in it neither calumnies nor factions are known; and when I recollect that France has ſeveral millions capable of becoming ſuch ſoldiers, I aſk myſelf to what pitch of debaſement would an immenſe people be reduced, ſtill ſtronger in their natural reſources than in the defence of art, oppoſing to a monſtrous confederation the advantage of combinations directed to a ſingle object, for the baſe idea of ſacrificing their ſovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, of ſubmitting their declaration of rights to negociation, to appear one of the poſſibilities of the iſſue that is rapidly advancing upon us.

But in order that we, ſoldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with profit to our cauſe, it is neceſſary that the number of the defenders of our country be ſpeedily proportioned to that of their adverſaries; that ſtores of all ſorts be multiplied, to facilitate all our motions: that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the proviſions for their health, be no longer expoſed to fatal delays, or pretended ſavings, which always turn out the direct reverſe of their object.

Above all, it is neceſſary that the citizens, rallied around the conſtitution, be aſſured that the rights which it guarantees will be reſpected with a religious fidelity, that ſhall drive its enemies concealed, or public, to deſpair.

Reject not this wiſh: it is that of the ſincere and faithful friends of your legitimate authority. Aſſured that no unjuſt conſequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical meaſures can ſerve a cauſe which owes its force and its glory to the ſacred baſis of liberty and equality, make criminal juſtice reſume its conſtitutional courſe; make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the conſtitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the ſprings of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is inveſted with the national majeſty; let him have the power of chuſing a miniſtry that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conſpirators, let them periſh by the ſword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law, their uſurpations to the firm and independent exerciſe of the conſtitutional authorities, their diſorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty, their delirious fury to the calm and ſteady courage of a nation that underſtands its rights and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true intereſts of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all thoſe to whom her ſubjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous ſpeculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the repreſentations and the petitions ſubmitted to the national aſſembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whoſe love of liberty will never be honeſtly queſtioned; whom the different factions would hate leſs, if he had not raiſed himſelf above them by his diſintereſtedneſs: whom ſilence would have better become, if, like ſo many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national aſſembly, and the conſequence with which it is of importance that it ſhould be ſurrounded; and who cannot better teſtify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without diſguiſe.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conſcience, and the obligations of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all, to myſelf, whom the chances of war do not allow to poſtpone obſervations that I think uſeful; and who wiſh to believe that the aſſembly will find in this addreſs a new homage of my devotion to its conſtitutional authority, as well as of my perſonal gratitude, and of my reſpect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

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LETTER *from* M. LA FAYETTE *to the* KING.

*Entrenched camp of Maubeuge, June* 16, 1792, *4th year of liberty.*

SIRE,

I HAVE the honour to ſend your majeſty the copy of a letter to the national aſſembly, in which your majeſty will find the expreſſion of ſentiments that have animated my whole life. The king knows with what ardour, with what conſtancy,

I have been at all times devoted to the cauſe of liberty, to the ſacred principles of humanity, equality, and juſtice. He knows that I was always the adverſary of factions; the enemy of licentiouſneſs, and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his conſtitutional authority, and my attachment to his perſon. Such, ſire, is the baſis of my letter to the national aſſembly; ſuch will be that of my conduct towards my country and your majeſty, amid the ſtorms which ſo many combinations, hoſtile or factious, ſtrive to draw upon us.

It belongs not to me, ſire, to give to my opinions or my meaſures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a ſimple citizen ought to poſſeſs; but the expreſſion of my thoughts was always a right, and on this occaſion becomes a duty; and although I might have fulfilled this duty ſooner, if, inſtead of being to be heard from the midſt of a camp, my voice had been to iſſue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that public function, or any perſonal conſideration, releaſes me from exerciſing this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

Perſiſt, ſire, ſtrong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous reſolution of defending the principles of the conſtitution againſt all their enemies. Let this reſolution, ſupported by all the acts of your private life, as by a firm and full exerciſe of the royal power, become the gage of harmony, which above all in the moments of criſis, cannot fail to be eſtabliſhed between the repreſentatives elected by the people, and their hereditary repreſentative. It is in this reſolution, ſire, that for your country and for yourſelf are glory and ſafety.---There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it againſt the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterpriſes of the factious. And I, ſire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my perſevering oppoſition—I will always merit it, by my zeal to ſerve the cauſe to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law and the king.

Such, ſire, are my unalterable ſentiments, to which I ſubjoin the duty of homage and that of my reſpect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

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## *An* ADDRESS *to the* FRENCH, *on the* DANGER *of their* COUNTRY, *voted in the* NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *on the* 11*th of July*, 1792.

CITIZENS,

YOUR conſtitution reſtores the principles of eternal juſtice. A league of kings is formed to deſtroy it. Their battalions are advancing: they are numerous, under rigorous diſcipline, and long practiſed in the art of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you ſuffer hordes of foreigners, like a deſtructive torrent, to overflow your fields? Will you ſuffer them to ravage your harveſts; to waſte your country by burning and cruelties: in a word, to load yourſelves with chains dyed in the blood of all you hold moſt dear?

Our armies are not yet complete: an indiſcreet ſecurity too ſoon reſtrained the ardour of patriotiſm. The levies of recruits ordained have not been ſo completely ſucceſsful as your repreſentatives had hoped. Internal troubles, added to the difficulty of our ſituation, cauſe our enemies to give themſelves up to vain hopes, which to you are an inſult.

Haſten citizens: ſave liberty, and vindicate your glory.

The national aſſembly declares, that our country is in danger.

Beware, however, of thinking, that this declaration is the effect of a terror unworthy of the aſſembly, or of you. You have taken the oath, *To live free or die.* The aſſembly knows that you will keep it, and ſwears to ſet you the example: but the queſtion is not to brave death, we muſt conquer, and you can conquer: if you adjure your hatreds, if you forget you political diſſenſions, if you unite in the common cauſe, if you watch with indefatigable activity your internal enemies, if you prevent all the diſorders and all the acts of violence to individuals which they excite; if, ſecuring within the kingdom the empire of the laws, and anſwering by well ordered move-

ments the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers, and to our camps, with the generous enthuſiaſm of liberty, and the profound ſentiment of the duties of ſoldier citizens.

Frenchmen, four years engaged in a ſtruggle againſt deſpotiſm, we advertiſe you of your dangers, in order to invite you to the efforts neceſſary to ſurmount them. We ſhow you the precipice—what glory awaits you when you ſhall have overpaſſed it The eyes of nations are fixed upon you; aſtoniſh them by the majeſtic diſplay of your force, and of a grand character; union, reſpect for the laws, for the chiefs, for the conſtituted authorities; courage unſhaken, and ſoon will victory crown with her palms the altar of liberty; ſoon will the nations who are now arming againſt your conſtitution covet to unite themſelves with you by the ties of a ſweet fraternity; ſoon conſolidating, by a glorious peace, the baſis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution; and in preparing your own happineſs, you will have prepared the happineſs of poſterity.

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*An* ADDRESS *to the* ARMY, *voted on the ſame day.*

BRAVE WARRIORS,

THE national aſſembly has juſt proclaimed the danger of our country: this is to proclaim the force of the empire; this is to announce, that French youth will ſoon flock round the ſtandard of liberty. You will teach them to conquer, you will point them the road to glory.

On the ſignal of danger to your country, you will feel your ardour redoubled. Warriors, let diſcipline guide your motions; that alone is the guarantee of victory. Have that calm and cool courage with which the ſenſe of your force ought to inſpire you.

A true army is an immenſe body put in motion by a ſingle head. It can do nothing without a paſſive ſubordination of rank to rank, from the ſoldier up to the general. Warriors, imitate the devotion of Daſſias, and the courage of the brave Pie. Merit the honours which your country reſerves for thoſe who fight for her; they will be worthy of her and of you.

Forget not that it is your conſtitution that is attacked. The object is to make you deſcend from the glorious rank of freemen! Well, brave warriors! the conſtitution muſt triumph, or the French nation muſt be covered with indelible diſgrace.

From all parts your fellow citizens are preparing to ſecond you. Doubt not of it; there is not a Frenchman who heſitates; there is not one who, in theſe days of peril and of glory, riſks diſhonouring his life by a baſe and ſhameful inaction. How unhappy will be the man who cannot on ſome future day ſay to his children and fellow citizens—"I too fought when our liberty was attacked. I ſhared the glory of the day on which the French arms triumphed over our enemies. I defended the ramparts of the city, which they attacked in vain: and on ſuch a day I bled for my country, for liberty and equality."

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MANIFESTO, *publiſhed at* BRUSSELS *the* 28*th July*, 1792, *by the* DUKE *of* BRUNSWICK, *commander in chief of the* AUSTRIAN *and* PRUSSIAN *armies.*

THEIR majeſties, the emperor and king of Pruſſia, having confided to me the command of the combined armies which they have cauſed to be aſſembled on the frontiers of France; I have reſolved to announce to the inhabitants of that kingdom, the motives that have induced theſe two ſovereigns to this ſtep, and the principles by which they are governed therein.

After having arbitrarily ſuppreſſed the rights and pretenſions of the German princes in Alſace and Lorraine, and overſet all interior order and good government, exerciſed againſt the ſacred perſon of the king and his auguſt family innumerable inju-

ries and violences, continued from day to day, and conſtantly renewed, thoſe who have uſurped the reins of government have, at length, filled up the meaſure of their iniquities, in cauſing an unjuſt war to be declared againſt his Imperial majeſty, and in attacking his provinces, ſituated in the Low Countries. Some of the poſſeſſions of the Germanick empire have been involved in this invaſion, and others have eſcaped, only by ſubmitting to the imperious menaces of the predominating faction, and of its emiſſaries.

His majeſty the king of Pruſſia, united with his Imperial majeſty, by the ties of a ſtrict and defenſive alliance, as well as in his quality of preponderating member of the Germanick body, has not been able to refuſe marching to the ſuccour of his ally, and co-eſtates; and it is in both theſe qualities, that he takes upon himſelf the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To theſe two intereſts is united another equally important, and which the two ſovereigns have much at heart—that of cauſing the anarchy exiſting in the interior of France to ceaſe; to ſtay the aſſaults made upon the throne and the altar; to re-eſtabliſh the legal authority; to reſtore to the king the liberty and ſafety of which he has been deprived, and to place him in a ſituation to exerciſe the legitimate authority that of right belongs to him.

Convinced that the ſolid part of the nation abhors the exceſſes of a faction that ſubdues it, and that the greater number of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment of auxiliary aid openly to declare themſelves againſt their odious oppreſſors, his majeſty the emperor, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, call upon and invite them to return without delay to the paths of reaſon, of juſtice, of order, and of peace. With theſe views the underſigned general and commander in chief of the two armies declares as follows:

1ſt. That, led into this war by irreſiſtible motives, the two courts propoſe to themſelves no other object than the good of France, without intending to enrich themſelves by means of their conqueſts.

2d. That they do not intend to intermeddle in the interior affairs of France, but mean only to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure to his moſt chriſtian majeſty the neceſſary ſecurity, that the king may be enabled, without danger or obſtacle, to call together ſuch convocation or aſſembly as he may think proper, to aſſiſt in preſerving that happineſs to his ſubjects, which he has promiſed to them, and to which he will contribute all that may depend upon him.

3d. The combined armies will protect all cities, boroughs, villages, perſons and poſſeſſions, that ſhall ſubmit to the king, and they will inſtantaneouſly contribute to the reſtoring of order, and a good police throughout all France.

4th. The national guards are called upon proviſionally, to watch over the tranquility of the country, and the ſafety of the perſons and effects of all French citizens, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and royal majeſties, or until it ſhall be otherwiſe ordered, under pain of being held perſonally reſponſible. On the other hand, ſuch of the national guards as ſhall have fought againſt the troops of the allied courts, and ſhall be taken arms in hand, ſhall be treated as enemies, and puniſhed as rebels to their king and diſturbers of the public peace.

5th. That the general officers, ſubalterns and ſoldiers of the troops of the French line are equally called upon to return to their ancient fealty, and inſtantly to ſubmit to the king their lawful ſovereign.

6th. That the members of the departments, the diſtricts and municipalities are held equally reſponſible on their heads, and with all their goods and chattels, for all crimes, fires, murders or atrocious acts, that they may not have uſed all their endeavours to prevent within their juriſdiction: they are further held proviſionally to continue their functions until his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhall be placed at full liberty to provide ultimately, or at leaſt until in his name other ſteps ſhall be taken in the interval.

7th. The inhabitants of all cities, boroughs and villages, that ſhall dare to defend themſelves againſt the armies of their imperial and royal majeſties, or to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from any windows, doors, or openings of their houſes, ſhall be immediately puniſhed according to the rigor of the martial law, and their houſes ſhall be demoliſhed or burned; on the contrary, all inhabitants of the ſaid cities, boroughs or villages, who ſhall haſten to ſubmit to the king, by opening their doors to the troops of their majeſties, ſhall be inſtantly placed under their protection, their

perſons and effects ſhall remain under the ſafeguard of the laws, and care ſhall be taken to provide for the ſecurity of all and each one of them.

8th. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without diſtinction, are held to ſubmit immediately, and without delay, to the king; to ſet the king at full and entire liberty; and to aſſure to him, as well as to the royal family, that inviolability and reſpect which ſubjects owe to their ſovereign by all the laws of nature and of nations. Their imperial and royal majeſties render perſonally reſponſible of all events upon their heads, and to be tried in a ſummary military way, without the leaſt hope of pardon, all members of the national aſſembly, the department, the diſtrict, the municipality, and the national guard of Paris, juſtices of the peace, and all others to whom it may belong. Their ſaid majeſties declaring, on the faith and word of an emperor and a king, that if the caſtle of the Thuilleries is either forced or inſulted; that if the leaſt violence—the leaſt outrage be offered to his majeſty, the queen, or the royal family—if immediate meaſures be not taken for their ſafety, their preſervation and their liberty, that they will take an exemplary and ever memorable vengeance, by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and a total ſubverſion, while the guilty revolters are receiving the puniſhment they will have merited.

Their imperial and royal majeſties, on the contrary, promiſe to the inhabitants of the city of Paris, that they will uſe their good offices with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to obtain pardon for all wrongs and errors that may have been heretofore done, and to take the moſt rigorous meaſures to enſure their perſons and effects, if they immediately and exactly obey the preſent injunction.

Finally, their majeſties being unable to acknowledge any laws as exiſting in France, except ſuch as ſhall emanate from the king, enjoying a perfect liberty, they proteſt beforehand againſt the authenticity of any declaration which may be made in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, as long as his ſacred perſon, that of the queen, and the royal family, ſhall not be really in ſafety; in conſequence, their imperial and royal majeſties invite and earneſtly ſolicit his moſt chriſtian majeſty to name a city in his kingdom, the moſt near to the frontiers, into which he may be pleaſed to retire with his queen and family, under a ſtrong and ſufficient eſcort, which ſhall be ſent for that purpoſe, in order that his moſt chriſtian majeſty may call together the miniſters and councillors he may think proper, or collect ſuch convocation or aſſembly as may appear beſt to him, to provide for the reſtoration of good order by the regular interior adminiſtration of his kingdom.

In a word, I do further declare and engage myſelf in my own name, and in my quality above mentioned, to occaſion to be every where obſerved by the troops entruſted to my command, a good and exact diſcipline, promiſing to treat with mildneſs and moderation, all well intentioned ſubjects that may appear peaceable and ſubmiſſive, and to apply force only againſt ſuch as ſhall be guilty of reſiſtance or ill will.

It is for theſe reaſons that I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt earneſt manner, not to oppoſe the march and operations of the troops that I command, but rather to allow them free paſſage, and all ſuch good will and aſſiſtance as circumſtances may require.

Given at my head-quarters, at Coblentz, the 25th July, 1792.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.

## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, Auguſt 3.

### LETTER *from the* KING, *on the* publication *of the* Declaration *of the* DUKE *of* BRUNSWICK.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

FOR ſeveral days a paper has been circulated, entitled, "The declaration of the reigning duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, commander of the combined armies of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, addreſſed to the inhabitants of France."—This paper exhibits nothing that can be conſidered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been tranſmitted by any of my miniſters at the ſeveral courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it, nevertheleſs, ſeems to me to require a new declaration of my ſentiments and my principles.

France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the neceſſity of union. Calumny will not eaſily believe the ſorrow I feel in conſidering the diſſenſions that exiſt among us, and the evils gathering round us; but thoſe who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneaſineſs and my grief.

I brought with me pacific ſentiments to the throne, becauſe peace, the firſt bleſſing of nations, is the firſt duty of kings. My former miniſters know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how neceſſary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by ſparing the ſufferings of the people, could make me ſupport the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wiſh manifeſted by a great part of the nation, and ſeveral times expreſſed by the national aſſembly.

When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of aſſuring its ſucceſs. My miniſters received orders to concert meaſures with the committees of the national aſſembly, and with the generals. If the event has not yet anſwered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our inteſtine diviſions, the progreſs of the ſpirit of party, and above all, on the ſtate of our armies, which wanted to be more practiſed in the uſe of arms before being led to combat. But the nation ſhall ſee my efforts increaſe with thoſe of the hoſtile powers; I ſhall take, in concert with the national aſſembly, all means to turn the evils inſeperable from war, to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

I have accepted the conſtitution: the majority of the nation deſired it; I ſaw that the nation conſidered it as the foundation of her happineſs, and her happineſs is the ſole object of my life.

From that moment, I impoſed it as a law upon myſelf, to be faithful to the conſtitution: and I gave orders to my miniſters, to make it the rule of their conduct. I wiſhed not to ſubſtitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people; I have diſcharged that duty; and to have done ſo is enough to ſatisfy the conſcience of an honeſt man. Never ſhall I be ſeen compounding the glory or the intereſts of the nation; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party; it is to the nation that I owe myſelf; I am one and the ſame with her; no intereſt ſhall ſeparate me from her; ſhe alone ſhall be liſtened to; I will maintain the national independence with my laſt breath. Perſonal dangers compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah! what are perſonal dangers to a king from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people? There lies the real wound of my heart.—The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happineſs, how much it has always been my ſole intereſt, my firſt wiſh. How many griefs might be effaced by the ſlighteſt mark of its return!

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Underſigned) BIGOT St. CROIX.

## Decrees *of the* National Assembly.

In conſequence of a report from the committee of general inſpection, founded upon the conduct and threats of the enemy, in regard to the national guards, the aſſembly paſſed a decree, by which it is declared, "That if the laws of war are not ſtrictly obſerved in regard to all Frenchmen taken with arms in their hands, all the officers belonging to the enemy, who may be made priſoners, ſhall experience a ſimilar treatment, whatever may be their rank, titles, or diſtinctions; but that the ſoldiery ſhall, notwithſtanding, continue to be treated as before."

The aſſembly roſe, and voted this decree by an unanimous acclamation.

*The following Decree, moved by M. Goudet, was unanimouſly paſſed.*

1. Every officer or ſoldier of the enemies armies, who, deſiring to range themſelves under the banners of liberty, ſhall appear at a military poſt, or before one of the conſtituted authorities, or a French citizen, ſhall be received with fraternal affection; ſhall be preſented, as a ſign of his adoption, with a cockade of three colours; ſhall enjoy a penſion for life of one hundred livres, of which one quarter ſhall be always in

advance, and shall be admitted to take the civic oath. The pension, upon their decease, shall be continued to their widows.

2. Those who would not contract a military engagement, shall not be forced to it; those who chuse it, shall be admitted to what army they please, and shall receive the ordinary fee upon enlisting.

3. Lists shall be formed of foreigners in the service of France, and the pensions of those who die shall be continued to the survivors, till the latter shall have annuities of 500 livres each.

4. The widows of such military persons shall receive the annual pension of 100 livres, but will not share the benefits of the tontine.

5. Those who do not take a military engagement, shall retire into the interior of the kingdom; those who shall serve, will have the same reward for brilliant actions as French citizens.

6. If France shall ever be drawn into a war with a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, military persons of that nation are not to have the advantages of the present decree.

# The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 1.*

THE president and fellows of the medical society of the state of Delaware have announced the following questions as the subject of a prize dissertation: What is the origin and nature of the noxious power which prevails, especially in moist and hot climates, during summer and autumn, and produces intermittent and remittent fevers, and certain other diseases? By what means may this insalubrity of climate be corrected; and the diseases thence arising most successfully prevented and treated? The dissertation must be written either in the English, French, German, or Latin language. The premium for the best dissertation on this subject is three hundred dollars: fifty pounds of which were generously contributed by Mr. *Dickinson*—Should none of the dissertations offered be adjudged worthy of the prize, the money is to be appropriated to some other useful purpose.

On Saturday morning last a female infant was found laid in a cellar window, corner of second-street and Elfrith's alley. It was immediately taken into the protection of a humane family in the neighbourhood.

A splendid embassy is preparing from the court of Great-Britain to the emperor of China. The ambassador, (Lord Macartney) was to sail from Portsmouth some time in August, in a ship superbly fitted and accommodated; the troops and seamen alone were to be seven hundred, with artists, assistants, &c. of almost every description.

Additional intelligence is daily arriving of the destructive effects of the hurricane in the more easterly parts of the West-Indies, the beginning of August. It is an ancient rule in those islands, the result of long experience, for those bound to sea at the approach of the hurricane months, not to remain beyond the 25th of July, from which date to the 25th of October is reckoned the duration of the hurricane season.

A loan at 4 per cent. interest has been lately effected in Europe, for account of the united states. The sum is equal to the amount of the former loan, about twelve hundred thousand dollars.

The libel bill in England, has at length been determined on in their parliament. The right of deciding in all cases of libels is now taken from the judges, and is left to the juries; so that Peter Pindar, Mr. Paine, and others in their situation, will probably come off better than has generally been expected.

*September 5th.* At Concord in New-Hampshire, there has been a very severe tornado, which in its course tore to pieces many dwelling-houses, barns, woods, &c. A man was caught up by the wind and carried eight or ten rods. It is remarkable that the force of the wind was not more than twenty rods in width.

On the 11th ult. a very extraordinary ſtorm, attended by the largeſt hail-ſtones ever remembered, happened in the ſame ſtate, of which a gentleman gives the following account;

"The lumps of hail, that I examined, were of various ſizes, but the largeſt were generally compoſed of as many as eight or nine leſſer ſtones, congealed firmly together, in one lump; theſe leſſer parts were of different forms, ſome of the leaſt were circular, no more than a third of an inch diameter, yet theſe were of the ſpheroid kind, happening ſo by their expoſed parts ſuſtaining in their deſcent diſſolution, or of the ſhape deſcribed; ſome had the appearance of an ellipſis with its conjugate and tranſverſe diameters, delineated by the fingers of nature; others of the priſmatic, ſome cylindric, and ſome conic, and in the components of each lump, all the forms reſulting from the conic ſections, were clearly diſcernible! I weighed ſome of theſe, which were over two ounces and an half."

The patent conductor from fire, is now offered to the public by the inventor, *Samuel Green*, No. 59. Cold-ſtreet, New-York—or by Mr. *William Zanies*, Philadelphia, Prices from 10 to 15 dollars. Theſe machines are ſo eaſily made uſe of, ſays the patentee, that a boy of twelve years old, who never ſaw one before, can fix them inſtantly, and deliver twenty perſons, and furniture in proportion, every minute, from the greateſt heighth. Their utility muſt therefore be very apparent.

*Sept. 15th* The chriſtian Indian congregation who were ſettled near the Suſquehannah, and afterwards at Muſkingum, after ſuffering much uneaſineſs of mind from the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the various nations of wild Indians in the vicinity of, and at enmity with, the united ſtates, agreed in April laſt to remove to Retrench river, which empties itſelf above Detroit into lake St. Clair. By accounts from this religious congregation (who, in reſpect to war are quakers in principle) their troubles have been chiefly owing to a demand made upon them by the wild Indians to become a party in the general league againſt the united ſtates, in which they have declared they will not join, or have any thing to do.

The two grand canals which are to connect the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Suſquehannah together, will be begun this fall. Theſe canals will furniſh employment for ſeveral years to many hundred labourers. They will, probably, double the value of all the lands on thoſe rivers in Pennſylvania. They will encreaſe the commerce and wealth of the city of Philadelphia; and laſtly, they will encreaſe the population of this ſtate, by giving to the ſupport of human beings the immenſe quantity of proviſions which are now conſumed in feeding waggon-horſes.

The ſmall-pox, by ſome unknown means, having been introduced into Boſton, and its progreſs found impoſſible to be arreſted, the inhabitants have agreed upon a general inoculation: in conſequence of this determination upwards of eight thouſand perſons were inoculated the latter end of Auguſt and beginning of September.

The celebrated *Paul Jones* died in Paris about the middle of July, in the utmoſt poverty. A colonel Blackden, it is ſaid, was obliged to raiſe a ſmall ſum of money by way of ſubſcription, order to bury him.

By the laſt accounts from Sierra Leona, in Africa, the negro colony that have been tranſported from Great-Britain and America to that place, amounted in number to upwards of fifteen hundred. They were in tolerable good health, conſidering the inſalubrity of the climate, and buſily employed in clearing land and building houſes. The cultivation of the ſugar cane is ſaid to be one of their firſt objects in view: in which, if they ſucceed, it is not improbable that Africa may in time furniſh ſugar to the world in abundance, inſtead of miſerable ſlaves to cultivate it in that hell of the negroes, the Weſt-India iſlands.

About 100 Indians lately made an attack on Galliopolis, a French ſettlement on the Ohio, oppoſite the mouth of the Great Kanahwa, which continued for ſome time. The Indians, after deſtroying the ſtanding corn, killing four or five perſons, and doing other miſchief, retreated—About the ſame time, two young women named Morris, of Kanahwa county, were killed.

We learn that an attempt is now making to render the north branch of the river Potowmac navigable for boats, from Fort Cumberland to Old-town. That the work is carried on under the inſpection of capt. Thomas Beall, who has ſixty hands conſtantly employed, and when completed, boats with produce can paſs from Fort-Cumberland to George-town.

The army of the united ſtates, now at Pittſburgh, conſiſts of one thouſand infantry, four hundred riflemen, and two hundred light-horſe, under the command of general Wayne. They were expected to go down the river about the middle of September, if not delayed by the lowneſs of the waters.

Letters from Georgia repreſent the peace between the united ſtates and the Creek Indians to be upon a precarious footing. It is apprehended the Spaniards have been too ſucceſsful in ſowing prejudices to the diſadvantage of the united ſtates, and it is even ſaid that general M'Gillivray has been inceſſantly aſſailed from that, and perhaps *another quarter*, to break with us. Should the ſtrength of the Creeks be joined to the general Indian league that ſeems to be forming againſt us, from an apprehenſion that their country is in danger, the conſequences may prove ſeriouſly diſtreſſing to the whole frontier; and it may be found, perhaps too late, that regular armies are by no means calculated to repreſs Indian aggreſſions.

The Amſterdam Gazette repreſents the partition of Poland as a matter fixed on——That notwithſtanding the efforts of the nation, the unhappy fate of that country ſeems to be at length decided——Thus a people which had ſet an example to the civilized world, by eſtabliſhing a government which has raiſed the human ſpecies, long depreſſed and humiliated by the iron hand of feudal deſpotiſm, to the rank aſſigned them in the original conſtitution of nature, are again to be the ſport of ambition, the miſerable ſlaves of arbitrary power and lordly domination.

*September 22d.* The anniverſary of the French revolution has been celebrated with great eclat in Ireland and Scotland.

The fourth anniverſary of French freedom was celebrated at Paris with great ſolemnity and magnificence, and without any unfortunate accident happening throughout the day.

A ſubſcription is opened in England for the ſuccour of the people of Poland.

Late accounts from *France*, are by no means ſo favourable as might be wiſhed, by the friends of liberty, on this ſide of the Atlantic. Menaced by a powerful combination of kings; diſunited among themſelves; deſtitute of an energetic executive that might call forth and concentrate, as it were, the force of the nation; and harraſſed by the continual tumults and exceſſes of mobs, which even diſturb the deliberations of the national aſſembly, the people of France do not ſeem well prepared to avert the dangers with which they are threatened, from the interference of foreign deſpots. It is to be hoped, however, that a ſenſe of common danger will unite all parties in defence of their liberties.

On the 20th of June, a mob, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of nearly one hundred thouſand perſons, inveſted the palace of the Thuilleries, broke into the king's apartment, and committed great exceſſes. Their object was to demand that the king ſhould give his ſanction to two decrees of the national aſſembly; one for baniſhing the refractory clergy, and the other for forming a camp of twenty thouſand men in the environs of Paris, to which decrees he had before refuſed to give his concurrence. He diſcovered great addreſs and preſence of mind, and evaded a compliance with their demands.—This tranſaction occaſioned no ſmall ferment in the armies on the frontiers, particularly in that of M. la Fayette, who, in order to appeaſe the ſoldiery, repaired to Paris, and denounced the clubs of the Jacobins, who were much exaſperated by this conduct of M. la Fayette, and moved that he ſhould be ſent to Orleans as a priſoner. This propoſal was rejected; but the aſſembly decreed that military officers, &c. ſhould not petition the legiſlature on any ſubject, except thoſe immediately relating to the army.—So frequent have been the changes in the French cabinet, that there were three ſetts of miniſters in one week.—On the 4th of Auguſt, the envoys of the commonality of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar of the national aſſembly, and demanded, in the name of the forty-eight ſections, that the king ſhould be depoſed, and the public affairs be managed by reſponſible miniſters, till a new king ſhould be elected, in a national convention. This excited a violent agitation in the aſſembly, and throughout the nation. The aſſembly refuſed to comply with the demand, though urged, it is ſaid, by the petition of 50,000 inhabitants of Paris.—The French have been ſucceſsful in ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy. Great deſertions are ſaid to prevail on both ſides.

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of AUGUST, 1792.

| Days. | Baromet. Eng. foot. In. | Thermometer of Farenh. D. | Thermometer of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail Wind | rain | other | suspect | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 29 9 4 | 65 7 | 15 0 | WSW | 1 | 1 | | Rain, thunder, overc |
| | 29 9 12 | 81 5 | 22 0 | WSW | | | | Overcaſt, ſhower, |
| 2 | 29 10 11 | 67 0 | 15 5 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 12 | 77 0 | 20 0 | NE | | | | Cloudy |
| 3 | 30 1 4 | 61 2 | 13 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 4 | 71 4 | 17 5 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 4 | 30 1 0 | 59 0 | 12 0 | NE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 0 9 | 77 0 | 20 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| 5 | 30 0 15 | 63 5 | 14 0 | SE | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 30 0 8 | 76 0 | 19 6 | SE | | | | Idem |
| 6 | 29 11 4 | 63 5 | 14 0 | ENE | 1 | | | Idem, ſome rain |
| | 29 10 8 | 74 7 | 19 0 | N | | | | Idem |
| 7 | 30 0 1 | 65 7 | 15 0 | SW | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 30 0 1 | 87 0 | 24 5 | SSW | | | | Fair |
| 8 | 30 0 10 | 72 5 | 18 0 | SSW | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 30 0 6 | 89 6 | 25 6 | SSW | | | | Cloudy |
| 9 | 30 0 9 | 68 0 | 16 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 14 | 91 6 | 26 5 | WSW | | | | Fair |
| 10 | 29 11 4 | 71 4 | 17 5 | WSW | 1 | | | Idem, overcaſt, rain |
| | 29 10 8 | 89 4 | 25 5 | WSW | | | | Overcaſt |
| 11 | 29 10 3 | 72 5 | 18 0 | WSW | | | | Cloudy |
| | 29 8 15 | 95 0 | 28 0 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 12 | 29 8 8 | 74 3 | 18 8 | SW | | | | Overcaſt, |
| | 29 8 9 | 94 0 | 27 5 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 13 | 29 11 0 | 69 0 | 16 5 | NW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 2 | 88 2 | 25 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 14 | 29 10 2 | 69 3 | 16 6 | SE | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 29 9 4 | 70 2 | 17 0 | SSW | 1 | | | Rainy |
| 15 | 29 9 11 | 60 0 | 12 5 | NW | | | | Fair, |
| | 29 10 4 | 74 7 | 19 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 16 | 30 1 0 | 54 5 | 10 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 1 | 78 8 | 20 8 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 17 | 30 0 12 | 58 01 | 11 6 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 0 | 86 01 | 24 01 | WSW | 1 | 1 | | Idem |

| Days. | Baromet. Eng. foot. In. | Thermometer of Farenh. D. | Thermometer of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail Wind | rain | other | suspect | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 30 0 3 | 63 5 | 14 0 | SW | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 29 11 0 | 91 6 | 26 5 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 19 | 29 10 11 | 59 0 | 12 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 13 | 94 0 | 27 5 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| 20 | 29 10 8 | 71 4 | 17 5 | NW | | | | Cloudy |
| | 29 10 4 | 92 7 | 27 0 | variabl. | | | | Idem |
| 21 | 30 1 0 | 61 2 | 13 0 | NE | | | | Overcaſt |
| | 30 1 0 | 77 0 | 20 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 22 | 30 0 10 | 61 2 | 13 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 10 | 77 0 | 20 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 23 | 30 0 12 | 58 0 | 11 5 | NE | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 0 2 | 78 8 | 20 8 | SE | | | | Fair |
| 24 | 29 10 4 | 65 7 | 15 0 | S | 1 | | | Overcaſt, rainy |
| | 29 8 13 | 73 6 | 18 5 | S | | 1 | | Idem, rain, thunder, |
| 25 | 29 7 8 | 63 5 | 14 0 | NW | | | | Fair |
| | 29 9 10 | 78 0 | 20 0 | NW | | | | Cloudy |
| 26 | 30 0 8 | 58 0 | 11 5 | NW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 1 6 | 79 2 | 21 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 27 | 30 2 2 | 55 6 | 10 5 | NW | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 1 3 | 85 5 | 23 8 | S | | | | Fair, |
| 28 | 29 11 4 | 65 7 | 15 0 | SSW | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 29 10 11 | 83 7 | 23 0 | WSW | | | | Cloudy |
| 29 | 29 11 3 | 59 0 | 12 0 | WSW | | | | Fair |
| | 29 9 5 | 88 2 | 25 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 30 | 29 9 4 | 61 2 | 13 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 8 10 | 85 5 | 23 8 | W | | | | Cloudy |
| 31 | 29 11 4 | 52 2 | 9 0 | NW | | | | Fair |
| | 29 11 10 | 80 0 | 20 5 | NW | | | | Idem |

| RESULT. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7th greateſt | 30 2 | 15 | 8 | WSW | | | |
| 25th leaſt el | 29 7 8 | 3d leaſt deg. of heat | 52 2 9 | & | 6 | 2 | Fair and dry. |
| Variation | 6 10 | Variation | 42 8 19 | NW | | | |
| Meaneleva. | 29 11 3 | Mean degree | 73 8 5 | | | | |

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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## To CORRESPONDENTS.

LORENZO's "Biographical Memoirs," by descending to minute, and, we conceive, uninteresting particulars, are spun out to a very inconvenient length, for our miscellany. Perhaps the author may be disposed to publish them in a pamphlet. The manuscript will be returned, if called for.

*Quid pro quo* seems to consider *revenge* as a virtue. This principle might be very suitable for savages; but is utterly inconsistent with civilization and sound morality.

*Hints, by a Jersey subscriber*, show the author to be both candid and judicious. Friendly hints, suggesting improvements either in the plan or execution of this work, will, at all times, be thankfully received, and duly attended to.

*A. B.* must be accustomed to view human nature on its darkest side. Charity will not permit us to suppose, that he has looked into his own mind, for the original of the gloomy picture he has drawn; but this we will not hesitate to assert—that the mind which is much engaged in brooding over the vices of mankind, is seldom capable of enjoying happiness itself, or of communicating it to others. We do not think A. B's. essay calculated either to enlighten the understanding, or to amend the heart.

*A poetical address from Horatio to the secret object of his affections*, being written in the doggrel or burlesque manner, with respect to metre, is not admissible. The *sonnet*, transmitted by the same correspondent, is possessed of much merit. We would advise the author to cultivate his poetical talent.

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### ERRATUM.

IN the Asylum for last month, page 160, line 4, for "not a month" read—"but a few months."

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PHILADELPHIA, *October* 31, 1792.

### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Six per cents, per £.* - - | 21/5. | *Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance* | |
| *Deferred six per cents,* - - | 13/4 | *Bank of N. America* do. | 3 |
| *Three per cents,* - - - | 12/9. | | |

### COURSE of EXCHANGE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,* | 71. | *Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,* | |
| *Ditto,* 60 *days,* | 72½. | *Paris* do. | |
| *Ditto.* 30 *days,* | 73½. | | |

THE
# UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
AND
# Columbian Magazine,
FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## OBSERVATIONS *on the* MANUFACTURE *of* GLAUBER'S-SALT *and* SAL-AMMONIAC.

[*By* JAMES WOODHOUSE, *M. D.*]

OF all the ſubjects which have engaged the attention of the chemiſt, as an object of manufacture, no one is of more importance than the making of ſal-ammoniac. The uſe of this article in the arts is too well known to need any particular detail.

The ſal-ammoniac uſed in Europe was, for a long time, imported from Egypt, where it was made from the ſoot of the burnt dung of quadrupeds, according to the deſcriptions of the proceſs given by Haſſelquiſt, Pococke, Neibuhr, and Savary. As the knowledge of chemiſtry increaſed, it was diſcovered to exiſt in every ſpecies of ſoot, from which it may be obtained by ſolution or ſublimation, and alſo from the mother water of common ſalt, by the addition of old urine.

The importance of a manufactory of this article was ſoon perceived by a ſociety inſtituted in London, for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. Hence, in 1759, a premium of thirty pounds was offered to the perſon who ſhould produce a certain definite quantity, mentioned by the ſociety; in 1760, the premium was augmented to fifty pounds; in 1763, it was increaſed to 100 pounds, and was continued on the books until the year 1767.

In conſequence of the perſevering induſtry of chemiſts, the increaſed knowledge of the elective attractions, and the various improvements in the different branches of chemiſtry, an eaſy method has been diſcovered of making ſal-ammoniac in large quantities; and manufactories of it have been eſtabliſhed in England, Scotland, France, and America.

The preſent method of making this article is conjectured to be, by combining the vitriolic acid with the volatile alkali, obtained by the diſtillation of bones, or ſoot, and producing a double decompoſition by the addition of ſea-ſalt; or by adding the marine acid, procured from common ſalt by means of the vitriolic acid, to the volatile alkali.

In the laſt edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, we have an account of a ſal-ammoniac work eſtabliſhed at Edinburgh; but as no perſon is admitted inſide of the laboratory, the method of conducting the proceſs is unknown. The author of the account adds, there can be no other difficulty, than what ariſes from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali and the marine acid; for, in the common way of diſtilling theſe ſubſtances, a great part of both is loſt, and if it is at-

tempted to make ſal-ammoniac, by combining theſe two, when diſtilled by the common apparatus, the produce will not pay the coſt.

The mode of conducting the proceſs in Philadelphia, is likewiſe kept a ſecret.

The following is the method which I propoſe—Gypſum, or plaſter of Paris, is a ſubſtance compoſed of the vitriolic acid and calcareous earth. Different ſpecimens contain different quantities of the acid—100 parts of ſome ſpecimens, examined by Bergman, contained 46 of the acid; Kirwan obtained 29 parts, Wenzel 48, and Chaptal 30. The volatile alkali, diſtilled from bones or ſoot, contains a large quantity of the ærial acid. The plaſter of Paris is to be reduced to a powder, to which the volatile alkali muſt be added, and remain upon it for two or three days, in cloſe veſſels; during which time a double elective attraction will take place: the vitriolic acid will leave the gypſum and unite with the volatile alkali, forming vitriolic ammoniac; while the ærial acid unites with the calcareous earth.---Hot water is then to be poured into the veſſel in which the decompoſition was made, in order to diſſolve the vitriolic ammoniac; and the waſhing muſt be continued, until the ærated calcareous earth is perfectly taſteleſs.

To this ſolution of the vitriolic ammoniac, common ſalt is to be added, which produces another double elective attraction; the vitriolic acid of the ammoniac unites with the foſſil alkali of the ſea-ſalt, and forms Glauber's-ſalt, while the marine acid of the ſea-ſalt unites with the volatile alkali, and forms ſal-ammoniac, which is obtained in a concrete ſtate by evaporation and ſublimation. I have repeated theſe experiments, in the ſmall way, with the mild hartſhorn of the ſhops, and always with ſucceſs.

The only objection againſt the proceſs is, that the phlogiſtic matter, contained in the volatile alkali diſtilled from bones or ſoot, will be obtained in the chryſtalization of the Glauber's-ſalt, and render it impure; an objection which equally militates againſt the preſent ſuppoſed method of obtaining Glauber's-ſalt.

In this proceſs, a great ſaving is made of the vitriolic acid, as it is contained in ſufficient quantity in the gypſum; and no difficulty ariſes from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali, or from the diſengagement of fixed air.

Future experiments, in the large way, muſt determine, whether a manufactory would ſucceed, when conducted after the manner I have laid down. From theory, it appears to be a cheaper and eaſier method than any hitherto known. Let an experiment be made; if it ſucceeds, it is well; if it fails—"*Laus erit; in magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt.*"

*Philadelphia, October 18th*, 1792.

## DESCRIPTION *of a* SPANISH INN.

[*From the Chevalier de Bourgoanne's late travels into Spain.*]

A POSADA, or Spaniſh inn, merits a particular deſcription. The firſt room in the houſe is often a great ſtable, full of aſſes and mules, through which you muſt make your way, if you wiſh to aſk for,

and obtain a lodging. It is with conſiderable difficulty that you get to the kitchen, which is a round or ſquare room; the ceiling of which terminates in a point, and is open at the top to leave a free paſſage for the ſmoke. Round this great chimney is a broad ſtone-bench, which, at night, ſerves the family for a bed; but, in the day-time, offers a commodious ſeat to travellers, coachmen, and muleteers; who, ſeated, without diſtinction, with the hoſt and hoſteſs, deprive the air of a part of the ſmoke, by ſwallowing it. The fire, which is in the centre of this wretched hovel, is often made with cow-dung mixed with ſtraw; and ſerves to cook, for each perſon in turn, ſuch proviſions as he may have taken care to bring with him. The whole inventory of the kitchen-utenſils conſiſts in ſeveral great frying-pans; and every thing you eat is fried in rancid oil. This indeed is not ſpared, and abundance is joined to badneſs of quality, to take away the appetite. The corner of the fire-place is generally occupied by ſome newſmonger, wrapped up to his eyes in the cape of his cloak; or ſome blind muſician, ſinging through his noſe, and ſtrumming his guittar, and the children of his hoſteſs, both boys and girls, whoſe only clothing is a ſhort ſhirt or ſhift, though of an age to be more modeſtly and decently covered. When you have refreſhed and warmed yourſelf, and wiſh to retire, you are conducted to a damp corner, called a chamber; and furniſhed with two chairs, uſually very high, if the table be low, and very low, if the table be high; becauſe every thing here is contrary to all reaſon or proportion. A mattraſs, a foot ſhorter than it ought to be, is thrown upon the ground: the ſheets are not much larger than napkins; and the counterpane, if by chance you find one, hardly covers the ſides of the wretched pallet. On this bed of voluptuouſneſs is the traveller to repoſe, after the fatigues of the road, to wait agreeable dreams, or form new projects of peregrination. The worſt inns are thoſe which are kept by the *Gitanos*, or gipſies; you would be ſafer in a wood; your eye muſt be kept upon every thing, and, notwithſtanding all the precaution you can take, you ſeldom leave them with all your baggage. All the inns belong to the lords of the ſoil, who erect them into farms, and will not ſuffer too many of them; ſo that the farmer is under the neceſſity of fleecing paſſengers, to make up the enormous rent he is obliged to pay. Beſides, by a law, for which no reaſon can be now given, every inn-keeper is prohibited from keeping and ſelling eatables. If bread, meat, oil, or wine, be wanted, the traveller and the inn-keeper are obliged to have recourſe to the perſon who has the excluſive privilege of ſelling them. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that without this law, odious as it ſeems, ſeveral villages, in the inland parts of the country, would have wanted neceſſaries. The law, is at preſent, however, almoſt unneceſſary, and might be advantageouſly modified. At Lumbreras, I found the ſpacious chimney ſurrounded with muleteers, and, on the fire, an enormous frying-pan; in which rice, ſaffron, long-pepper, and ſtock-fiſh, were boiling up together. I was conducted to a chamber, open to every wind that blows, in which, as the weather was cold, ſome lighted coals were thrown, without ceremony, upon the floor; and by the ſide of theſe a kind of mattraſs, without ſheets or covering. My gipſie hoſt, after wiſhing me a good night, aſked me for ſomething to drink.

## LETTER *from the famous self-taught* ASTRONOMER, BENJAMIN BANNEKER, *a black man, to* THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Esq. secretary of state.*

*Maryland, Baltimore county, near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Aug.* 19, 1791.

SIR,

I AM fully convinced of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you, on the present occasion: a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand; and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth, too well attested to you to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world; that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt, considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature, than many others; that you are measurably friendly and well disposed towards us; and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief, from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, sir, if this be founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail in respect to us; and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal father gave being to us all; and that he hath not only made us of one flesh, but that he hath also, without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that, however variable we may be, in society or religion, however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

If these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensible duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead us all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepeſt dye; and it is under a ſenſe of the moſt profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe, that I now confeſs to you, that I am not under that ſtate of tyrannical thraldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly taſted of the fruition of thoſe bleſſings, which proceed from that free and unequaled liberty with which you are favoured, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Suffer me to recal to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the Britiſh crown were exerted, with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a ſtate of ſervitude; look back, I intreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were expoſed; reflect on the time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aſpect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a ſerious and grateful ſenſe of your miraculous and providential preſervation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the preſent freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar bleſſing of heaven.

This, ſir, was a time when you clearly ſaw into the injuſtice of a ſtate of ſlavery, and in which you had juſt apprehenſions of the horrors of its condition;—it was now that your abhorrence thereof was ſo excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all ſucceeding ages. "We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among theſe are—life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs."

Here was a time in which your tender feelings for yourſelves had engaged you thus to declare; you were then impreſſed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings to which you were entitled by nature; but, ſir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that, although you were ſo fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial diſtribution of thoſe rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you ſhould, at the ſame time, counteract his mercies, in detaining, by fraud and violence, ſo numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppreſſion; that you ſhould, at the ſame time, be found guilty of that moſt criminal act, which you profeſſedly deteſted in others, with reſpect to yourſelves.

I ſuppoſe that your knowledge of the ſituation of my brethren is too extenſive to need a recital here; neither ſhall I preſume to preſcribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwiſe than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourſelves from thoſe narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with reſpect to them, and, as Job propoſed to his friends, "put your ſoul in their ſoul's ſtead," thus ſhall your hearts be enlarged with kindneſs and benevolence towards them, and thus ſhall you need neither the direction of myſelf or others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but having taken up my pen, in order to direct you, as a present, a copy of an almanack which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life (59); for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity therein, through my own assiduous application to Astronomical study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the federal territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott; yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this state, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy; a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive; and, although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript, previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

And now, sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNEKER.

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## *Mr.* JEFFERSON'S *answer to the preceding letter.*

To Mr. Benjamin Banneker.

*Philadelphia, August* 30, 1791.

SIR,

I THANK you, sincerely, for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanack it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do, to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colours of men; and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add, with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit.

I have taken the liberty of sending your almanack to monsieur Condorcet, secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your whole colour had a right, for their justification against the sentiments which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

## Character *and* effects *of* Modern Novels.

When one reflects how easy a matter it is to give a wrong bias to the minds of youth, it is impossible to help being astonished at the remissness of those parents and guardians, who suffer their daughters and wards to read, indiscriminately, the multiplicity of novels which are daily published.

It is as incumbent a duty to attend to the books a young lady reads, as to the company she keeps; for if it is allowed, that the frequent hearing of loose conversation naturally prepares the mind for the admittance of vicious ideas, it cannot be denied but books, in which love is the only theme, and intrigues the sole business of the actors, are more dangerous than even bad company; since the recital of lascivious scenes might shock an ear not yet hardened in vice, when the warm representation painted in a novel, and read in the privacy of retirement, cannot fail in exciting desires, and leaving impure traces on the memory.

Novels not only pollute the imaginations of young women, but also give them false ideas of life, which too often make them act improperly, owing to the romantic turn of thinking they imbibe from their favourite studies. They read of characters which never existed, and never can exist; and when all the wit and invention of a luxuriant fancy are stretched, to paint a young man all perfection in body and mind, it is hardly possible for a girl to avoid falling in love with the phantom, and being out of humour with the piece of plain mortality which she afterwards marries, and finds, to her great disappointment and mortification, does not act like the image her fondness had dressed up to her view.

These authors of novels take great pleasure in making their characters act beyond nature. A young man loves the heroine to distraction: she cannot return his passion: she knows a lady who dies for him, though that lady is certain his heart is devoted to another. The heroine is not satisfied with making the man unhappy, by finding his pursuit hopeless, but she uses her power over him, to make him marry the person he cannot love, and with whom he is afterwards miserable. He submits to his hard lot, pleased in having obeyed the commands of the sole arbitress of his fate. In novels, parents are described as cruel and obdurate, thwarting the inclinations of their children; and those children are made to invent numberless ways of deceiving the watchful eyes of their real friends, in order to run to ruin. By reading these books, therefore, young people are taught arts which they never could have dreamed of, and their minds being thus led into a wrong train of thinking, it is no wonder that their maturer age is bent on the pursuit of trifles, if not on vicious indulgencies.

I have heard it said, in favour of novels, that there are many good sentiments dispersed in them. I maintain, that good sentiments being found scattered in loose novels, render them the more dangerous, since, when they are mixed with seducing arguments, it requires more discernment than is to be found in youth to separate the evil from the good, they are so nicely blended; and when a young lady finds prin-

ciples of religion and virtue inculcated in a book, she is naturally thrown off her guard, by taking it for granted, that such a work can contain no harm; and of course the evil steals imperceptibly into her heart, while she thinks she is reading sterling morality.

## *On the* STUDY *of* HISTORY.

YOUNG people generally burthen their memories with a great number of dates, names, and events; and, provided they can but repeat what they have heard or said, they are generally esteemed for their knowledge. A young man, who finds himself applauded on such occasions, is not a little proud of his abilities. As it cannot be expected, that young people should judge of things, like those whom age and experience have taught wisdom, it is not at all surprising if they should conceive a great opinion of themselves, when they see that nothing more is expected from them, and that those, on whom they depend, praise them on every occasion, for the facility with which they speak, and the readiness with which they repeat those things they have been obliged to remember.

The true purpose of history, however, consists not in the remembrance of a number of events and actions, without making proper reflections thereon. This kind of knowledge, which has memory only for its support, merits not the least spark of applause; for knowledge consists in tracing actions to their source. To read history properly, is to enquire into the characters of those we there meet with, and to judge of them wisely and cautiously; to study history, is to study the designs, the prejudices, and the passions of mankind; to discover all the secret springs of their actions, their arts and sallacies, and all the illusions they put in practice to deceive and ensnare the unguarded heart.

Young people should be early, and as it were insensibly, taught to reflect naturally, and without art, upon every thing which they meet with remarkable in the histories they read. Thus they will become men, not parrots, by which last name we may justly call those, who read only for subjects to exercise their memories.

It is an idle argument, that young people are incapable of reflection; they cannot too soon be treated like men; for they are capable of reasoning almost as soon as they are capable of speaking. This opinion of the incapacity of young people for reasoning, is a kind of excuse formed rather for ignorant tutors than their pupils; because these teachers know not how to set about the arduous task of teaching their scholars to reason upon things, they are interested in saying it is impossible: they know not how to teach them to search into themselves, and discover the treasures of light and wisdom, which Nature has there concealed: they turn this wonderful art into mockery and ridicule, though Plato has convinced us it may be reduced to practice.

It too frequently happens, that, though the tutor may be equal to the trust reposed in him, the false glory of parents totally perverts all hopes of success; for reflection enriches not the memory, though it

forms the judgment; it tends rather to make them think wisely than speak much; but parents are always desirous of being themselves judges of the progress of their children; and many of them, being incapable of distinguishing the good qualities of judgment, are perfectly well satisfied with the bare repetition of historical facts.

The principal desire of such parents is, that their children should, in the early part of their youth, be furnished with materials for conversation, and be able to repeat those things, of which the generality of the world may be ignorant, and which are agreeable in themselves, as most historical passages are: whereas the principal end of studying history is to accustom young people to speak little, and reflect much; but never to repeat a fragment of history, merely to shew that they have read it: they should be taught to consider such passages as authorities on which they are to found their reason, or as subjects to exercise it.

This kind of study, I mean that of reflection, consists of natural and familiar considerations, such as every person, when he hears them, fancies himself to have made long before, though perhaps they had never once entered his thoughts; thus they excite not any admiration; and it is therefore no wonder, that the generality of parents, who do not always think properly, should be so anxious to see their children become the objects of applause to those who are as ignorant as themselves. Such parents should be reminded, that this kind of applause is mean and contemptible, and that nothing is more dangerous than to accustom young people to the love of such false glory.

It has been observed, by many judicious and experienced writers, and among them in particular the inimitable Mr. Locke, that the most sensible men have not always the best memories; and this probably arises from their accustoming themselves to reflect properly on what they read; by which means they increase their wisdom and knowledge, rather than improve their memories: they think it of little moment to remember long accounts of sieges and battles, and all those horrible tales, with which weak minds are so much delighted. They meditate on what they read, and thereby discover their own imperfections, become acquainted with the nature of the human soul, and the manner of its acting.

The esteem and veneration, in which succeeding ages have held the fabulous writings of the ancients, have arisen only from the love of virtue, the probity of manners, and the integrity of heart, with which they inspired their readers. The reputation of this species of writing, perhaps, first gave rise to novels and romances, in which, though they neither make stones speak, nor statues walk, they frequently represent characters as widely different from nature as light is from darkness.---The study of history requires some thought and attention, whereas the perusal of novels and romances claims not the least of either; the end of one is to improve the understanding, and correct the various passions of the human soul; that of the other, only to amuse; and happy would it be, if it centered only in amusement.—The more extravagant, absurd, and ridiculous a novel is, the greater is the probability of its success.—As love is the foundation, so is it the superstructure of most novels. But what is that species of love, which is

there generally taught?—Not that tender sympathy of two mutual hearts, whose love is founded on reason, prudence and virtue; but a blind, violent, and impetuous passion, which hurries its unhappy victim into endless woes; teaches children disobedience to their parents, inspires them with self-sufficiency, and encourages them to commence knight errants, at an age in which the rod ought to be applied to bring them to their senses.

It is not, however, at all wonderful, that the youth of either sex, who have not been taught better, should prefer a ridiculous romance to the most important piece of history, since the former tends to encourage them in their extravagant sallies, and the latter to correct them.—Were this class of readers to stumble on the history of the Gracchi, or on the lives of some other remarkable Romans, they would throw them aside, as dull, heavy, and insignificant subjects, and would not give themselves a moment's leisure to reflect on the many useful lessons they might there find: while the more enlightened youth will peruse with advantage the direful effects of unbounded ambition, avarice, and revenge; he will therefore see how vain is the parade of human grandeur, when founded on the basis of tyranny, injustice, and oppression: and if he is not too young to make moral reflections, he will perhaps conclude, that the longest life of real affluence, and peace, and happiness *only* in appearance, is not worth purchasing at the price of infamy.

From reflecting properly on the most singular and instructive parts of history, true morality will be derived, and the heart improved; but when young people read such passages only to retain and to repeat them, nothing more will be learned from them, than a vain conceit of their own exalted abilities. Reason tells the laborious peasant, whom Fortune has never permitted to tread the flowery paths of science, how little literary merit he has to boast of: much more unfortunate is the youth, who, having had the advantages of books and tutors, while he flatters himself with his accomplishments, is so ignorant, as not to know even his own ignorance!

To conclude: the perusal of history not only affords agreeable entertainment, but, when accompanied with reflexion, it also improves the understanding, beyond any other mode in which instruction can possibly be conveyed. In the labours of the faithful historian the intricate mazes of the human heart are exposed to our observation, and we are taught to trace the various actions of mankind to their original sources in the soul.

## *On* LUXURY.—*By* VOLTAIRE.

IN a country where the people should go bare-footed, ought the first person that procured a pair of shoes to be blamed for luxury? Would it rather not be a proof of his good sense and industry?

May not the same be said of him who first wore a shirt? As to the man who first contrived to have his shirt washed, and wore it a second

and a third time, and so on, I look upon him to have been a prodigious genius, and dare say that he was capable of governing a state.

Nevertheless, it is probable that he was considered by those who did not wear clean linen as an effeminate person, who was likely to corrupt the manners of the people.

It is not long since that a Norwegian reproached a Dutchman with luxury. What is become, said he, of those happy times, when a merchant, on going from Amsterdam to the Indies, left a quarter of dried beef in his kitchen, and found it at his return? Where are your wooden spoons and your iron forks? Is it not a shame for a sober Dutchman to lie in a damask bed?

Go to Batavia, answered the man of Amsterdam, get ten tons of gold, as I have done, and see whether you will not want to be a little better clothed, fed, and lodged.

## *On* Exclusive Privileges.

THE more we consider this subject, the more we shall find, that institutions of this kind have originated in a miserable necessity on the part of the government, on the one side, and in the cupidity and avarice of a small part of its subjects, on the other. The government, instead of supporting itself on the broad basis of the people's affections, and of a right and peaceable administration of its affairs, endeavours to strengthen itself by abuses, and to carry on wars, or other needless extravagancies, at the expense of its tranquility and happiness. When measures of this kind are resolved on, application is made to a few wealthy citizens for support; and the people are sold forever to fill up the gap of a momentary pressure.

The ostensible cause of establishing most monopolies hath ever been, the facility they afford government, to borrow—in other words, their convenience in any operation tending to increase the public burdens by the interest afterwards accruing on the debt. Thus the chief use made in England of the East-India company, was to borrow of it; and its charter has been commonly renewed, as often as the directors came down with considerable sums for the treasury upon loan. The bank of England, whatever may have been its uses, as to circulation, considered with respect to the government, served only the same purpose, to anticipate taxes that should never have been anticipated, and to increase burdens which ought never to have been imposed; for loans and anticipations, while they afforded a present convenience, evidently did it at the expense of future strength and security, and were, therefore, among the most ruinous expedients of the state. The South-sea company, once such a bubble, ended also in like manner, by lending twenty-six millions to the government, whose voracious appetite was capable of borrowing all the capitals of all the monopolists; many of whose proprietors are now, in course, saddled on the nation for the interest of the stock. Besides these, they have, in England, an African company—a Turkish company—a Russia company; to which last two, a merchant is obliged to pay a contribution

for liberty to trade to those countries. The Hudson's-bay company continues to monopolize the fur trade of our continent; and, perhaps, we may be indirectly indebted to this obliging monopoly for our Indian war, with all its variegated train of evils, expenses, and misfortunes.

In short, amongst the greatest sufferings endured by the good people of Britain, may be reckoned their numerous incorporations for exclusive and partial privileges of trade; these obstruct the trade's being so productive, or supporting so many hands as it otherwise would do; and occasion an increase of poverty and thieving among the lower classes of the people; to which, in part, may be fairly imputed the frequent executions and transportations we hear of among them, which are often so many efforts of a cruel and relentless mother to destroy her own offspring, after having first rendered their means of subsistence difficult and precarious: for what more wicked can be conceived of in a country, than granting to any few the whole emoluments of a trade, capable of supporting thousands?—This is indeed building aristocracy on the ruin of the poor.

In a word, government has no business either to trade itself, or to grant partial advantages of trade to any of its subjects. It is instituted for the good of the whole—it is paid for by all—all have, therefore, a right to share equally its favour and protection.

The sage Montesquieu very properly condemns the sovereign's either trading himself, or granting exclusive privileges for the purpose. I cannot better conclude this essay than by two quotations from his admirable treatise on the spirit of laws.

"Theophilus seeing a vessel in which merchandise had been embarked for account of his wife Theodora, ordered it to be burned. I am emperor, (said he) and you make me the patron of a galley. How would our poor people gain a livelihood, if we took their callings from them?" He might have added, "Who shall call us to account, if we monopolize? who shall compel us to fulfil our contracts? the commerce we carry on, our courtiers must share, and they will be still more grasping and unjust than ourselves. The people confide in our justice; but can they in our ability, when the very imposts, which occasion their poverty, are the certain signs of ours."

"When the Portuguese and Spaniards swayed in India, the trade of it had some branches so lucrative, that their monarchs were sure to seize upon them: but from that moment their establishments declined in that country. The viceroy of Goa granted exclusive privileges, but no confidence is placed in such companies; their trade is interrupted by the perpetual changes of those who manage it—nobody cares about it, or is anxious in how ruinous a state he leaves it to his successor—the profits centre in the hands of a few—they are not enough extended."

R U S S E L L.

*Philadelphia, Sept.* 1792.

## SINGULAR CONTEST *between two* FRENCH LADIES.

THE lady of the auditor of accounts, and that of the treaſurer of France, meeting in their coaches in a narrow ſtreet in Paris, with a deſign to go through it, and there not being room to paſs each other, there was a neceſſity for one to put back, to give the other way, which neither would be perſuaded to do; ſo they remained firm in the ſame place from ſix o'clock in the morning till noon, when they ſent their ſervants for hay and corn for their horſes, and ordered their dinners to be brought into their coaches. The novelty drew a number of gazers, every one being curious to ſee what would be the iſſue of ſuch punctilios: at length a cart load of wine coming to a merchant, who lived in that ſtreet, and he finding it could not, for their obſtruction, get to his houſe, either one way or other, about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the commiſſary of the quarter, (like our juſtice of the peace) to deſire him to remedy the diſorder. The commiſſary, obſerving the ladies obſtinately reſolved neither of them to give way, and not being willing to affront them, out of reſpect to their huſbands, found out an expedient to ſettle the affair without diſobliging either, which was, to make both coaches put back at the ſame time, ſo that neither of them ſhould drive into the ſame ſtreet again. This accommodation was accepted, and performed to the extremity of niceneſs: the ladies, being weary of the trouble they had run themſelves into by ſtanding on their punctilios, quietly retired, each with the ſatisfaction that ſhe had preſerved her honour.

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## OBSERVATIONS *upon the* ART *of making* STEEL. *By the Reverend* DANIEL LITTLE, *F. A. A.*

[*From the 'Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*']

AS ſteel is an article of commerce, and of great uſe both in the arts, manufactures and huſbandry of every nation; and as we have the beſt of iron already manufactured in America, it is thought that the manufacturing of ſteel of a good quality, deſerves the attention and encouragement of thoſe who wiſh the welfare of the united ſtates. What time I could redeem from other neceſſary buſineſs for ſeveral years paſt, has been employed in ſuch diſquiſitions and experiments, as might tend to facilitate the art of making ſteel, and others near akin to it.

Thoſe writers upon the ſubject which I have met with tell us, that the principal difference between iron and ſteel conſiſts in this, That the latter is combined with a greater quantity of phlogiſton than the former. Plogiſton exiſts in all inflammable ſubſtances, and in ſome that are not inflammable. Charcoal, and the coals of bones, horns and hoofs of animals, have been uſed as fit ſubſtances for communicating phlogiſton to iron in making ſteel.

Steel is sometimes made by fusion of ore or pig-iron. The method is similar to that of reducing pig-iron to malleable iron, with this difference, that as steel requires more phlogiston than is necessary to iron, all the means must be made use of that are capable of introducing into the iron a great deal of phlogiston; that is, by keeping it, while in fusion, encompassed with an abundance of charcoal, &c.

The other method of making steel is by cementation, as it is called; that is, to convert bar-iron into steel; which is done by a cement made of those substances which contain the greatest quantity of phlogiston. Put the bar-iron with this cement into a vessel that will bear a strong fire; lute on a close cover, so as to prevent the cement taking flame and consuming; put the vessel in a furnace where the bars may be kept red-hot till they are converted into steel, which will be in a longer or shorter time, according to the bigness of the bars, and the quantity of cement.

This latter method has chiefly engaged my attention, which method is pretty well known in some parts of America, and for many years past, steel has been made by it in several parts of the united states. Yet, so far as I have been informed, it has generally been of an inferior quality, and very little used for edge tools, which I supposed could not arise from the quality of the iron, for we have the greatest variety, and the best sort, in many parts of the country. I then conjectured there might be found some other inflammable substance for a cement, which, if properly applied, would impregnate the iron with phlogiston more advantageously.—And, after many experiments, I found a particular marine plant that requires no other preparation but drying and pulverizing, and is commonly known by the name of rock-weed, or rock-ware, and is in the greatest plenty on our rocky shores, coves, creeks and harbours of the sea. In making some experiments upon this plant for a flux powder, a small bit of iron was put into a crucible, and filled with the said cement; and, very unexpectedly, after it had been in a little more than a cherry heat for five or six hours, it was converted into steel, which gave me the first hint of its use in making steel; since which I have had repeated experience of its excellency for the same purpose.

It needs no other preparation than to be cut off from the rocks with a scythe or sickle, spread on the dry sand till the rains have washed off the greater part of the sea-salt, then dried and pulverized, then used as other cements are in making steel; or, instead of washing off the sea-salt, it is better for some particular kinds of iron, to neutralize it by adding a fixed alkali.

To two parts of the plant well dried and pulverized, add one part of good wood-ashes; mix together and moisten the whole with water, or rather urine, to the consistence of a very thick paste.

It is well known that in every new art, and in perfecting old ones, many unforeseen difficulties arise, and sometimes considerable fortunes have been spent before the manufacturer or the public have been much benefited. And since honest, but too credulous minds are often deceived by uncertain proof, and being willing to satisfy myself and others, by a better testimony than my own, I engaged a * gentleman

* Col. Eliot, of Connecticut.

of ability in the ſteel way for many years, whoſe furnace was complete and large, to make experiments upon my new diſcovered ſubſtance for a cement, who has written me, that "this ſteel is preferable to any he had ever made before." After all, I ſuppoſe different modes of preparation, and further experiments, will more fully aſcertain its utility.

The matter of the furnace muſt be of ſuch ſubſtances as will endure a ſtrong fire without fuſion. Aſbeſtos has been uſed to advantage, but a ſufficiency of it is not found in many places. Pipe-clay, with one third part of pond-ſand, or, which is better, white ſtones free from grit, well burnt, and pulverized, inſtead of ſand, ſome ſpecies of ſlate and tale, may be uſed with pipe-clay for furnaces and crucibles.

The cheſt, or interior part of the furnace, for depoſiting the cement and bars of iron, muſt be covered ſo cloſe that the inflammable ſubſtance within may not be conſumed, but changed like wood in a coal-kiln. The iron to be choſen of the beſt quality; its toughneſs and malleability are marks of choice.

Of the ore of iron.—This is often diſcovered by the magnet, but a great part of the beſt ore is that which the magnet will not attract, as *Linnæus* and *Macquer* juſtly obſerve. When in that ſtate, it often reſembles the ruſt or calx of iron; many tons of which are brought to the iron-works in this neighbourhood, from which the beſt of iron is made. In its natural ſtate the beſt magnetic bar will not attract the ſmalleſt particle; but when roaſted with charcoal it becomes magnetic. This method of knowing whether any earth or ſtones contain the true ore of iron, may be of uſe to diſcover new bodies or beds of ore. The reduction of metals, or reſtoring them to their metallic ſtate from their calces, by combining them with the inflammable principle in the application of charcoal, may ſufficiently ſhow the efficacy of the above method for the diſcovery of the earth of iron, in thoſe ſubſtances on which the magnet has no effect.

## *On* Enthusiasm *of* Character.

THE ſhades of human character are ſo numerous, and the advantages reſulting from an extenſive acquaintance with them, of ſo much importance, that few ſubjects, perhaps, are more worthy of attention or ſpeculation; and it would be a taſk of the higheſt advantage to ſociety, could we trace the ſource and cauſes of the diverſities, and point out the particular advantages reſulting from each. By the former of theſe, we ſhould, in ſome degree, be enabled to train the mind to the faſhion moſt amiable and really advantageous; by the latter, we ſhould have the opportunity of directing to their proper objects of purſuit, the paſſions and diſpoſitions, as they are diſplayed before us.

A taſk like this might afford a noble and faſcinating amuſement for the ſage, to whoſe eye time and aſſiduity had unfolded the broad volume of nature, and who was poſſeſſed of leiſure and opportunity to enter

deeply into the subject; but the humble and nameless essayist, who plans his labours for periodical circulation, is forbidden to enter into so elaborate an enquiry. Now and then, indeed, he may slightly glance upon the subject, and select a prominent feature or two for the amusement of his readers; but he must seldom venture to advance beyond a sketch, or a fragment.

Among the traits of character which, amid the infinite variety I have alluded to, present themselves as proper objects of this cursory mode of animadversion, appears to me, as particularly prominent, that of enthusiasm: a character which the insipid children of fashionable refinement (incapable of feeling its fires) and the plodding sons of laborious diligence (too heavy to pursue its flights) are, at all times, so ready to condemn, but which, in my humble opinion, is certainly entitled to the palm of honour and utility in public life. It is from the energy imparted by this principle that we are to expect the formation and execution of great and noble designs, which soar beyond the ordinary occurrences and virtue of mankind, and leave something to be remembered, and to be admired by posterity.

A man indeed of cool passions, and with a mediocrity of sensibility, (or perhaps without any at all) may, it is true, be a very good philosopher, an almost blameless moralist, and a strict observer of what we generally understand by the rules of right and wrong. But such a character will only shine on trifling occasions, and in ordinary actions and situations. Where justice, (so far as it has been defined, by the laws of civil policy, or the demonstrations of ethical reasoning)—is alone required, he may never, perhaps, be found deficient; he may be generous, wherever any positive precept of religion, or maxim of philosophy can be produced, that may inform him he ought to be so. But he will never extend his views to any considerable exertions of friendship or benevolence: nor is it much to be expected that he should ever be sensible of that noble delicacy—that refined philanthropy, which extends the assistance of generous benefaction, without wounding the feelings of the person benefited, by a mode of conferring the obligation, which must remind him of adventitious inferiority. As far as precept and example can direct, he may be entitled to the praise and gratitude of mankind, and his virtues may keep pace with the general sentiments and ideas of his age and country. But it would be idle to expect from him original speculations in the regions of moral duty, bold attempts to combat the riveted prejudices of the times, correct the hereditary severity of mistaken justice, revolt at the idea of abuses which custom and universal assent had sanctioned, and boldly stand forth, in defiance of the imputations of singularity and frenzy, to brave the malice of venal inhumanity, and plead the cause of an oppressed and unpitied people. For the truth of this I might refer to the elder and the younger Cato, and, in short, to the whole body of the stoic philosophers of antiquity, did not the biography and living examples of modern times furnish more ready, and equally pertinent illustrations.

In short, these cold-blooded reasoners are, in the moral world, what some blindly idolized individuals in the political world, when brought

to the touch-ſtone of trying circumſtances, are found to be, mere men of mechaniſm and detail.

The enthuſiaſt, on the other hand, the man of ſtrong affections and exuberance of mental ſenſation, never appears to advantage in the common progreſs of events. But he will ſhine with ſuperior reſplendence, whenever his energetic feelings are rouſed into action, and he is placed in the ſituations which call for exertion—

> ‘ Beyond the fix'd and ſtated rules
> ‘ Of vice and virtue, in the ſchools—
> ‘ Beyond the letter of the law !’

In ſituations of this kind, the heart is wiſer than the academy, and warm paſſions and quick ſenſibility are better than volumes of ethics, and catalogues of religious maxims : not that we mean to treat with diſreſpect the lights of revelation, or the helps of philoſophy, without the aſſiſtance of which the generality of mankind would be left grovelling for ever in the darkneſs of ſenſuality, or conſtantly ſtumbling, feeble, and relaxed, even in the plain and level path of ſocial life. All I mean to ſay is, that there are ſituations in which we may ſometimes be placed, nay, to which we ought ſometimes to aſpire, in which the ſoul is called upon to ſoar above the dogmas of the one, and be actuated rather by a feeling conſciouſneſs of the genuine ſpirit, than by a tame obedience of the mere letter of the other.

That I may not be miſunderſtood, I will illuſtrate this by an example, which will ſpeak home to the feelings of the preſent era of humanity. It is certain that the mere letter neither of religion nor philoſophy, would dictate any exertion in behalf of that godlike and extenſive ſympathy, by which many amiable characters are now endeavouring to procure the abolition of a traffic which fattens, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, on human gore, and ſwells its ſails with the ſighs and groans of wretchedneſs and oppreſſion ; though, at the ſame time, the whole ſpirit of chriſtianity, to thoſe who have ſenſibility enough to feel its benignant force, calls loudly againſt the horrors and iniquity of this trade. The mere man, therefore, of ethical detail, who coldly regulates his conduct by verbal precept, could never have thought of becoming the firſt mover of a meaſure embracing ſuch noble and extenſive principles. No ; the man whoſe humanity, coloſſus-like, firſt ſtrode acroſs the wide Atlantic, and from the ſhores of Afric to thoſe of the weſtern Ind, endeavoured to ſhed the ſoothing balm of atonement and peace, muſt have felt the godlike glow I am deſcribing, and been ſtamped with characters of enthuſiaſtic virtue, far different from the mechanical honeſty of a counting-houſe, or the half-way juſtice, that dreads the pending, or the future penalty of a written law.

It muſt not, however, be concealed, that, as this character has its peculiar excellencies, ſo alſo it has its particular defects ; which if we did not notice, the moral of my theme would be wanting.

The ſame energy of mind which urges to the nobleſt heights of benevolence, and aſſiſts towards the ſublimeſt attainments of genius, may alſo, if not properly directed, hurry us on to the wildeſt extravagances of paſſion, and betray into impetuoſity and folly. And though I am

ready to declare, that the opinion of Longinus, respecting the works of genius, is equally applicable to human nature, at least to the masculine character; though (since the uniformity of the one cannot be united with the sublime virtues of the other) I scruple not to pronounce, that the ennobled spirit and generous sensibility of the energetic character has, notwithstanding its concomitant faults of exuberant passions, imprudence, and follies, the most decided preference over the mechanical innocence of the colder disposition; yet must the opportunity never be neglected, of reminding characters of this description of the superior necessity under which they labour, of fortifying themselves, with two-fold assiduity, with the precepts of philosophy and the restraints of prudence; since, otherwise, those irregularities which may be pardoned as the alloys, become the principal traits of their dispositions; and generosity be lost in heedless extravagance, and sensibility in voluptuous irritation.

But it has been questioned whether this disposition, however advantageous to society, is even to be coveted by the individual, as a source of happiness equal to the anxiety and infelicity to which it is subject. The sordid children of dulness and insensibility not only delight in exposing the failings and inconsistencies of a character, whose nobler qualities they can never emulate, but they have also rendered it the ill-chosen object of their pointless ridicule, as a frenzy of nature, wounding itself with unnecessary pangs, and appropriating sorrows which happier indifference might with ease avoid; and the irritable nurslings of morbid affectation, to whom, in fact, nothing of sympathy is familiar, but the name, while they sought, by corresponding complaints of the pangs of sensibility, to exalt the reputation of their own feelings, have given apparent support to the unfounded insinuation.

Those, however, who are acquainted with the emotions I have attempted to describe, must often have felt, and they to whom my reasoning has been conspicuous, will be convinced, that such a disposition, though it may be liable to some pangs which mere *animal vegetation*, if I may venture the term, can never be conscious of, has an ample compensation in the pleasures and enjoyments to which none but itself can aspire.

It has often been said, that virtue is its own reward; and this, true as it is of all virtues, is even more particularly so of benevolence. Indeed, as self-love is the grand source of individual security, in that solitary condition which some philosophical visionaries have chosen to denominate the state of nature, so is benevolence the chief fountain of all that more permanent safety, and those more exalted pleasures, of which the social compact has rendered us susceptible; and those who prefer the sordid, to the nobler feelings, had better, for consistency's sake, either return to their savage woods, or acknowledge that, if without the feelings of benevolence, they experience its advantages, there must be an exquisite satisfaction in its full possession, which those who are destitute of it can never know.

Self-love, it is true, administers to the senses; but does not benevolence, still more extensively, to mental gratification? and whose enjoyments are of the longest duration?

The senses, like the dull clay in the hands of the workman, are capable of no pleasures but those immediately impressed upon them; while the mental affections, like ornamented mirrors of exquisite workmanship, are not only adorned with their own impressions, but catch, by reflection, all the pleasure of surrounding objects; and perhaps, in many instances, where sensibility has given its finest polish, reflect the image with a beauty and expression even superior to the original.

Thus then, while the benevolent enthusiast is diffusing happiness, he is, in fact, multiplying his own enjoyments; his highest enjoyments—those, which being implanted in the mind, will bloom (to borrow an oriental metaphor) like the unfading amaranths of paradise, through the eternity of mental existence; while the pleasures of sense, like the sickly blossoms of this sublunary sphere, smile but for a moment, expire, and are forgotten.

## *On* MODESTY.

WE scruple not to pronounce this bashful virtue, for so we call it, the legitimate offspring of a tender sensibility, or the tender effect of that delicate moral feeling, which seems to make a part of our constitution, and which nothing but the tyrant custom, or a long course of oppression and violence, can eradicate or suppress.

Wherever modesty makes her appearance in her native dress, she is sure to create respect and reverence; for in this lovely form, she is always an attendant on merit. Where there is little discernment and less sensibility, where there is a want of real worth, or where native innocence has suffered, modesty has nothing to do; she flies the unfriendly abode, and blushes for those who perhaps never had, or have now lost, the power of blushing for themselves.

The tender offspring of moral sense may be cherished by a consciousness of native dignity, by a love of order and decorum, by that respect which we owe to ourselves and others; but, above all, by the proper culture of that meek and quiet spirit which is, in the sight of God, of great price indeed! We should take care to preserve our native stock, and improve it as much as possible.

"Modesty," says lord Chesterfield, or rather the appearance of modesty, (for his lordship has been thought to deal too much in appearances only) "is a polite accomplishment. It is engaging to the highest degree, and wins the hearts of all our acquaintance."

Though we cannot exactly agree with his lordship in the principle, yet we readily allow it is highly engaging indeed, and ought to make its untutored appearance in the whole of our behaviour.

Nothing arrogant or assuming; nothing impertinent or offensive; nothing indecent or contrary to the rules of decorum, should ever be advanced in conversation. Take care you do not make yourself the heroine of your own story; never talk of yourself at all if you can possibly help it, nor engross a larger share of the conversation than

belongs to you. Give every one leave to speak who may choose it, and be attentive to what is said; interrupt no one while speaking, nor take any advantage of that person whose organs of speech may be less sonorous, or whose lungs may be weaker than your own.

Some will colour their arrogance with, "It may seem strange indeed, that I talk in this manner of myself; it is what I by no means like, and should never do, if I had not been cruelly and unjustly accused; but when my character is attacked, it is a justice I owe to myself to defend it." Others will modestly boast of all their principal virtues, by calling them infirmities, and saying they are so unfortunate as to fall into those weaknesses. "I cannot see persons suffer," says one of this cast, "without relieving them. I cannot avoid speaking truth, though it may be sometimes very imprudent to do so."

"Follow," says Chesterfield, "rather than lead the company; that is, join in discourse on their subjects rather than start one of your own; if you have parts you will have opportunities enough of shewing them on every topic of conversation; and if you have none, it will be better to expose yourself upon a subject of other people's than on one of your own. Whatever perfections you may have, be assured people will find them out; but whether they do or not, nobody will take them upon your own word. The less you say of yourself, the more the world will give you credit for; and the more you say, the less they will believe you."

"There is no one living," says the Spectator, "would deny Cinna, the applause of an agreeable and facetious wit; or could possibly pretend that there is not something inimitably unforced and diverting in his manner of delivering all his sentiments in conversation, if he were able to conceal the strong desire of applause which he betrays in every syllable he utters. But they who converse with him see, that all the civilities they could do to him, or the kind things they could say to him, would fall short of what he expects; and therefore, instead of shewing him the esteem they have for his merit, their reflections turn only upon that which they observe he has of it himself.

"If you go among the ladies, and behold Gloriana trip into the room, with that theatrical ostentation of her charms; Myrtilla, with that soft regularity in her motion; Chloe, with such an indifferent familiarity; Corinna, with such a fond approach; and Roxana, with such a demand of respect, in the great gravity of her entrance; you find all the sex, who understand themselves, and act naturally, wait only for their absence, to tell you that all these ladies would impose themselves upon you, and each of them carry in their behaviour a consciousness of so much more than they should pretend to, that they lose what otherwise would be given them."

Let modesty appear in all your expenses, your equipage, dress, and diversions, as well as in conversation and manners. Never affect any kind of shew or distinction that does not properly belong to you. A fondness for shew of any kind has been generally considered as a certain indication of a weak mind; but whether this be admitted or not, we may venture to affirm, it always betrays a want of that virtue we are now recommending. Modesty never courts the public eye, never seeks her own praise, nor once thinks of that respect and reverence

which she silently inspires. She can hardly appear in public but in that sort of elegant distress which is a sure indication of a truly great and ingenious mind. Cicero tells us, that he never liked an orator who did not appear in some little confusion in the beginning of his speech, and confesses that he himself never entered on an oration without trembling and concern.

A just and reasonable modesty not only recommends eloquence, but sets off every great talent which a man can be possessed of. It heightens all the virtues which it accompanies; like the shades in painting, it raises and rounds every figure, and makes the colours more beautiful, though not so glaring, as they would be without it.

Female modesty is the guard as well as ornament of female virtue. When a woman loses her native modesty, no matter how great, or what becomes of her beauty, she loses all her charms, she loses all her virtue, and is undone for ever. We can therefore never too warmly recommend the preservation and culture of this refined and amiable principle. The ladies would do well to consider, that as often as they set off their persons with a profusion of ornaments, dress to the utmost height of the mode, frequent public places, and expose their charms in their full blaze to the eye of every beholder, they put this delicate companion and guardian of their virtue to the severest trials; and who knows, but by and by she may be quite stared out of countenance, take her leave, and forsake them for ever?

Simplicity of dress is the most natural, and consequently the most striking and amiable. To instance in the art of painting. What honour and reputation have been acquired by those of this profession, who have approached nearest to the noble simplicity of ancient workmanship! Its business, you know, is most particularly with beauty, in all her finer forms. This, we presume, was never more successfully studied, or more strikingly exemplified, than in the works of the celebrated Raphael. Who can avoid being struck with the chaste, sober, and unaffected graces of his females! What remarkable plainness! What delightful modesty, even where the colours and the stuffs are intended to be the richest! How different from the painters in the Gothic style, who, not distinguishing between ornament and finery, which is its excess; between beauty and shew, which is the affectation of it, load their females with jewels, trappings, and other embellishments, magnificent indeed, but tawdry.

"The neat appearance," says doctor Fordyce, "of many females belonging to a sect well known, has been frequently remarked, and greatly admired. It would be much more agreeable, could it be disjoined from the stiffness that accompanies it; a defect utterly inconsistent with the rules of true taste. They plead religious principle for the form of their attire. We should believe them, but for the richness of the materials, and the fineness of the texture. Many of that sect are very intelligent: can they persuade themselves, that, through all their affectation of plainness, the world does not perceive the utmost pride of expense?"

"On this article your judgment will be seen; in joining frugality and simplicity together; in carefully distinguishing between what is glaring and what is genteel; in prefering elegance, with the plainest

habit; in wearing coſtly array but ſeldom, and always with eaſe: a point that may be attained by her who has learned not to think more highly of herſelf for the richeſt raiment ſhe can put on."

"If, in ſome of the moſt expenſive parts of female decoration, fewer hands were employed, a much geater number, on the other ſide, would find exerciſe in cultivating an elegant propriety, and a beautiful diverſity through all the reſt. The public taſte would be improved in a thouſand articles. And is there not reaſon to hope, that the appearance, the manners, and the minds of the fair would gain by the change?"

"But when ſhall women in general underſtand thoroughly the effect of a comely habit, that, independent of pomp, and deſpiſing extravagance, is worn as the ſober, yet tranſparent veil of a more lovely mind! Be aſſured, my young friends, it is thus you will captivate moſt, and pleaſe longeſt. By purſuing this plan, you will preſerve an equality in that great and indiſpenſible article of neatneſs. You will be clean, and you will be eaſy; nor will you be in danger of appearing butterflies one day, and flatterns the next. You will be always ready to receive your friends, without ſeeming to be caught, or being at all diſconcerted on account of your dreſs. How ſeldom is this the caſe among the flutterers of the age! I wiſh we could ſay amongſt them only."

## ANECDOTE.

IT is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that the late John Paul Jones, at the time that he was attempting to fit out a little ſquadron, during the late war, in one of the ports of France, to cruiſe on the coaſt of England, was much delayed by neglects and diſappointments from the court, that had nearly fruſtrated his plans. Chance one day threw into his hands an old almanac, containing *Poor Richard's maxims*, by Dr. Franklin. In that curious aſſemblage of uſeful inſtruction a man is adviſed "if he wiſhes to have any buſineſs faithfully and expeditiouſly performed, to go on it himſelf: otherwiſe to ſend."—Jones was immediately ſtruck, upon reading this maxim, with the impropriety of his paſt conduct, in only *ſending* letters and meſſages to court, when he ought to have gone in perſon. He inſtantly ſet out, and, by dint of perſonal repreſentations, procured the immediate equipment of the ſquadron, which afterwards ſpread terror along the eaſtern coaſt of England, and with which he ſo glorioufly captured the Serapis and other Britiſh ſhips of war, returning from the Baltic. In gratitude to Dr. Franklin's maxim, he named the principal ſhip of his ſquadron after the name of the pretended almanac-maker, *Le Bon Homme Richard*, Father Richard.

## REMARKS *on the* CONSTITUTION *of the* UNITED STATES, *extracted from a* SERIES *of* LETTERS, *written by* Mr. JEFFERSON.

*Some strictures on the political character and conduct of the secretary of state, which lately appeared in one of the Philadelphia newspapers, occasioned the publication of these extracts, together with an introduction, of which the following is a part:*

"IT will be remembered, that at the time the constitution was formed, and whilst under discussion in the state conventions, Mr. Jefferson was in France, the minister of America. That of the train of events which brought about the important crisis of a general convention, as of those which followed it, he was an interested, but a distant spectator. The nature of the trust reposed in him by the public, confined him to the spot. The only part he could bear in the cares of that momentous period was, to unite with his fellow-citizens in the most fervent wishes, that their labours might be successful, and redound to the advantage of their common country."

"What his sentiments were upon the subject of the constitution, and that of government generally, as connected with it, will be seen by the following extracts, taken from his letters addressed to a particular friend, at the time of their respective dates, and in the course of a very interesting and confidential correspondence. As he could not have foreseen that, in any possible event, they would be laid before the public, they must be considered as the free and spontaneous effusions of his heart. From that friend I have received them, and will, if any doubt should be suggested of their authenticity, immediately make them accessible to others. To Mr. Jefferson, whose approbation to this measure has neither been asked nor obtained, some apology for the freedom is due: to the confidence, however, which his own conduct has inspired, that it was never his wish, his sentiments, upon this or any other subject of a public nature, should be withheld from his countrymen, it is to be attributed."

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No. I.

*Paris, December* 20, 1787.

"THE season admitting only of operations in the cabinet, and these being in a great measure secret, I have little to fill a letter. I will therefore make up the deficiency, by adding a few words on the constitution proposed by our convention.

I like much the general idea of framing a government which should go on of itself peaceably, without needing continual reference to the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given to the legislative to levy taxes. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states, of the latter to equal and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased too with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by states: and I like the negative given to the execu-

tive with a third of either houſe, though I ſhould have liked it better, had the judiciary been appointed for that purpoſe, or inveſted with a ſimilar and ſeparate power. There are other good things, of leſs moment.

I will now add what I do not like. *Firſt.* The omiſſion of a bill of rights, providing clearly, and without the aid of ſophiſms, for freedom of religion, freedom of the preſs, protection againſt ſtanding armies, reſtrictions againſt monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land, and not by the law of nations. To ſay that a bill of rights was not neceſſary, becauſe all is reſerved in the caſe of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given which is not reſerved, is ſurely a gratis dictum, oppoſed by ſtrong inferences from the body of the inſtrument, as well as from the omiſſion of the clauſe of our preſent confederation, which had declared that in expreſs terms. It was a hard concluſion, to ſay, becauſe there has been no uniformity among the ſtates, as to the caſes triable by jury, becauſe ſome have been ſo incautious as to abandon this mode of trial, therefore the more prudent ſtates ſhall be reduced to the ſame level of calamity. It would have been much more juſt and wiſe to have concluded the other way, that as moſt of the ſtates had judiciouſly preſerved this palladium, thoſe who had wandered ſhould be brought back to it, and to have eſtabliſhed general right inſtead of general wrong. Let me add, that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to againſt every government on earth, general or particular, and that no juſt government ſhould refuſe, or reſt on inference.

The *ſecond* feature I diſlike, and greatly diſlike, is the abandonment, in every inſtance, of the neceſſity of rotation in office, and moſt particularly in the caſe of the preſident. Experience concurs with reaſon, in concluding that the firſt magiſtrate will always be re-elected if the conſtitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. This once obſerved, it becomes of ſo much conſequence to certain nations, to have a friend or a foe at the head of our affairs, that they will interfere, with money and with arms. A Galloman or an Angloman, will be ſupported by the nation he befriends; if once elected, and at a ſecond or third election out-voted by one or two votes, he will pretend falſe votes, foul play, hold poſſeſſion of the reins of government, be ſupported by the ſtates voting for him, eſpecially if they are the central ones, lying in a compact body themſelves, and ſeparating their opponents; and they will be aided by one nation of Europe, while the majority are aided by another. The election of a preſident of America, ſome years hence, will be much more intereſting to certain nations of Europe, than ever the election of a king of Poland was. Reflect on all the inſtances in hiſtory, ancient and modern, of elective monarchies, and ſay if they do not give foundation for my fears. The Roman emperors, the popes, while they were of any importance, the German emperors, till they became hereditary in practice, the kings of Poland, the deys of the Ottoman dependencies. It may be ſaid, that if elections are to be attended with theſe diſorders, the ſeldomer they are renewed the better. But experience ſhews that the only

way to prevent diſorder is, to render them unintereſting by frequent changes. An incapacity to be elected a ſecond time would have been the only effectual preventative. The power of removing him every fourth year, by the vote of the people, is a power which will not be exerciſed. The king of Poland is removable every day by the diet, yet he is never removed.

Smaller objections are, the appeal in fact as well as in law, and the binding all perſons, legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, by oath, to maintain that conſtitution. I do not pretend to decide, what would be the beſt method of procuring the eſtabliſhment of the manifold good things in this conſtitution, and of getting rid of the bad. Whether by adopting it, in hopes of future amendment, or, after it has been duly weighed and canvaſſed by the people, after ſeeing the parts they generally diſlike, and thoſe they generally approve, to ſay to them "We ſee now what you wiſh. Send together your deputies again; let them frame a conſtitution for you, omitting what you have condemned, and eſtabliſhing the powers you approve." Even theſe will be a great addition to the energy of your government; at all events, I hope you will not be diſcouraged from other trials, if the preſent one ſhould fail of its full effect. The late rebellion in Maſſachuſetts has given more alarm than I think it ſhould have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen ſtates in the courſe of eleven years, is but one for each ſtate in a century and a half; nor will any degree of power in the hands of government prevent inſurrections. France, with all its deſpotiſm and two or three hundred thouſand men always in arms, has had three inſurrections in the three years I have been here, in every one of which greater numbers were engaged than in Maſſachuſetts, and a great deal more blood was ſpilt. In Turkey, which Monteſquieu ſuppoſes more deſpotic, inſurrections are the events of every day. In England, where the hand of power is lighter than here, but heavier than with us, they happen every half dozen years. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their inſurgents with the order, the moderation, and the almoſt ſelf-extinguiſhment of ours. After all, it is my principle, that the will of the majority ſhould always prevail. If they approve the propoſed convention, in all its parts, I ſhall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they ſhall find it work wrong. I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there ſhall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt, as in Europe. *Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good ſenſe we may rely, with the moſt ſecurity, for the preſervation of a due degree of liberty.*"

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No. II.

*Paris, July* 31, 1788.

"I SINCERELY rejoice at the acceptance of our new conſtitution, by nine ſtates. It is a good canvaſs, on which ſome ſtrokes only want retouching. What theſe are, I think are ſufficiently manifeſted by the general voice, from north to ſouth, which calls for a bill

of rights. It seems pretty generally understood, that this should go to juries, habeas corpus, standing armies, printing, religion, and monopolies. I conceive there may be difficulty, in finding general modifications of these, suited to the habits of all the states. But if such cannot be found, then it is better to establish trials by jury, the right of habeas corpus, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion, in all cases, and to abolish standing armies in time of peace, and monopolies in all cases, than not to do it in any. The few cases wherein these things may do evil cannot be weighed against the multitude wherein the want of them will do evil.

In disputes between a foreigner and a native, a trial by jury may be improper; but if this exception cannot be agreed to, the remedy will be, to model the jury, by giving the medietas linguæ in civil, as well as in criminal cases.

Why suspend the habeas corpus in insurrections and rebellions! The parties who may be arrested, may be charged instantly with a well defined crime; of course, the judge will remand them: if the public safety requires that the government should have a man imprisoned on less probable testimony, in those than in other emergencies, let him be taken and tried, retaken and retried, while the necessity continues, only giving him redress against the government for damages. Examine the history of England, see how few cases of the suspension of the habeas corpus law have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treasons, wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham-plots, where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected. Yet for the few cases, wherein the suspension of the habeas corpus has done real good, that operation is now become habitual, and the minds of the nation almost prepared to live under its constant suspension.

A declaration that the federal government will never restrain the presses from printing any thing they please, will not take away the liability of the printers for false facts printed. The declaration that religious faith shall be unpunished, does not give impunity to criminal acts dictated by religious error. The saying there shall be no monopolies, lessens the incitements to ingenuity, which is spurred on by the hope of a monopoly for a limited time, as of fourteen years: but the benefit, even of limited monopolies, is too doubtful to be opposed to that of their general suspension. If no check can be found to keep the number of standing troops within safe bounds, while they are tolerated as far as necessary, abandon them altogether; discipline well the militia, and guard the magazines with them. More than magazine guards will be useless if few, and dangerous if many. No European nation can ever send against us such a regular army as we need fear, and it is hard if our militia are not equal to those of Canada and Florida.

My idea then is, that though proper exceptions to these general rules are desirable, and probably practicable, yet if the exceptions cannot be agreed on, the establishment of the rules in all cases will do ill in very few. I hope therefore a bill of rights will be formed, to guard the people against the federal government, as they are already guarded against their state governments in most instances.

The abandoning the principle of necessary rotation in the senate has, I see, been disapproved by many; in the case of the president by none. I readily therefore suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by the majority, as in the former instance, and the totality in the latter. In this, however, I should have done it with more complete satisfaction, had we all judged from the same position."

No. III.

*Paris, Nov.* 18, 1788.

"AS to the bill of rights, however, I still think it should be added, and I am glad to see that three states have at length considered the perpetual re-eligibility of the president, as an article which should be amended. I should deprecate with you indeed the meeting of a new convention. I hope they will adopt the mode of amendment by congress and the assemblies: in which case I should not fear any dangerous innovation in the plan. But the minorities are too respectable not to be entitled to some sacrifices of opinion in the majority, especially when a great proportion of them would be contented with a bill of rights."

No. IV.

*Paris, March* 15, 1789.

"I CANNOT refrain from making short answers to the objections which your letter states to have been raised.

1. That the rights in question are reserved by the manner in which the federal powers are granted. *Answer:* A constitutive act may certainly be so formed as to need no declaration of rights. The act itself has the force of a declaration as far as it goes; and if it goes to all material points, nothing more is wanting. In the draught of a constitution which I had once a thought of proposing in Virginia, and printed afterwards, I endeavoured to reach all the great objects of public liberty, and did not mean to add a declaration of rights. Probably the object was imperfectly executed; but the deficiencies would have been supplied by others in the course of discussion. But in a constitutive act, which leaves some precious articles unnoticed, and raises implications against others, a declaration of rights becomes necessary, by way of supplement. This is the case of our new federal constitution. This instrument forms us into one state, as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects: it should therefore guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them.

2. A positive declaration of some essential rights could not be obtained in the requisite latitude. *Answer*: If we cannot secure all our rights, let us secure what we can.

3. The limited powers of the federal government, and jealousy of the subordinate governments, afford a security which exists in no other instance. *Answer*: The first member of this seems resolvable into the first objection before stated. The jealousy of the subordinate governments is a precious reliance; but observe that those governments are only agents. They must have principles furnished them whereon to found their opposition. The declaration of rights will

be the text whereby they will try all the acts of the federal government; in this view it will be neceſſary to the federal government alſo: as by the ſame text, they may try the oppoſition of the ſubordinate governments.

4. Experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights. True; but though it is not abſolutely efficacious under all circumſtances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious. A brace the more will often keep up the building, which would have fallen with that brace the leſs. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniencies which attend a declaration of rights, and thoſe which attend the want of it. The inconveniencies of the declaration are, that it may cramp government in its uſeful exertions; but the evil of this is ſhort-lived, moderate, and reparable. The inconveniencies of the want of a declaration, are permanent, afflicting, and irreparable; they are in a conſtant progreſſion from bad to worſe. I know there are ſome among us who would now eſtabliſh a monarchy, but they are inconſiderable in number and weight of character. The riſing race are all republicans. We were educated in royaliſm: no wonder if ſome of us retain that idolatry ſtill. Our young people are educated in republicaniſm: an apoſtacy from that to royaliſm is unprecedented and impoſſible. I am much pleaſed with the proſpect that a declaration of rights will be added; and hope it will be done in that way which will not endanger the whole frame of the government, or any eſſential part of it."

## *The* LIFE *and ſingular* PROJECTS *of the celebrated* JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL *of the* FINANCES *in* FRANCE.

JOHN Law, one of the moſt ſingular and extraordinary characters of modern times, was born at Edinburgh, in April 1671, and, on the death of his father, who was a goldſmith, or, more properly ſpeaking, a banker in that city, inherited a reſpectable landed eſtate, called Lauriſton. It is ſaid, that he made ſome progreſs in polite literature, but his inclinations prompting him in a particular manner to thoſe ſtudies, known at preſent under the name of finance, he became profoundly ſkilled in every thing relating to banks, taxes, &c. &c. and by means of a branch of knowledge, but little cultivated at that time, he laid the foundation of his future celebrity.

Notwithſtanding the ſeeming dryneſs of the purſuits in which he had engaged, and which had engroſſed great part of his time, ſuch was his care in adorning a perſon uncommonly handſome by nature, that he was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of beau Law.

Having viſited London in 1694, his wit and accompliſhments readily procured him admiſſion into the firſt circles, in which he attracted the attention of the ladies, among whom he is reported to have been uncommonly ſucceſsful. Unhappily, however, on this very account, he was involved in a quarrel with a Mr. Wilſon, about the

ſiſter of the firſt earl of Villiers, afterwards counteſs of Orkney, and a duel having taken place, Mr. Law left his antagoniſt dead on the field of battle. Being apprehended and committed to Newgate, ſome circumſtances rendered it unadviſeable for him to await the iſſue of a trial: he therefore attempted, and was lucky enough to effect his eſcape; on this occaſion he is ſuppoſed to have retired to the continent.

In 1700 he ſeems to have returned to Edinburgh, as he appears in that year to have written his "Propoſals and reaſons for conſtituting a council of trade."

In this work he ſubmits to the public a plan for reviving, encouraging, and promoting the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, then, in conſequence of various untoward circumſtances, particularly the miſcarriage of the Darien expedition, reduced to a very low ebb, by conſtituting, by act of parliament, a council of trade, in whom ſhould be veſted the whole of the king's revenues, the biſhops lands and rents, all charitable benefactions and appropriations, one-tenth of all grain and malt raiſed and made in the kingdom, one-twentieth of all ſums ſued for at law, one-fortieth of all ſucceſſions, legacies, and ſales, and ſome other articles too long to be enumerated.

This great income he propoſed to employ (after deducting a ſtated annual ſum for his majeſty's uſe, and for the ſalaries of the members of the council) in promoting, by all manner of ways, the trade, fiſheries, and manufactures of Scotland, building workhouſes, and purchaſing all means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor, buying up and keeping at a regular rate the ſeveral products and manufactures of the kingdom, making and maintaining highways, bridges, and harbours, and in other beneficial purſuits. He alſo propoſes that the council ſhould be empowered to diſpenſe with prejudicial monopolies, regulate the weights and meaſures, puniſh fraudulent bankrupts, liberate honeſt debtors who had made a fair ſurrender of their effects, and take up all beggars and vagabonds; and it is further ſubmitted, that all duties upon exports, and upon ſuch imports as are proper to be meliorated or manufactured in the kingdom, ſhould be taken off, one per cent. only excepted; but that the duties on all other imports be doubled.

From the exertions of a council veſted with ſuch powers, and poſſeſſing revenues ſo ample, Mr. Law ſeems to have entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes, that the trade and manufactures of Scotland would ſpeedily have been recovered from the calamitous ſituation in which at that time they were; but the project did not appear in the ſame light to, and conſequently met with no encouragement from, the ſupreme judicature of the kingdom.

This publication, however, occaſioned Mr. Law to be introduced to the firſt duke of Argyle, the marquis of Lorn, lord Archibald Campbell, the marquis of Tweedale, and other noblemen of Scotland.

Under ſuch a powerful patronage, he was induced, in 1705, to preſent a plan to parliament for removing the difficulties the kingdom was then expoſed to by the great ſcarcity of money, and the inſolvency of the bank, preparatory to, and explanatory of which he publiſh-

ed another work, entitled "Money and trade conſidered, with a propoſal for ſupplying the nation with money."

The object of this plan was to iſſue notes, which were to be lent on landed property, upon the principle, that being ſo ſecured, they would be equal in value to gold and ſilver money of the ſame denomination, and even preferred to thoſe metals, as not being liable to fall in value like them.

This plauſible ſcheme was, however, looked upon by parliament as an improper expedient, but the real reaſon for its rejection is ſaid to have been an apprehenſion, that all the eſtates in the kingdom would in a ſhort time have been dependent upon government.

Perceiving all his plans to be treated with neglect, Mr. Law now abandoned his native country, and repaired to Holland, with a view to improve himſelf in that great ſchool of banking and finance. He afterwards reſided at Bruſſels, where his profound ſkill in calculation is ſaid to have contributed to his extraordinary ſucceſs at play.

At Paris, his mind was occupied with higher objects, for ſoon after his arrival there he preſented a plan to M. Deſmaretz, comptroller-general of the finances under Louis XIV. which, being approved of by that miniſter, was laid before the king. "His majeſty, inſtead of enquiring into the merits of the project, aſked if Law was a catholic?" and being anſwered in the negative, ſaid, "that he would have nothing to do with a heretic." This is an inſtance of the *wiſdom* of his majeſty!

Mr. Law left the capital of France in 1714, and in the courſe of his travels won conſiderable ſums at play, a purſuit to which he ſeems to have been particularly addicted. To Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, to whom he was introduced, he communicated a ſcheme for aggrandizing the territories of that prince; but his majeſty declined carrying it into execution, under pretence that his dominions were too ſmall for the execution of ſo great a deſign.

On the demiſe of Louis XIV. Mr. Law returned to Paris, and gained the confidence of the regent, to ſuch a degree, that he not only admitted him to his convivial parties, but nominated him one of the counſellors of ſtate.

The long and expenſive wars of Louis XIV. had ſuperinduced an enormous weight of debt upon the nation, which groaned under an intolerable weight of taxes, impoſed for the payment of the intereſt. All induſtry was thus checked; trade in a manner annihilated; manufactures, commerce, and navigation had almoſt ceaſed; the merchant and the trader were reduced to beggary, and the artificer was compelled, for want of employment, to leave the kingdom. In ſhort, ſuch was the ſtate of affairs, that it was debated in council, and propoſed to the regent, to expunge at once the debts of the ſtate, by a national bankruptcy. This propoſal he nobly rejected, preferring the more equitable method of eſtabliſhing a commiſſion called a Viſa, to enquire into the claims of the ſtate creditors. By this commiſſion the national debt was at length put into a kind of order, and its amount reduced to two thouſand millions of livres, which, at twenty-eight livres the mark of ſtanding ſilver,

(two pounds ſterling) the then denomination of the ſpecie in France, made above one hundred and forty-two millions ſterling.

Mr. Law propoſed to remedy the evils neceſſarily attendant on ſuch an immenſe debt, by eſtabliſhing a bank for iſſuing notes ſecured on landed property, and on all the royal revenues, unalienably engaged for that purpoſe.

This ſcheme was approved of, but the conjuncture being thought unfavourable, he could only obtain letters patent, dated May 20, 1716, for eſtabliſhing a private bank at Paris, along with his brother and ſome other aſſociates. Their ſtock conſiſted of one thouſand two hundred ſhares, of five thouſand livres, which, at forty livres the marc, amounted to two hundred and fifty pounds each, and the whole to three hundred thouſand ſterling.

The general bank of Law and company ſeems to have commenced buſineſs under the moſt flattering auſpices; for it was not only favoured with the avowed protection of the regent, but acquired the public confidence, by providing againſt the arbitrary practice then common in France, of varying the denominations of the coin at the will of the monarch. The effects of ſuch an unjuſtifiable meaſure were anticipated by the new company, who engaged to pay to the bearer, "—— livres in coin, of the ſame weight and fineneſs with the coin of the day of the date of each note." Such, in a ſhort time, was the reputation of Law's notes, that they roſe one per cent. above the value of the current coin, and are ſaid to have produced the moſt beneficial effects on the induſtry and trade of the nation.

On the 14th of December 1718, the bank was diſſolved by an arbitrary arret, iſſued by the regent, who, obſerving the great advantages ariſing from it, and perceiving alſo that the people were growing fond of paper money, reſolved to take it into the hands of government.

Such had been the credit of this company, that, at this period, the emiſſion of their notes amounted to no leſs than fifty-nine millions of livres.

*(To be concluded in our next.)*

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

# HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

*(Continued from our laſt—page* 165.)

1780. AFTER the ſurrender of Charleſton, the Britiſh poſted garriſons in different parts of the country, for the purpoſe of awing the inhabitants into a general ſubmiſſion. Nor was this difficult to be effected, among a people whoſe ſpirits were broken by a ſeries of misfortunes, who were without an army to which the militia might repair, and who could not flee, without leaving their families and effects in the hands of the enemy. In every part of South-Carolina, except the extremities bordering on North-Carolina, ſchemes of

further resistance were abandoned; a few fled, and the rest generally laid down their arms.

In the mean time, the British marched towards North-Carolina, with upwards of two thousand men. This movement obliged several parties, who had collected in the northern extremity of the state, with the expectation of relieving Charleston, to retreat. One party, however, consisting of about three hundred continentals, commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken by lieut. col. Tarleton, at Waxhaws, and totally defeated. Tarleton's party was about seven hundred in number, and was composed of cavalry and a corps of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the sake of expedition. Tarleton demanded the surrender of Buford and his corps, on terms similar to those granted to the garrison of Charleston, with which they refused to comply. While the flags were passing and repassing, the British had nearly surrounded their adversaries; and no sooner was the negociation at an end, than a furious attack was commenced. The continental party made but a feeble resistance, and soon cried out for quarter; but, although the main body laid down their arms, a few straggling soldiers continued to fire. This furnished a pretext to the British for rushing on with redoubled fury, and putting the unarmed, unresisting Americans to the sword. The carnage was horrible. Five sixths of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, that they were obliged to be left on the field. The remainder were chiefly made prisoners.

Shortly after the surrender of Charleston, a hand-bill was circulated among the inhabitants, and, although it was not signed by any person, there was every reason to believe, that it was published by the authority of sir Henry Clinton. It stated that the success of the British was no longer doubtful, and that no danger could arise to any who should now espouse the royal cause. Those who had families were informed, that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia, for the maintenance of peace and good order in their respective districts; but it was expected that those who had no families would cheerfully assist the British troops "to drive their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders;" when on service, they were to be allowed pay, &c. in the same manner as the king's troops. About the same time, a proclamation was issued, by sir Henry Clinton, in which he warned all persons not to oppose the establishment of royal government, under pain of being treated with the utmost severity in their persons, and of having their estates confiscated. In a few days after, he and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for past offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all the rights and immunities they had previously enjoyed, under a free British government—exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures.

The hope of protection and security, without being exposed to the calamities of war, induced many to assume the character of British subjects, while others, from the same motives, became prisoners on parole. A party had always been attached to royal government, though they were obliged to submit to the laws of the state. These

now exulted in the success of the British arms, and were zealous, in the present favourable situation of affairs, to promote a cause which they had so much at heart. Their number, however, was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection. Sir Henry Clinton, not discriminating between royalists from principle, and those who assumed that character with a view to temporary convenience, was led to believe that the state was completely subdued; and that the submission of the inhabitants was to be attributed, generally, to their attachment to the royal cause. Under this impression he wrote a letter to the minister, in which he informed him, that there were few men in the province who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces; and that vast numbers of the inhabitants came in daily, from every quarter, to testify their allegiance, and to offer their services in support of his majesty's government.

It was not unusual for the British ministry to hear that a large majority of the Americans were firmly attached to the cause of royalty. With information of this kind they had been amused, for several years previous to the commencement of the war, by the governors of the several colonies, and other court favourites, who represented the almost unanimous voice of the people, to be the clamour of a very inconsiderable part of the community, both with respect to numbers and character. This may, perhaps, account, in some measure, for the disrespect with which the petitions and remonstrances of the Americans were treated; and for the folly of ministers, in precipitating the nation into measures, the very reverse of those which justice and policy equally required them to adopt.—Throughout the war, they laboured under the same delusion, with respect to the real sentiments of the Americans. Those royalists who attached themselves to the British armies, or took shelter with them, almost uniformly asserted, that the bulk of the Americans, in most parts of the country, were friendly to the views of the ministry and parliament of Great Britain; and only waited for a convenient opportunity openly to avow their political sentiments, and, if necessary, to take up arms in support of the royal cause. The experience of the British generals, however, did not often establish the veracity of this information. They found that those who changed sides were always willing to be the messengers of good tidings to their new friends; and that they usually described the state of affairs in a manner that better accorded with their own wishes than with truth. It is not, however, improbable, that some believed the erroneous statement they gave to be a just one; for it frequently happens, that men mistake the principles which they find to be prevalent in their own narrow circles of friends and associates, for those of the community at large; and as men are apt to associate most intimately with those whose principles and practice are similar to their own, it was very natural for the American tories to suppose the friends of ministerial measures to be much more numerous, in the united states, than they really were.

But, from whatever cause it might arise, certain it is, that the enemies of America were greatly misinformed respecting the general sen-

timents of the people. They were of opinion that the refractory might eaſily be ſubdued, and held in awe, by the aſſiſtance of the royaliſts; and general Howe, in particular, was ſeverely cenſured for not having availed himſelf of that aſſiſtance, to the extent which it was ſuppoſed he might have done.

This ſyſtem, of ſubduing one part of the Americans by the other, and of eſtabliſhing ſuch an internal force in each ſubjugated colony, as would be nearly, if not entirely, equal to its preſervation and defence afterwards, had been ſo often held out as exceedingly practicable; and, indeed, as requiring only adoption to inſure its ſucceſs, that ſir Henry Clinton reſolved to have recourſe to means which were repreſented as ſo obvious, and for the ſuppoſed negligence of which his predeceſſors had ſuffered ſo much obloquy and reproach. Nor had a more favourable opportunity occurred, ſince the beginning of the war, for trying the experiment. The inhabitants of South-Carolina, in general, were, at this criſis, without a gleam of hope, that they ſhould ever be able to make an effectual reſiſtance againſt the arms of Great-Britain. There was no regular army within four hundred miles, to aid the friends of independence, while the Britiſh were poſted in force all over the country. The armies in the ſouthern ſtates were either captured, or totally defeated and diſperſed; inſomuch that there was ſcarcely any regular force, to the ſouthward of Pennſylvania, not even ſufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Thoſe who ſhould attempt to oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh government, were threatened with confiſcation and death; while every encouragement was held forth to induce the people to take up arms, and enrol themſelves under the royal banners.—Such was the gloomy ſtate of American affairs, in the ſouthern part of the union, when the inhabitants were required to take up arms in ſupport of the Britiſh government.

Specious promiſes of protection and ſecurity having already induced the greater part of the inhabitants to ſubmit as ſubjects, or take their paroles as priſoners of war, ſir Henry Clinton, on the 3d of June, iſſued a proclamation, ſetting forth, that it was "proper for *all perſons* to take an active part in ſettling and ſecuring his majeſty's government"—and declaring, that "all the inhabitants of the province, who were priſoners on parole, (thoſe who were taken in fort Moultrie and Charleſton excepted) ſhould, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their patroles, and reſtored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was further declared, that all perſons, of the deſcription abovementioned, who ſhould neglect to return to their allegiance, and to ſupport his majeſty's government, ſhould be conſidered as enemies and rebels, and be treated accordingly.—Thoſe who had ſubmitted as priſoners on parole, juſtly complained of this arbitrary change of their condition, from priſoners to citizens. They found themſelves brought into a dilemma, which involved them in the neceſſity either of fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a Britiſh militia.—The greater part of thoſe who had ſubmitted as ſubjects, in hopes of obtaining a reſpite from the calamities of war, were equally aſtoniſhed and confounded, to find themſelves called upon to take up arms in ſupport of royal

government. Though they had ſubmitted from motives of fear or convenience, a large majority retained their wonted affection for their American brethren, and ſhuddered at the thought of bearing arms againſt them. "If we muſt fight," ſaid they, "let it be on the ſide of liberty, our friends, and our country." Many, looking on this proclamation as a diſcharge from their paroles, and reflecting on the vengeance denounced againſt ſuch as did not return to their allegiance, as Britiſh ſubjects, took up arms, for the purpoſe of ſelf-defence. But a much greater number, who were too much in the power of the Britiſh, to allow them to conſult their own inclination, exchanged their paroles for the protection of Britiſh ſubjects; but moſt of them, with a ſecret determination to break the compulſory engagement, as ſoon as a convenient opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. With this coercive meaſure, therefore, commenced the decline of Britiſh authority, in South-Carolina; an effect directly the contrary of what was expected by ſir Henry Clinton, who had embarked for New-York, a few days after the date of the proclamation, with the main army, leaving about four thouſand men, under the command of lord Cornwallis, for the ſouthern ſervice.

While lord Cornwallis remained at Charleſton, devoting his attention to the government and affairs of South-Carolina, and forming the inhabitants into a Britiſh militia, the part of the army deſtined to active ſervice, was advanced towards the frontier of North-Carolina, under the immediate command of lord Rawdon, who, after ſome time, fixed his head-quarters at Camden. This place, on account of its eaſy communication with various and remote parts of the country, induced lord Cornwallis to make it a general repoſitory of proviſions, arms, ammunition, &c. for the uſe of the army in its intended operations.—He extended his views to the reduction of North-Carolina, whither he had been preſſingly invited, by a conſiderable number of loyaliſts, who reſided in the back parts of that ſtate. But finding the ſeaſon of the year unfavourable for active exertions in that climate, and being informed that the country could not furniſh an adequate ſupply of proviſions, he requeſted the loyaliſts in North-Carolina to attend to the harveſt, prepare proviſions, and remain quiet till the cloſe of Auguſt, or beginning of September, when, he aſſured them, he would march an army into their country.—But the loyaliſts, hurried by their impatience, and prompted, as they ſaid, by the ſevere treatment they experienced, roſe tumultuouſly, and without the previous formation of any plan of acting; the conſequence of which was, that they were quickly ſuppreſſed, and compelled to conſult their ſafety, by making the beſt of their way to the Britiſh quarters. Col. Bryan, at the head of about 800 loyaliſts, aſſembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin, effected a junction with the 71ſt regiment, ſtationed in the Cheraws; but a number of the inhabitants of Tryon county, who took up arms, under the direction of col. Moore, were attacked and defeated by a party of the whig militia, commanded by general Rutherford. Several other parties were equally unſucceſsful.

While the victorious Britiſh were buſily employed in ſecuring their late acquiſition of territory, and in planning future and more exten-

ſive conqueſts, the Americans were endeavouring to collect an army to oppoſe them. General Lincoln had early repreſented to congreſs, the neceſſity of taking effectual meaſures, for checking the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, in the ſouthern ſtates; and, during the ſiege of Charleſton, he prevailed on governor Rutledge to go out of town, and uſe his exertions and influence for the ſame purpoſe. That gentleman accordingly intereſted himſelf in obtaining aſſiſtance from congreſs, and from the governments of Virginia and North-Carolina, both of which were impelled, as well by principle as a ſenſe of their own danger, to make the moſt vigorous exertions in behalf of their ſiſter ſtate.

The troops of the Delaware and Maryland lines, amounting to about 1400 effective men, had been ordered to march from general Waſhington's head-quarters, at Morriſtown, near the end of March, to the relief of Charleſton; but, owing to a want of the neceſſary ſupplies, the quarter-maſter-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as ſoon as had been expected. The manufacturers, employed in furniſhing different articles for the army, refuſed either to go on with their buſineſs, or to deliver what they had completed; declaring they had ſuffered ſo much from the depreciation of the circulating medium, that they would not part with their property, unleſs they received immediate payment. By means of great exertions, however, the troops were enabled to ſet out on their march by the middle of April. Proceeding by land to the Head-of-Elk, they there embarked for Peterſburg, whence they again proceeded through the country, towards South-Carolina. This force was at firſt commanded by major-general baron de Kalb; but in the month of June, general Gates was appointed to the command of the ſouthern army. In Virginia, great exertions were made to facilitate the expeditious march of the troops; but in North-Carolina, little or no preparations were made, either for the ſuſtenance of the troops, or the tranſportation of their baggage. The baron was therefore under the neceſſity of halting on Deep-river, the 6th of July, and of continuing in that ſituation till the arrival of general Gates, on the 25th.—During this time, he found great difficulty in procuring daily proviſions for the army; much leſs was it in his power to obtain ſuch ſupplies, as would juſtify his proceeding through the dreary and barren waſte which lay before him. The commiſſaries and quarter-maſters complained, that the want of caſh and of credit were inſuperable obſtacles to the diſcharge of their duty. He was in daily expectation, however, of being joined by a conſiderable body of North-Carolina militia, which had taken the field under general Caſwell; and of receiving, at the ſame time, a ſupply of proviſions. But he was diſappointed in both. Caſwell was engaged in keeping the diſaffected inhabitants in awe; and no part of the promiſed ſupply was ever received. Under theſe circumſtances, a council of war recommended to baron de Kalb, inſtead of attempting to proceed by the direct road to Camden, which lay through a country of pine barrens, ſand-hills, and ſwamps, to file off towards the well cultivated ſettlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws, where abundant ſupplies for the army might be obtained. But general Gates, on taking the command, preferred the direct road to

Camden, to this circuitous route. He conceived it to be moſt for the intereſt of the united ſtates, that the army ſhould arrive in the vicinity of the Britiſh encampments as ſoon as poſſible. The troops accordingly paſſed Deep-river, on the 27th of July; and proceeded immediately towards Camden.

In the mean time, that tranquility which the Britiſh had enjoyed, in South-Carolina, for ſome time after the reduction of Charleſton, met with conſiderable interruption. As their troops advanced towards the upper part of the ſtate, many of the determined friends of independence, rather than ſubmit as Britiſh ſubjects, or as priſoners on parole, deſerted their homes, and took refuge in North-Carolina. Among theſe was col. Sumpter, a brave and enterpriſing officer, and an enthuſiaſtic whig. Soon after he quitted his home, a party of the Britiſh turned his wife and family out of doors, and burned his houſe, with all the effects it contained. The ill-judged ſeverity of the Britiſh was a leading cauſe of the oppoſition which they afterwards experienced. Inſtead of attempting to concilate the affections of thoſe, from whom fear had extorted a temporary ſubmiſſion, they exaſperated them, by the devaſtation and plunder of their property; inſomuch, that vaſt numbers were diſpoſed to gratify their reſentment, as ſoon as a convenient opportunity ſhould occur. The South-Carolina exiles having choſen col Sumpter for their leader, returned to their own ſtate, and boldly took the field againſt a powerful and victorious enemy, at a time when the inhabitants had apparently relinquiſhed all thoughts of further reſiſtance. This little band of patriot ſoldiers took the field under great diſadvantages. Many of them were unprovided with arms; and their ſupply of ammunition was exceedingly ſcanty. They were under the neceſſity of getting rude weapons of war made, by blackſmiths, from the iron of farming utenſils; and the only way in which they could furniſh themſelves with bullets, was, by melting pewter furniture, which was given to them for the purpoſe, by private houſe-keepers.

This firſt appearance of oppoſition rouſed all the indignant paſſions of the Britiſh leaders, againſt the inhabitants. Without taking any ſhare of the blame to themſelves, for conſtraining men to ſubmit to an authority, which neither their reaſon nor affections acknowledged, they charged them with ſtudied duplicity and treachery; and, laying aſide lenient meaſures, for thoſe that were dictated by revenge, confined ſeveral of the inhabitants, on ſuſpicion of their being acceſſary to the recommencement of hoſtilities. This, added to their inſolence and rapine, not only prevented an increaſe of the real friends of royal government, but diſguſted thoſe who had been its firmeſt adherents.

The firſt effort of renewed warfare, on the part of the Americans, was made by 133 of Sumpter's corps, on the 12th of July, who attacked and routed a detachment of Britiſh regulars and militia, which were poſted in a lane, at Williamſon's plantation, in the upper part of South-Carolina. This was the firſt advantage gained over the Britiſh, ſince the beginning of the year. Captain Huck, who commanded the Britiſh party, was killed in the engagement. He had diſcovered a moſt illiberal inveteracy againſt the preſbyterians, in the

neighbourhood where he was ſtationed. He burned the library and dwelling houſe of their clergyman, and all the bibles he could find, containing the Scotch tranſlation of the pſalms. Inſpired with a deteſtation of this impious and barbarous conduct, the numerous devout inhabitants of the diſtrict, who were alſo ſtaunch whigs, felt themſelves called upon to defend not only their civil liberties, but their holy religion. They accordingly joined Sumpter's party, and oppoſed the enemy, with a degree of ardour bordering on enthuſiaſm. Such was the alacrity with which they turned out, at a time when no effort to oppoſe the Britiſh was made in any other part of the ſtate, that, in a few days after the defeat of Huck's party, col. Sumpter found himſelf at the head of 600 men, who, like their gallant leader, were unanimouſly determined, to ſtand or fall with the liberties of their country. Sumpter's little army being thus augmented, he made a ſpirited attack on a Britiſh party ſtationed at Rocky-mount; but as they were ſecured by works of conſiderable ſtrength, on which he could make no impreſſion without artillery, he was obliged to retreat. He ſoon after attacked and defeated a royal detachment, conſiſting of the Prince of Wales's regiment and a large body of tories, poſted at Hanging-rock. The regular regiment was almoſt totally cut in pieces. From two hundred and ſeventy-eight, it was reduced to nine. The tories, defeated on this occaſion, were a part of thoſe North-Carolinians, commanded by colonel Bryan, who had lately joined the royal army. At the commencement of the action, the Americans were ſo ſhort of ammunition, that not a man of them had more than ten bullets; but in the latter part of it, they acquired a ſupply, both of arms and ammunition, by ſtripping ſuch of the enemy as fell in the beginning.

While Sumpter inſpired the people, as it were, with new life, by a ſucceſſion of gallant enterpriſes, it became generally known, that an army was approaching from the northward, to check the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the ſouthern ſtates. This encouraged the whig militia, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina, to turn out, in ſmall parties, under leaders of their own choice, and attack ſometimes detachments from the royal army, but more frequently parties of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were acting in concert with the Britiſh troops. But as the ſeveral American parties took up arms from the impulſe of their own minds, without a knowledge of each other's motions, or any preconcerted plan of acting in conjunction, no very important advantages were gained over the enemy. A ſpirit of enterpriſe, however, daily gained ground among the people, and many, who had been under the neceſſity of becoming a Britiſh militia, availed themſelves of the opportunity which now preſented itſelf, to throw off the maſk, and avow their attachment to the cauſe of liberty and their country.

*(To be continued.)*

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

# IMPARTIAL REVIEW

## OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

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### SKETCHES *on* ROTATIONS *of* CROPS.—*Philadelphia.*——1792.—*Price one eighth of a dollar.*

THE author of these "Sketches" has not given his name to the public; but, what is of much more importance, he has furnished the agricultural part of the community with an excellent treatise, on an important subject, that of a judicious rotation of crops. To design such a system of farming, as may not only preserve, but improve the richness of the soil; as may at once increase the farmer's income, and admit of a steady succession of employment, without the disagreeable extremes of excessive hurry at certain seasons, and a total cessation of business at others, are the desirable objects of this, and of every other publication on rotations of crops.—It rests with farmers to second the laudable endeavours of judicious writers, on this and on other agricultural subjects, by listening to reason, and not rejecting theories as absurd, until experience shall have determined with respect to their merits. The author of this pamphlet, however, is not a farmer in theory only; he appears to be well acquainted with the practice, as well as the principles of agriculture. He first gives a description and comparative view of the old and new systems of crops in England. The advantages of the latter are thus briefly stated.

The better course of husbandry, now well experienced and approved of in England, is founded on these principles: To *fallow**, and to have growing on the fallow a *feeding* and ameliorating crop; never to sow any sort of corn immediately after corn of any kind; to sow *clover* with or on every field of grain; and by a course of well-chosen crops and the shaded fallows, prevent the soil from resting, hardening or running into weeds and common grasses. Thus entire farms are continued in a constant rotation, under 5 to 6 or 8 divisions; so as with the clean, mellow state of the whole arable, to give a pleasing system of business, which improves the soil, and procures a considerably larger income.

Clover only *one* year on the ground, is the most recent course. When it is continued two or more years, it lets in weeds and some binding of the ground, to a degree which occasioned the saying, that the ground becomes "clover sick." But *yearly* renewing the clover, in the rotation of crops, neither admits of weeds, or a binding of the ground. The clover in this case, being sufficiently thick and well-sowed, effectually shades and mellows the soil, without having time allowed it to decline.

The following detached extracts will doubtless be acceptable to such of our agricultural readers, as may not have an opportunity of perusing the whole treatise. Those who wish to see a more full and connected view of the subject, are referred to the work itself.

* *To* fallow, *is to plough up the ground repeatedly; which* shifts *its surfaces and* lightens *and* cleans *it from wild grass and weeds. One or two fields being so fallowed in each year, as in the new rotations, the whole is broken up and cleaned once in every five or six years.*

*Of the* AMERICAN OLD SYSTEM *of* CROPS.

WHEN in America a farm is divided into three fields, the common courſe is maiz*, wheat (or rye,) and rubbiſh paſture. When in four fields, it is maiz, naked fallow, wheat, and the like mean paſture: or maiz, wheat, lay, or poor paſture during two years. And whilſt in ſome parts of America, the fields are 4 or 5, in other parts the diviſions are as low as 2. Altho' 5 are better than 4; and 4 better than 3; yet the beſt of theſe admit not of a proper courſe or rotation of crops, eſpecially when maiz is one of them. So mean are the productions of the 3 and 4 field diviſions, when maiz has been continued a crop, that they will not allow of being rated by the acre, near ſo high as the preſent ſtatements allow to either mode of the Engliſh huſbandry, or, as we may believe, to the American huſbandry, when practiſed according to the improved principles of cropping, with or without maiz. Two exhauſting corn crops, perpetually taken from 3 or 4 fields, after ſome years, will ſcarcely admit of 8 buſhels of wheat an acre on common land, one year with another†: but, ſuppoſe

No. III.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 100 a. maiz, at 12 buſhels, | - | 1200 |
| 100 - wheat - 8 | - | 800 |
| 100 - lay or mean paſture, | - | .... |
| 300 a. in 3 fields, | - | 2000 lbs. |

No. IV.

| | |
|---|---|
| 75 a. maiz, | |
| 75 - wheat, | |
| 75 - lay, | |
| 75 - lay, | |
| 300 a. in 4 fields. | |

If clover ſeed had been ſowed with or on the wheat of No. IV. the lay fields would have given better paſture than when the lay is left to run into rubbiſh graſs and weeds: but either is far inferior to the new courſes. No. III. & IV. give light crops, moſtly of a cheap corn, very poor paſture, and but little hay (if any) for the emolument of the farmer, the comfort of a ſtock of hidebound beaſts, and the preſervation of a ſoil, which is in an obvious conſumption. Under ſuch ſevere treatment, land is continually loſing ſtrength; and it may be, greater productions are here allowed than the old ſettled maiz farms yield, and than new ones can long continue to yield under the old habits of a leſs rational mode of farming, if it may be called farming.

We almoſt univerſally cultivate one field in maiz, whatever may be in the other fields. The maiz being frequently ploughed (horſehoed,) the ground is thereby kept *clean*, and gives a fallow with a crop: but it is an ill-choſen crop for a fallow, becauſe of its giving only a trifle of *ſhade* to the freſh expoſed ſoil, and becauſe it is *corn*, to be ſucceeded by another crop of corn; both terrible exhauſters. Some farmers ſow wheat on this maiz-field, before the maiz is ripe, on a clean and light ſoil. Others delay ſowing it till the enſuing ſummer, when the ſoil being ſomewhat ſettled and in weeds, they plough, harrow, and ſow it with wheat. Of the two evils, farmers differ in their choice. I have known ſome of them, who had practiſed both methods, return to the former, becauſe the latter was, as they judged, more injurious to the ſoil than the former method.

AMERICAN NEW FALLOW-CROP METHOD; WITH AND WITHOUT MAIZ.

MAIZ, taken into a rotation under the new ſyſtem of crops, according to the new principles of huſbandy, occaſions ſome difficulties, which ſeem beſt overcome by in-

* *Maiz, or Indian corn.*

† *A few years ſince, it was a general belief that ſix buſhels of wheat was the medium crop of a large extent of the country, but it is now evident that, from greater attentions, huſbandry has in general advanced ſo as to give conſiderably more by the acre, in that diſtrict.*

creasing the number of fields. Our husbandmen are so used to this kind of corn, that scarcely any appear disposed to give up the culture of it, for productions which are much milder, in their effects on land.

*A Maiz-Course.*

No. V.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 50 a. | maiz | 15 bushels | 750 |
| 50 - | wheat (or spring barley) | - | 750 |
| 50 - | clover | - | - |
| 50 - | rye (or winter barley) | - | 900 |
| 50 - | clover | - | - |
| 50 - | clover | - | - |
| 300 a. | in 6 fields. | - | 2400 |

The great fault in this system is in wheat succeeding maiz, that is corn on corn. Rye or barley might have been in the place of wheat; but these also are corns, which exhaust the soil. Clover after maiz is not likely to succeed, especially when sowed without a *sheltering* crop; and this sheltering crop being from grain, would introduce the mischief incident to corn on corn. But even this faulty system is far preferable to any of our old courses. Had there been only five fields it would have been worse for the soil; because a course of only two fields in clover to three in corn, must in time render the ground weak, and comparatively unproductive.

*Better Maiz Courses.*

No. VI.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 50 a. | maiz | - | 750 Bushels. |
| 50 - | beans | - | 500 |
| 50 - | barley | - | 1090 |
| 50 - | clover | - | - |
| 50 - | wheat | - | 750 |
| 50 - | clover | - | - |
| 300 a. | in 6 fields. | - | 3000 |

No. VII.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 43 a. | maiz | 15 Bs. | 645 |
| 43 - | beans | 10 | 430 |
| 43 - | barley | 20 | 860 |
| 43 - | clover | - | - |
| 43 - | wheat | 15 | 645 |
| 43 - | clover | - | - |
| 43 - | clover | - | - |
| 300 a. | in 7 fields. | - | 2580 |

Here the corn crops* are interposed by clover and beans; a pulse which is ameliorating to the soil; especially when growing in rows so near as to *shade* the well ploughed and cleaned intervals: and these crops give three or four amelioraters to three exhausters."

"The greatest quantity of grain produced in a *rotation* is not alone a proof of its being the best system. A large quantity of good meadow will yield much hay. It is a sin against good husbandry to sell off the hay of a farm. Numbers of cattle well fed and well littered, give the manure requisite for invigorating the soil: but numbers of cattle cannot be kept in good condition, *through the year*, unless clover or grass, as well as hay abound."

* *Corn crops. Wheat, barley, rye, maiz, oats, and generally all sorts of grain of which bread is made, are corns.*

### Clover-Seed.

This is an important article in the improved syſtem of crops: but its bearing ſome price, or colling ſome labour to obtain it, renders it a bug-bear to common huſbandmen, whoſe habits have diverted them from the large uſe of it. It is indeed abſolutely neceſſary, that it ſhould be a common crop in rotation with other articles of crop. And it is hoped, there are farmers ſpirited and determined enough to defeat the objections; and who will conſider the coſt not chargeable merely to the crop of clover, but to the whole round of crops; the clover being ſo eſſential thereto, that without it, the ſoil, the cattle, and the corn crops would greatly ſuffer; and the farmer's income, his reputation, and his independency would be leſſened. If 4lbs. of clean clover-ſeed, when ſown with ſuch a box as is deſcribed below, clothe the ground as well with plants as 10 or 12lbs. ſown in the common broad-caſt way, of which I have had a little experience, then a buſhel of ſeed will ſow 15 acres; which is a coſt of only 5 ſhillings an acre. Thirty loads of dung per acre *(unbought)* would coſt the farmer four times as much for loading, carrying, and diſperſing them on the field; and, if bought, many times more. He can manure or ameliorate 100 acres with clover more certainly than he can 20 from his dungheap; and moreover in the time that his clover is ſheltering the ſoil, perſpiring its excrementitious effluvia on the ground, dropping its putrid leaves, and mellowing the ground with its tap roots, it gives full food to the ſtock of cattle, keeps them in heart, and increaſes the dunghill. Nor is the amelioration by clover very inferior to that by dung, as this is commonly managed. In ſome reſpects it is preferable. With dung, innumerable ſeeds of weeds are carried out, and ſown on the fields: not ſo of clover-ſeed, when it is well cleaned. Clover is the beſt preparative for a crop of wheat. Dung inclines wheat to run more into ſtraw than full grain. Wheat on clover has the beſt grain and the fulleſt crop.

### Sowing Wheat on Clover.

The language of farmers on this head is, that wheat on clover is to be ſown on "*one earth*"—"*one ploughing.*" To conform to this idea, I conducted the buſineſs, on 15 acres, in this manner:

1. The clover, having been cut once and then paſtured, was turned in deep, by a plough.
2. The wheat was ſowed, broadcaſt.
3. The harrow followed twice, in the ſame direction in which the clover was ploughed in.
4. The ſown wheat was then rolled.

The crop ſtood well and yielded ſatisfactorily. It grew near two miles from my other field-wheat, on a ſoil not quite ſimilar, ſo that a juſt compariſon could not be made between them. The operations immediately followed each other, without any pauſe between them. The plough, the harrow, the ſeed, &c. were all ready on the ſpot, before the plough proceeded.

Mr. Young was requeſted, in Ireland, to inſtruct the farmers of that country in proper courſes of crops: and when he comes to direct them how to ſow wheat on clover, he only ſays—"The clover is to be well ploughed in, with an even, regular furrow; and the wheat ſown and harrowed well." Which is preciſely the method I uſed; only that, in addition, my ground was then rolled*

One of my neighbours, intending to ſow wheat on clover, ploughed up the clover a week or two before ſeeding-time, and then gave it a ſecond ploughing, a-croſs, and ſowed wheat on it; but whether this was ploughed in or harrowed in, I know not. Vaſt numbers of roots of the clover were left ſtanding erect above ground, all over the field, and had a diſagreeable appearance. Here was ſome unneceſſary labour, a uſeleſs and even an injurious ploughing, whereby the manure from thoſe ſubſtantial

* *The operations may vary, according to circumſtances in the ſtate of the ground and the nature of the ſoil. On a clean mellow earth, I have experienced, in a comparative view, that harrowing in wheat is equal to ploughing it in, on the ſame ſoil, and equally clean and mellow; both being ſucceſsful, and the work being performed on the ſame day—not ſo of foul or indifferently tilled ground. In ſome caſes the rolling may be diſpenſed with, and would be better omitted; as on heavy ground in a moiſt ſtate of it. It is ſomewhere recommended to plough in the clover ſhallow (3 inches), and that another plough follow cloſe and cover the firſt furrow with 4 inches depth of earth: ſo that the ground is turned up 7 inches in all.*

roots and a part of the green herbage, so turned out by the second ploughing, was lost to the crop.

Another neighbour sowed *wheat on clover* with an intention not only to experience that method of cropping, but also to discover the difference between the produce of wheat sown on clover *pastured*, and on clover *mowed*. In both he obtained great satisfaction. His operations were less confined than mine, which were meant to be few and as simple as might be.

He 1. Ploughed in the clover, deep.
2. Harrowed.
3. Rolled.
4. Sowed wheat.
5. Ploughed it in, *shallow*.
6. Harrowed it, in the same direction.

Half of the wheat so seeded, was on the clover ground which had been twice *mowed* and the clover made into hay; the other half, on what had been *pastured* through the summer. The operations of seeding were at the same time, and in the same manner. The produce from that twice mowed was half as much more in quantity by the acre, to that pastured.——So injurious is the tread of beasts in pasturing, more than any good derived to the soil from scattered dung, here and there dropt and exposed to utter exhaustion by the sun and wind.

Submitting these facts to the consideration of farmers, I have only to recommend, that they endeavour to have their clover grow sufficiently thick on the ground, and that it be suffered to remain only one summer, exclusive of the year when the preceding crop of grain was reaped, and upon which grain-field the clover-seed was sown."

## Of Stock.

It is advantageous to a farm, and of some immediate income, to have on it as numerous a stock of cattle as can be kept *well*, and no more than can be *so* kept: It is better to have too few than too many: Yet, in parts of America, farmers exceedingly disproportion their cattle to their provender—they will have numbers of hidebound creatures, of which more die from the mere want of food and shelter, than are sold or eaten: So that less meat and less manure are derived from a great number so poorly kept, than other farmers have from a due proportion in a smaller number well kept. Besides, does not the man feel blame in the cruelty of *starving* and keeping in a state of want and misery, a fellow-creature committed to his care? Is it not a trust to the creature man, from the Father of all creatures?

The live stock is to be as many as can be kept *sheltered* from cold rains and with *abundant winter and summer food*. Of all the kinds, the horse is the most costly and the most injurious to the farm: He bites close, is almost continually treading and poaching the ground, and eats more than the ox as 5 to 3; yet is not, himself, eatable; When he dies, he is lost for ever. The ox is meat: After having given us his labour, he becomes a part of ourselves; we have the value of him for ever in us. Steers are unprofitable: They cost 6 or 7 years keeping, without yielding labour; and are then sold for less than the cost of keeping and fattening them.* Sheep are profitable: but are not here in the design, because they are totally discarded by the farmers of this neighbourhood; and there are circumstances which more particularly affect this than any other parts of the country, respecting them. Sows and pigs, if not also hogs, ought to be kept where there is a dairy, as they make a considerable part of its profit, from the offal milk. Hogs are profitably kept on green clover, and fattened on potatoes and corn.

The quantity of land, alone, is no rule for determining the number of cattle or other live stock: Not only the quantity and quality, but also the situation and the crops will affect the question: and the attentive farmer will determine from his experience, how far he is to enlarge or reduce the number of his live stock.

Cows in milk are not to want water. In this climate, they ought to be watered three times a day. Their water ought to be near; as driving cows any distance, is very injurious to their milk.

* *In a former publication, I endeavoured to prove, that treading the ground, in constant pasturing, is more injurious to the soil, than scraps of dung, dispersed and left exposed to the sun and wind, are beneficial.*

OBSERVATIONS *on* NOVEL-READING; *in an* ESSAY, *written by a* member *of the* Belles-Lettres *ſociety of* Dickinſon college, *at* Carliſle.——*Philadelphia*, 1792.——*Price one eighth of a dollar.*

TO thoſe parents, and inſtructors of youth, who have not ſufficiently reflected on the pernicious conſequences of permitting young minds to imbibe the principles contained in moſt of our modern novels, we would recommend a peruſal of this eſſay. The author appears to have made the moſt of a thread-bare ſubject. He has ſtated, in a plain and forcible manner, thoſe effects, which the opinion of moral writers, ſupported by reaſon and experience, has long aſcribed to a ſpecies of reading, which is for the moſt part unprofitable—frequently injurious. Such of our fair readers as inconſiderately trifle away the precious hours of youth in the indiſcrimiate peruſal of novels, will find, in the following extract, ſome incentives to devote their attention to more uſeful ſtudies.

What a vaſt difference would there be, if the ladies dedicated that time they ſo idly throw away on novels, to reading ſuch books as their parents, or ſome friends who are capable of judging, might recommend to them as moſt proper and profitable. By this means their minds would be expanded—their ideas enlarged—their judgments ripened and ſtrengthened—and they would experience the moſt ſatisfaction in the company of perſons of underſtanding: whereas, while they continue to make novels their favourite employment, they muſt be in pain, except when ſurrounded by ſuch as have ſpent their time to the ſame purpoſe, and arrived at the ſame degree of——*ignorance* with themſelves. It would work a reformation on a great many young men, whoſe idleneſs and averſion to learning render them odious to attentive ſtudents, and off-caſts from their ſociety; and inſtead of meeting with protection among the ladies, and being their particular favourites, as, I muſt ſay, they commonly are, they would find themſelves deſpiſed and ridiculed, and would have no alternative but that of applying cloſely to their ſtudies, in order to obtain peace of mind, and to reinſtate themſelves into favour.

It is as lamentable as it is unjuſt, that this general inattention of females to learning, that this neglect of the improvement of their minds, ſhould entail diſgrace on the whole *ſex*, and involve it under an imputation of a deficiency in mental faculties. But it is not, my fair readers! yet too late to reſcue your ſex from this reflection---happily it is in your power, and I pray you to neglect no opportunity, by attention---by application---by the ſtudy of *proper books*---by a care of what company you keep---and in particular, whom you admit to your ſincere friendſhip and confidence---to convince our ſex that you have been bleſſed by nature, in, at leaſt, as ample a degree as they.---Nay, by your great improvements and attainments, you might even humble their pride, leſſen their mighty ideas of ſuperiority, and put them to the bluſh on account of the *littleneſs* of their knowledge, which would otherwiſe be comparatively *great*; and it is this comparative greatneſs that renders them frequently very conceited. You would excite in them an emulation to excel. Now this emulation is a virtue, and is a ſure road to excellence.

How many valuable ends would by this means be accompliſhed at once!---You would convince the world of your capacities---you would improve your own minds---and at the ſame time aſſiſt in rendering thoſe of the male ſex more accompliſhed, as well by the emulation with which you would inſpire them, as by your ſound and inſtructing converſation.

Beſides, as the bringing up of children, and the firſt principles of their education, are much the care, and in a great meaſure the lot of the female parent: you would now be capable of diſcharging your duty in this reſpect, by training them up in a proper manner, by inſtilling into them ſound principles, and, what is of far more effect, by ſetting them alſo a virtuous example;---but when precept and example are compatible, and go hand in hand, they corroborate, they give peculiar force to each other. And the happineſs of ſociety much depends on the wiſe and faithful diſcharge of this important duty.

# THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## SONNET.

O THOU dear object of my hapless love!
Long to my heart thy fancied form I've prest;
But, summon'd now to thy abode above,
There, in thy arms, I'll find sweet balmy rest.

Thy former pangs revibrate tho' my soul,
When thou didst smile at agonizing grief;
'Twas Heaven who taught thy feelings to control,
And gave thee resignation for relief!

Now death, to me, would prove a wish'd-for guest
But ah!—to leave thy emblems quite forlorn!—
What friend will cheer and hug them to his breast,
When stern misfortune causeth them to mourn?

My hov'ring soul first views the bliss thou'dst give;
Then clinging infants make me wish to live.

H. K. jun.

*Oct.* 18, 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## ADDRESS *to* HUMANITY.

TO thee, Humanity! still let me bend,
And own thee Reason's guide, and Virtue's friend.
What tho' my poverty forbids relief
To him who pines in sickness and in grief,
Thy heavenly dictates still can bliss impart;
For well thou know'st the feelings of my heart.
In ev'ry vein thy kind sensations flow;
I feel thee ever in my bosom glow.
To charm the heart on earth, to thee is given,
Whilst thy mild raptures raise the soul to heaven.
Whatever conflicts in my breast engage,
Shield me from haughty pride and cruel rage;
Teach me with candour through life's scenes to rove,
And clasp my neighbour with fraternal love;
The worthy great to honour, free from fear;
The weak to pity, and the good revere.
When to the vale of life my steps descend,
Humanity! thy votary befriend.
Instruct me every virtue more to prize,
Blest in the converse of the good and wise.
And when my soul prepares to take her flight,
Oh! then the hope of heavenly bliss excite;
Whisper that mildness may expect the skies,
And with the hand of friendship close my eyes.

*Philad. Oct.* 1792.

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## CONSTANTIA.

SICK of the world, in prime of days,
Constantia took a serious fit—
Resolv'd to shun all balls and plays,
And only read what saints had writ—
To Bethlehem's walls she would repair,
And be a pensive sister there.

A sailor, loitering from his crew,
As chance would have it, pass'd along—
She told him what she had in view,
And he reply'd——Fair maid, you're wrong.
Let faded nymphs to Bethlehem go,
Where kisses freeze and love is snow.

The barren oak and cluster'd pine
Afford a gloomy, sad delight;
But why that bloom of health resign,
The mingled tint of red and white:
In cloistered cells the flowers expire
That on the plain all eyes admire.

With such a pensive, pious train
Who, but a hermit could agree—
Ah, rather stay to grace the plain,
Or wander on the wave with me:
For you the painted bark shall wait
And I would die for such a freight.

No wandering seaman, she replied,
Can tempt me to forego my plan;
No barque that wafts him o'er the tide,
Nor many a better looking man:
Go, wanderer, plough your gloomy sea,
Constantia must a sister be.

To gain so fair a flower as you,
The tar returned, who would not plead?
Nor shall you, nymph, to Bethlehem go,
While love can write what you must read:
Come, to yon' meadow let us stray,
I have some handsome things to say.—

Love has his wish when reason fails—
In vain he sigh'd, in vain he strove:
Forsake, said she, those swelling sails
If you would have me—think of love:
Great merit has your sailing art,
But absence would distract my heart.

What else was said, we secret keep;
The tar, grown fonder of the shore,
Neglects his prospects on the deep,
And she of Bethlehem talks no more:
He slyly quits the coasting trade;
She pities her—that dies a maid.

*Philad.* 1792.

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ODE *Sung at the Great Wigwam of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, of New-York, on the celebration of the Third Century of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, on the 12th October,* 1492.

YE Sons of freedom! hail the day
That brought a second world to view,
To great Columbus' mem'ry pay
The praise and honour justly due.
*Chorus.*
Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did oppression o'er the world,
Her sanguine banners wide display;
Dark bigotry her thunders hurled,
And freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants call'd the world their own.

Thus heaven our race with pity viewed;
Resolved bright freedom to restore:
And, heaven-directed, o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the blessed land, with rays divine,
She shone, and shall for ever shine.

Hark! from above, the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along;
"Columbia ever shall be free."
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots revere the great decree;
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall the enthusiastic love,
Which freemen to their country owe,
Enkindled, glorious, from above,
In every patriot bosom glow;
Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The Rights of Man shall here remain:
No nobles kindle discord's fire,
Nor despot load with slavery's chain.
Here shall the oppress'd find sweet repose,
Since none but tyrants are our foes.

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray;
Religion's purest flame ascend;
And peace shall crown each happy day.
Thrice favored land, by Heaven designed
A world of blessings for mankind.

Then while we keep this jubilee,
While seated round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty, that gift divine.
Let the transporting theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* SAD REVERSE.

MILD were the accents of the maid I loved,
And all my friends my youthful flame approved.
No sooner did the priest his task perform,
Than Love's soft sighs were turned to Fury's storm.
Alas! how vain all mortal hopes of bliss!—
The harshest word she ever spoke was "Yes."

*Philad.* 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the first which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October*, 1791.

*(Continued from our last—page 205.)*

(DEBATE *on the* FISHERY BILL---*concluded.*)

MR. *Page.*—No man in this house is more heartily disposed to encourage the fisheries of the united states than I am: nor can any one more sincerely wish to encourage the bold, active, and enterprising adventurers in that branch of our commerce to persevere in it, than I do; being sensible of the importance of their traffic in peace, and of the defence of their country, and annoyance of their enemies in war; but, sir, I much doubt whether congress can give that encouragement to the fisheries to which they are entitled, and which policy would lead the general government to give, were it not restricted by the constitution.

I consider, sir, the constitution as intended to remedy the defects of the confederation to a certain degree; so far only, as would secure the independence and general welfare of the confederated states, without endangering the sovereignty and independence of the individual states.—Congress, therefore, was authorised to pay the debts of the union, and to regulate commerce; partly for that purpose, and partly to prevent improper and dangerous commercial combinations, jealousies and altercations between the states; but congress was not entrusted with any regulation of exports, which could admit of an interposition which might be dictated by partiality; nor was congress permitted to lay any tax, which could by any possibility operate unequally on the states in general. It is said, indeed, that if a drawback be not allowed on the salt used in salting fish, there will be, in fact, a duty on the exportation of the fish; but to this, I think, it may be replied, that the constitution guards the exports of each state against the possibility of a *partial* restriction by congress, or even by the states themselves; that congress cannot lay a duty on the exportation of rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. or any other article exported from any state, because this might be done to the injury of the state where such duty would operate, and to the advantage and aggrandisement of some particular states, its competitors, more favoured by the general government, or possessing more influence in the debates of congress; and that the states are also individually restrained from laying such duties, without the consent of congress, to prevent acts which might produce jealousies, commercial combinations, and perhaps, at length, civil dissensions;—that this restriction, if it be intended to prevent partiality, therefore, cannot extend to authorise drawbacks, which may be productive of partial preferences, and their consequent jealousies; that if drawbacks be granted at all, they ought to be universally extended to every article which is or can be exported from any of the states, having in its composition a dutiable ingredient; that hence ships, and other vessels, &c. should have drawbacks on the sails, cordage, iron, &c. but it may also be said, that as to the duty on salt, that is amply repaid to the merchant by the price annexed to his fish; the sums laid out in salt and fish together form a capital, on which he takes care to have a sufficient profit. The merchants employed in this traffic, if allowed a drawback, would have a preference to other merchants, who import largely, pay heavy duties, and have no other advantage than the usual advance on their goods. The exporter of any article, with a drawback, must have an advantage over his fellow-citizens, who purchase through necessity many dutiable articles, and are obliged to consume them, without any other benefit than the use of them. I mention this, because it has been said (by Mr. Ames) that having made the men of Marblehead pay for salt, they have a right to demand the money expended in that salt, on the exportation of their fish: for it would be as reasonable for the man who had eat his fish, on which his salt was expended, or who had used any other article for which he had paid a duty, to claim of congress a return of his money expended therein, as the exporter of fish; the only difference is, that if both were paid the exact sum so expended by them, the exporter of fish would get twice paid; the purchaser or consumer of his fish would pay him for his salt therein, as if it were substan-

tial fiſh, and the ſtate for it as mere ſalt: here then is a field for partiality, diſcontent, and complaints, which the conſtitution wiſely guards againſt. It cannot, therefore, be to any purpoſe, to tell us that a bounty, or allowance, as it is now called, is preferable to a drawback, as there is not ſo great room for fraud in the one as the other: nor can it be of importance to ſhew that the fiſhermen have not the profit to which they are entitled; that their ſervices in the laſt war deſerve rewards, &c. their country ſhared with them the glory of their gallant behaviour; but they alone received the rewards they aimed at—the 1200 ſhips they took was a compenſation for ſervices, and a reward for thoſe exploits. It is true they annoyed the enemy; it is certain their prizes ſometimes fed, armed, and clothed our armies; but it is not ſaid that they did not receive payment for furniſhing thoſe things.

But here we are aſked, is it not of great conſequence to the united ſtates, to employ thoſe bold, ſkilful ſeamen in our ſervice, that we may enjoy the commercial advantage they give us in peace, and their powerful aſſiſtance in war?—to this I reply, that it ought firſt to be proved that congreſs has the power and authority to give them the encouragement demanded; and even if congreſs have that power, it ought to be ſhewn that it can be extended to the benefit of the ſailors of ſome of the ſtates, and not to thoſe of every ſtate. It may be ſaid, that congreſs may, with as much propriety, give bounties to our hunters in the weſtern country, to raiſe up a nurſery of ſoldiers as a barrier againſt the Indians, and to promote the fur trade, as to give drawbacks and bounties to the fiſhermen of the eaſtern ſtates with a view to encourage fiſheries, and to raiſe a nurſery of ſeamen for their defence againſt enemies who may invade our eaſtern frontiers. Indeed, if defence be the object in view, we might as well give bounties to ſturdy landſmen, to be in readineſs and conſtant training for war.

Indeed, ſir, I confeſs I am not altogether convinced, that if congreſs have this power, it ought to be thus exerciſed; becauſe it is not clear to me, that thoſe fiſhermen would not be more profitable to the united ſtates, if they were cultivating the lands which now lie waſte, and raiſing families, which would be of ten times more value than their fiſheries. A nurſery of virtuous families, which will produce ſoldiers, ſailors, huſbandmen and ſtateſmen, muſt be preferable to a mere nurſery of ſailors, who generally live ſingle, and often periſh at ſea. I always look upon the loſs of a crew to an infant republic, as the loſs almoſt of a new ſtate.

I ſpeak of this queſtion, however, as a citizen of the united ſtates, as a member of this houſe. Were I to diſcuſs it as a citizen of Maſſachuſetts, and in their legiſlature, I ſhould ſay, as the ſtate is nearly filled with inhabitants, and our fiſhermen increaſe our commerce in peace, protect us in war, and indeed even enrich us by their prizes, it is our intereſt to encourage them to the utmoſt, and to prevent their going into the ſervice of other countries. I might therefore, as a member of the legiſlature of that ſtate, do all in my power to procure bounties for them, and indeed for all the ſailors belonging to that ſtate; but I ſhould not think of applying to congreſs for their aſſiſtance, not only becauſe I doubt their right to afford it, but becauſe I ſhould look upon it as in ſome degree derogatory to the ſovereignty and independence of the ſtate. I ſhould look upon ſuch an interference of congreſs as a ſtep towards ſwallowing up the powers of the ſtate governments, and as conſolidating the different ſtates into one government, which the wiſe and virtuous in every ſtate always proteſted againſt as dangerous to their liberties; the fear of which conſolidation prevented many good men from voting for the adoption of the new government.

The framers of the conſtitution guarded ſo much againſt a poſſibility of ſuch partial preferences as might be given, if congreſs had the right to grant them, that even to encourage learning and uſeful arts, the granting of patents is the extent of their power: and ſurely nothing could be leſs dangerous to the ſovereignty or intereſt of the individual ſtates, than the encouragement which might be given to ingenious inventors or promoters of valuable inventions in the arts and ſciences—the encouragement which the general government might give to the fine arts, to commerce, to manufactures and agriculture, might, if judiciouſly applied, redound to the honour of congreſs, and the ſplendor, magnificence, and real advantage of the united ſtates: but the wiſe framers of our new conſtitution ſaw that if congreſs had the power of exerciſing what has been called a royal munificence for theſe purpoſes, congreſs might, like many royal benefactors, miſplace their munificence, might elevate ſycophants, and be inattentive to men unfriendly to the views of government; might reward the ingenuity of the citizen of one ſtate, and neglect a much greater genius of another—a

citizen of a powerful ſtate, it might be ſaid, was attended to, whilſt that of one of leſs weight in the federal ſcale was totally neglected. It is not ſufficient to remove theſe objections, to ſay, as ſome gentlemen have ſaid, that congreſs is incapable of partiality or abſurdities, and that they are as far from committing them as my colleagues or myſelf—I tell them the conſtitution was formed on a ſuppoſition of human frailty, and to reſtrain abuſes of miſtaken powers: the conſtitution has been ſaid by ſome to be like the anſwers of the oracles of old, capable of various and oppoſite conſtructions; that it has been ingeniouſly contrived like ſome of them to ſuit two events, a republican or a monarchical iſſue; I will not pretend to ſay that this is not in ſome inſtances too juſt an obſervation, nor will I undertake to deny that it was not the intention of ſome of the convention that ſuch ambiguities might be in their conſtitution, to correſpond with the critical and ambiguous ſtate of the American mind, reſpecting government; but I will boldly affirm, that whatever the theories of that day might lead ſome to think, reſpecting the application of monarchical principles to the government of the united ſtates, no one can at this day pretend that they are applicable to their circumſtances, their diſpoſitions or intereſts, or even are agreeable to the wiſhes of the people. Even before the adoption of the conſtitution, when the rights of men had not been ſo thoroughly inveſtigated as they ſince have been, it muſt be remembered, that whole ſtates, and large and reſpectable minorities in other ſtates, complained of and objected to the ariſtocratical and monarchical features of the new government. In vain did the friends of the new government, friends of order, of union, or of liberty, contend that the powers granted by the conſtitution, which appeared ſo alarming, were ſuch as would never be exerted, but when all good men would acknowledge the neceſſity of exerciſing them, and that indeed they would be explained or reſtrained by ſome future amendments—the ſagacious and eloquent Henry ſhook his head at ſuch promiſes, ſighed, and ſubmitted to the will of the majority, a ſmall one indeed, but foretold, from the knowledge of the human heart, what would be done and ſaid in juſtification of every meaſure which might extend the power of congreſs.

Is it politic and wiſe then, Mr. chairman, to exert the power contended for, even if it be authoriſed by the conſtitution? May not the interference of congreſs in the buſineſs of regulating the trade in the eaſtern ſtates excite, if not envy, on account of a ſuppoſed partiality, a jealouſy, leſt congreſs undertake to meddle in the commercial regulations of other ſtates? May not congreſs with equal propriety undertake to regulate the tobacco, the rice and indigo trade, as well as that of the fiſheries? If they intermeddle in the buſineſs of ſailors, why not in that of manufacturers and farmers? Where, I may aſk with my colleague, may they they not go on in their zeal, and I will add, in their laudable purſuit of promoting the general welfare; and how totally may they be miſtaken? If jealouſy of rival ſtates, inſtead of mutual ſatisfaction and pleaſure—if diſtruſt and ſuſpicion of congreſs, inſtead of confidence in their meaſures, be the conſequence, how will the union be promoted, or the general government ſecured? However virtuouſly diſpoſed the preſent members may be, and I am ready to applaud their honeſt intentions, let them conſider, ſir, that they had better ſuppreſs their patriotic emotions, than give a pretext for their ſucceſſors to abuſe the powers which they now wiſh to exert for the public good: I know they will quote the opinion of as wiſe and virtuous a citizen as in the united ſtates: I know his patriotiſm, and know well his true republican principles; but, ſir, with the freedom of a fellow-citizen, I take the liberty of ſaying, that his honeſt zeal, like that of the friends of the bill, has led him into a miſtake*. That able ſtateſman and virtuous citizen, like the eloquent advocates of the bill, has conſidered the acts now quoted, as a full ſanction for the one before the committee; but I am of opinion that thoſe acts had better be repealed, than give a ſanction to the enacting of a law which goes to the eſtabliſhment of bounties or drawbacks, or by whatever other name they may be called, which may be uſed to the partial encouragment of any branch of trade or employment whatſoever. I ſhall therefore vote againſt the bill before us, and to get rid of it, ſhall vote for ſtriking out the firſt ſection, according to the motion now before the committee.

The votes being now taken on the motion for ſtriking out, it was negatived.—Mr. *Giles* then moved, that the words "*allowance* now made," ſhould be ſubſtituted for "*bounty* now allowed."—He obſerved, that he conceived the vote againſt ſtriking

* *Mr.* Jefferſon, *ſecretary of ſtate, in his report on the fiſheries.*

out the first section was a decision in favour of the policy of granting governmental aid to the fisheries; the inquiry now was, on what terms this aid should be granted.

When he first mentioned his doubts respecting the principle of the bill, it was, he said, with diffidence, and those doubts in some measure arose from an idea that the bill contained a direct bounty upon occupation; upon a more minute examination, he thought the term bounty unnecessarily introduced into the bill; and that the object of it could be answered without the use of terms, which might hereafter be deemed to contain a decision upon the general principle of the constitutional right to grant bounties. It was to avoid any thing which might wear the appearance of such a decision, that induced him to make the present motion.

He proceeded to remark, that as great a difference of opinion often existed respecting the precise meaning of the terms used, as the consequences which flow from them after attaining such precision of meaning; it was of importance to the present discussion, that an accurate definition of the terms used in the bill, and of those proposed to be used, should be had.

The avowed object of the bill was not to increase, but to transmute the sum, or a portion thereof, now allowed to the fisheries in lieu of the drawback upon salt, from the merchant, who is now supposed to receive the sole benefit, to the fishermen really employed in the fishing vessels: This is a mere chimerical project, but if it be admitted that this is the object to be effected by the bill, the term bounty is improperly applied.

The great characteristic distinction between bounties and drawbacks, as they essentially relate to the administration of this government, consists in the governmental objects to which they may severally be applied: Drawbacks are necessarily confined to commercial regulations—bounties may be extended to every possible object of government, and may pervade the whole minutiæ of police; they may not only be extended to commerce, but to *learning*, *agriculture*, *manufactures*, and even the *sacredness* of religion will be found too feeble to furnish complete protection from their influence. The people of the united states have always been scrupulously tenacious of a constitutional security, for the most free and equal exercise of this right; but through the medium of bounties, even this right may be invaded, and the only security against such invasion must be *governmental discretion*.

The same characteristic distinction will attend that *species* of bounty which may incidentally result from commercial regulations; and direct bounties upon occupation, founded upon the broad basis of discretionary right: the specification in the constitution, of the right to regulate commerce, may possibly in some cases give rise to this indirect species of bounty, not from any right in the constitution to grant bounties, but as the necessary result from the specified right to make commercial regulations—and this specification can be the only foundation of justification to this indirect species of bounty, but there is no specification in the constitution, of a right to regulate *learning*, *agriculture*, *manufactures* or *religion*, and so far as the sense of the constitution can be collected, it rather forbids than authorises the exercise of that right.

Arguments used to deduce any given authority from the term *general welfare*, abstractedly from the specification of some particular authority, are dangerous in the extreme to rights constitutionally reserved, and ought ever to be viewed with great caution and suspicion; they serve directly to shew that this government is not only consolidated in all its parts, but that it is a consolidated government of unlimited discretion; that it contains no constitutional limitation or restriction. If any given authority be inferred from the term *general welfare* in the abstract, any other authority is equally deducible from it, because the term is applicable to every possible object of government, and differs only in degree, as to the several governmental objects.

He would remark further, that bounties, in all countries and at all times, have been the effect of favoritism; they have only served to divert the current of industry from its natural channel, into one less advantageous or productive; and in fact they are nothing more than governmental *thefts* committed upon the rights of one part of the community, and an *unmerited* governmental *munificence* to the other—In this country, and under this government, they present an aspect peculiarly *dreadful* and *deformed*.

To contemplate the subjects upon which bounties are to operate in the united states, the nature of the government to dispense them, the state preferences which now do and will forever, more or less, continue to exist, the impossibility of an equal operation of bounties throughout the united states, upon any subject whatever, should be consi-

dered; and one of these two effects will necessarily follow the exercise of them—either the very existence of the government will be destroyed, or its administration must be radically changed: it must be converted into the most complex system of tyranny and favoritism.

He observed, that it was not unfrequent at this time to hear of an eastern and southern interest, and he had for some time silently and indignantly seen, or thought he saw, attempts by this mean to influence the deliberations of the house upon almost every important question; so far as he was the insulted object of these attempts, he felt that contempt for their authors, which appeared to him to be the correspondent tribute to the impurity of their designs; yet he thought that this had been the most formidable and effectual *ministerial machine* which had been yet used in the administration of the government. But one great mischief he apprehended from establishing the principle of the unrestrained right to grant bounties, will be, that it will make the difference of interest between eastern and southern, so far as they differ in their respective states of manufacture and agriculture, real, which is now only ideal—It will make that party real, which is now artificial—The jealousies and suspicions arising from *party* will then have a substantial foundation, which now have no foundation in fact, but are now ingeniously stimulated by a few, for the purpose of effecting particular objects; as long as the government shall be administered liberally and impartially, as long as the principle of reciprocal demand and supply between east and south shall remain inviolate, so long there can exist no essential distinct interest between them: but the instant bounties or governmental preferences are granted to occupation, that instant is created a separate and distinct interest, not only between east and south, but between the manufacturer and the cultivator of the soil; there will still exist a community of agricultural interest throughout the united states, and he hoped the time was not far distant, when a common sympathy would be felt by the whole of that class of the community.—For these reasons, he hoped the motion would prevail.

The proposed amendment, to change the word *bounty* into *allowance*, was adopted by the committee, who then rose and reported the bill to the house; and on the following day (Feb. 9th) the same was passed, by a majority of 17—there being 38 *yeas*, and 21 *nays*.

*Yeas.* Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Griffin, Hartley, Hillhouse, Huger, Kittera, Laurance, Learned, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Muhlenberg, Niles, Schoonmaker, J. Smith, I Smith, W. Smith, Sterrett, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Tredwell, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

*Nays.* Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Giles, Grove, Heister, Key, Macon, Mercer, Moore, Murray, Page, Parker, Seney, Steele, Sumpter, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

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## *On providing for the Defence of the Frontiers.*

EARLY in the session, the president communicated to congress an account of two successful expeditions against the Indians, in the months of June and August preceding, by general Scott and colonel Wilkinson, at the head of detachments of Kentucky militia. A more important expedition, however, was still depending—that of general St. Clair, who was to penetrate into the Indian country, as far as the Miami towns, with a considerable army, consisting of regular troops and Kentucky militia. With this force it was scarcely doubted, that he would be able so effectually to intimidate and harrass the hostile Indians, as to put an end to their depredations, and make them glad to sue for peace. If the expedition should even fail of this last mentioned effect, it was hoped that such a chain of forts would be established, as would, in a great measure, restore tranquility to the frontiers, by checking the incursions of the savages. But all these hopes were blasted, by the total defeat of general St. Clair's army, on the 4th of November, in the vicinity of the Miami villages.—Official information of this melancholy and unexpected event was laid before congress, on the 12th of December. Our readers will recollect the various and violent passions and emotions to which this mournful catastrophe gave rise, from one extremity of the united states to the other. All deplored the untimely fall of so many brave men, particularly of several worthy officers, who had done honour to themselves and their country, in the late war with Great-Britain. The deplorable situation of the frontier inhabitants was also a subject

of general ſympathy;—it was feared, that the victorious ſavages might ravage and depopulate the defenceleſs ſettlements, and give a full looſe to their inſatiable thirſt for blood, and their love of plunder. It was apprehended, that the ſmall military force which remained, might not be able to defend the forts occupied by them; eſpecially if, as was ſuſpected, the Indians had aſſociates, or leaders, who could manage the artillery, which had fallen into their hands in the engagement.—Fortunately, theſe fears were not realized. The Indians, whether from neceſſity, from accident, or from choice, made a much more moderate uſe of their victory than could reaſonably have been expected. Beſides, meaſures were taken, by the governments of Pennſylvania and Virginia, for the tempory defence of their reſpective frontiers.

When the defeat of general Harmer, in the preceding year, was taken into view, with the failure of general St. Clair's expedition; when it was conſidered that the united ſtates were involved in a war, from which they could not eaſily extricate themſelves; that the demands and exertions of the enemy would riſe in proportion to their ſucceſs; that, if an accommodation were at all attainable, it muſt be accepted on diſadvantageous and humiliating terms; that the proſecution of the war would either burthen the people with heavy additional taxes, or interfere with the eſtabliſhed revenues, to the great injury of the national credit; that the waſte of blood and treaſure neceſſarily attendant on the proſecution of the war, would be certain and great, and that the conteſt might be tedious, before it could be brought to a ſucceſsful iſſue—— When the people had reflected on theſe circumſtances, they began to look back to the origin of the war; and many were loud in cenſuring the meaſure, as being founded in the moſt flagrant injuſtice, on the part of the united ſtates; and as being, in itſelf, highly impolitic. The officer at the head of the war-department ſuffered ſeverely in the public prints, while the minds of the people were thus irritated. He was charged with having wantonly precipitated the nation into this ruinous and diſgraceful war; and it was aſſerted, that peace might have been eſtabliſhed with the Indians, had proper ſteps been taken for the purpoſe.

On the other hand, it was contended that the depredations and enormities of the Indians had been ſuch, and all attempts to treat with them, or to eſtabliſh a permanent peace, had proved ſo fruitleſs, that war was unavoidable; that the meaſure had already been ſanctioned by the repreſentatives of the people, who had authoriſed the raiſing of an army for the purpoſe; that no ſuch complaints as thoſe now prevalent were made, at the beginning of the war, and, it was fairly ſuppoſeable, never would have been made, had the late expedition proved ſucceſsful.—The vigorous proſecution of the war was urged, as a matter of expediency, apart from all conſiderations of the juſtice or policy of its origin.

While the minds of the people were in this ſtate of agitation, the buſineſs was undergoing a diſcuſſion in congreſs, where the ſame diverſity of opinion appears to have prevailed. On the 25th of January, a bill providing for the more effectual protection of the frontiers, was preſented in the houſe of repreſentatives, by a committee appointed for that purpoſe. This bill was the ſubject of a very lengthy and intereſting debate, for ſeveral days; during which, however, the doors were open only a part of one day. The following is the ſubſtance of that day's debate, on a motion for ſtriking out the ſecond ſection of the bill, which contemplated the raiſing of three additional regiments of infantry.

*In favour of the motion, and againſt the propoſed augmentation of the military eſtabliſhment, it was urged,*

That the Indian war, in which the united ſtates are at preſent involved, was in its origin, as unjuſtly undertaken, as it had ſince been unwiſely and unſucceſsfully conducted;—that depredations had been committed by the whites, as well as by the Indians; and the whites were moſt probably the aggreſſors, as they frequently made encroachments on the Indian lands, whereas the Indians ſhewed no inclination to obtain poſſeſſion of our territory, or even to make temporary invaſions, until urged to it by a ſenſe of their wrongs; a proof of this unencroaching diſpoſition on their part, plainly appeared in their conduct, after the victory they lately obtained over our troops; for, when flushed with ſucceſs, they might have ſwept the country before them, and penetrated as far as Pittſburgh, they contented themſelves with the advantage they had gained over their invaders, and did not attempt to invade our territories in return, although there was no where at hand a ſufficient force to check their career.

The mode of treating the Indians, in general, was reprobated, as unwiſe and impolitic; the Indians are with difficulty to be reduced by the ſword, but may eaſily be gained by juſtice and moderation: and although their cruelties are alleged as reaſons for a different conduct, and the ſufferings of the white people pathetically deplored, theſe narratives are at beſt but exparte evidence;—we hear nothing of the ſufferings of the Indians.

Peace may be obtained from the Indian tribes, at a much leſs expenſe than would be neceſſary for the expenſe of the war:—to perſevere in hoſtilities, would be waſting the public money to a very bad purpoſe indeed; for ſuppoſing our arms crowned with victory, what are the advantages we may expect to reap from our ſucceſs?—we can only gain poſſeſſion of their lands—a poſſeſſion, that muſt long continue unproductive of the ſmalleſt benefit, as we already poſſeſs land ſufficient; more, in fact, than we will be able to cultivate for a whole century to come.

Inſtead of being ambitious to extend our boundaries, it would anſwer a much better national purpoſe, rather to check the roving diſpoſition of the frontier ſettlers, and prevent them from too ſuddenly extending themſelves to the weſtern waters; if kept cloſer together, and more nearly connected with the old ſettlements, they would be more uſeful to the community at large, and would not ſo frequently involve us in unneceſſary and expenſive wars with the Indians: but if permitted to rove at pleaſure, they will keep the nation embroiled in perpetual warfare, as long as the Indians have a ſingle acre of ground to reſt upon.

If the citizens of the united ſtates were recalled within their proper boundaries, there they might, for years to come, cultivate the ſoil in peace, neither invaded nor invading. As the country advances in population, and our limits are found too narrow, it will then be ſoon enough to contemplate a gradual extenſion of our frontier: but, in the mean time, it is an idle profuſion of blood and treaſure, to carry war beyond our preſent line of forts; it is only expoſing our arms to diſgrace, betraying our own weakneſs, and leſſening the public confidence in the general government, to ſend forth armies to be butchered in the foreſts, whilſt we ſuffer the Britiſh to keep poſſeſſion of the poſts within our territory.

As long as Britain is ſuffered to retain thoſe poſts, we can never hope to ſucceed againſt the Indians; nor ought we to trace our late misfortune to any other ſource than her ſtill holding them in her poſſeſſion: were they in our hands, the Indians could not carry on their operations againſt us, with the ſame degree of vigour as they now do; for it is from thoſe forts that they obtain their ſupplies of arms and ammunition, with which they can be, at all times, plentifully furniſhed, as long as things continue on their preſent footing.

Until thoſe poſts are in our poſſeſſion, it will be in vain to ſend our armies into the wilderneſs. A body of five thouſand men, ſent out againſt the Indians, under the preſent circumſtances, would be as effectually defeated as the ſmaller ones have already been: in thoſe wilds, our troops have no friend at hand, to furniſh them with ſupplies, or to give them intelligence of the approach and operations of the enemy; whereas the Indians, receiving both aid and information from their friendly neighbours, can preconcert their plans, and chooſe, according to their own convenience, the place and the hour of attack, as they did before.

It was here obſerved, by a gentleman on the other ſide of the queſtion, that we ought undoubtedly to get poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts; and that we might have long ſince obtained it, if we had only laid a ſeaſonable embargo on all the Britiſh ſhipping in our ports; though he doubted, whether it would at preſent be worth while to take ſuch a ſtep, as the Engliſh have loſt ſo great a portion of our carrying trade, in conſequence of the additional tonnage laid on their veſſels.

In favour of the motion, it was further urged, that ſuppoſing the war to have been originally undertaken with juſtice on our ſide—ſuppoſing alſo, that the national honour and intereſt called for a continuance of hoſtilities; yet, as it was by no means either neceſſary or prudent to invade the Indian territory, as this had been attempted in two ſucceſſive campaigns, and the event had, in both inſtances, been ſuch, as to afford no very flattering proſpect from a third expedition of the ſame kind, it was thought much more adviſeable to content ourſelves with defending the frontier; and this might be done, without making ſo great an augmentation in the military eſtabliſhment.

The only uſe of regular troops on the frontier, is to garriſon the forts, and to have a ſtanding force in the neighbourhood, to form a ſtation, to which the military may

resort, either for protection or supplies: but as to active service, the frontier militia and rangers were pronounced to be by far preferable to the regular troops, as being more expert woodsmen, and better habituated to the Indian mode of fighting. To defend the forts, a small number of regulars would be sufficient; the present establishment of two regiments would, if completed, be amply adequate to the purpose; and when assisted by such forces as might at all times be collected on the frontier, would be able to repel every inroad of the enemy.

Experience has proved, that the sudden and desultory attacks of the frontier militia and rangers, are ever attended with better success than the methodical operations of a regular force; the former are better calculated for expedition and surprise, making unexpected sallies, scouring the country in small bodies, harrassing the Indians, and intercepting their straggling parties, while their motions are unobserved; whereas, when a body of regulars take the field, encumbered with baggage and heavy artillery, the unavoidable slowness of their movements affords the enemy an opportunity of watching all their operations, collecting their whole force, and skulking in the woods around them, till they can seize the favourable moment to strike a sudden blow, which they generally do with success, but which they could never attempt, if exposed every hour to the unforeseen attacks of our woodsmen, who would keep their attention constantly engaged in all quarters, and thus prevent them from uniting in large bodies.

It was further observed, by some gentlemen who even admitted the propriety of invading the Indian territory, that to effect this with success, it was by no means necessary to make such an increase in the military establishment, as that contemplated in the bill: the miscarriage of the former expeditions could not (they said) be alleged as a sufficient reason; for it is well known, that the former establishment was far from being complete: the regulars, intended for the service of the last campaign, were to have been above two thousand two hundred; the president was besides empowered to raise two thousand five hundred levies, in addition to the regulars; and these would together, have constituted an army of about four thousand seven hundred men: had such a body been employed, we might reasonably have expected much better success against the Indians, whose numbers were so far inferior, the whole force of the Wabash tribes not amounting to above eleven or twelve hundred warriors, who never could keep the field for any length of time, but must be soon obliged to disperse, without venturing an attack upon an army of such superior strength.

Instead of this, our army consisted of only about twelve hundred men, and of these not above four or five hundred were regular troops: besides, had even this force been sufficient if employed in season, the delays that had taken place in the execution of the plan, would alone have been sufficient to defeat the intended purpose. During the winter, the law was passed for raising the additional troops, to carry on the war with greater vigour; the whole summer was spent in the business, and the few men that we did enlist, were not raised till late in the fall; collected at length at the head of the Ohio, they fruitlessly loitered away their time, till they finally erected a monument to our eternal disgrace and infamy.

Whatever troops are to be employed, ought to be raised with diligence and dispatch, if we wish to avoid a similar miscarriage in our next attempt: the army ought not to enter the Indian country, till their whole force is complete—difficulties, however, and delay, equal to those of last year, may be expected in enlisting the men, and we shall have the officers in pay a considerable time, without any soldiers: perhaps the former pay of the troops was too low; and proper effective men were unwilling to accept of it; if so, let it be raised; let the men be well clothed and fed; and they will more readily engage in the service; probably, also, the term of three years was an objection with many, who would otherwise have joined our standard: if enlisted only for six months, the ranks will be sooner filled; and this ought to have considerable weight with those who advocate the augmentation of the military establishment, as they cannot but know, that if we set about enlisting the number of men contemplated in the bill, and in the manner there prescribed, they cannot be raised time enough to render any service in the next campaign.

The information contained in the report on the table was not, it was said, to be implicitly relied on: that report was made by a man, who had not personally visited the frontier: others, who had been on the spot, were of opinion, that if two thousand levies had been raised last year, they would have been sufficient, not only for the defence of the frontier, but even for any offensive operations, that might have been

thought neceſſary: ſuch troops, collected in the vicinity, are more competent to the undertaking, than the troops now in contemplation; whenever they were tried, they behaved as well as the regulars, and in the action under general St. Clair, they gave equal proofs of their valour.

The expenſe of ſuch an army as the bill contemplates, is an object well worthy of ſerious conſideration, eſpecially at the preſent moment, when there is ſcarcely a dollar in the treaſury. Gentlemen would alſo do well to advert to the progreſs of this buſineſs, and conſider where they were likely to ſtop, if they went on at their preſent rate: at firſt, only a ſingle regiment had been raiſed, and the expenſe was about 100,000 dollars; a ſecond was afterwards added, which ſwelled the expenſe to about 300,000; and now a ſtanding force of 5168 men is contemplated, at an annual expenſe of above a million and a quarter. Can this be juſtified in the preſent ſtate of our finances, when it is well known, that the ſecretary of the treaſury, having been requeſted by the members from a particular ſtate, to build a light-houſe on a part of their coaſt, declined the undertaking, and alledged the want of funds, as the reaſon?

Our reſources, however, might be made to anſwer for the ſupport of ſuch a force as that which was intended for the ſervice of the preceding year, and there would be little complaint or diſſatisfaction among the people: very few murmurings were heard againſt the former eſtabliſhment; but ſuch a one as is now contemplated, will be thought extravagant, and will breed diſcontent among the citizens of the united ſtates.

Apprehenſions, it is ſaid, are entertained, that the object contemplated in raiſing theſe additional troops, is not ſo much to puniſh and force the Indians, as to have a regular ſtanding force, equal to what the Britiſh have on this continent. This is ſaid to amount to about ſix thouſand men, including thoſe in Canada: but it is to be remarked, that the Britiſh nation has not above *one* thouſand men within the limits of the united ſtates; and yet, with this handful of troops, they not only keep the Indians in awe, but even, in oppoſition to the wiſhes of the united ſtates, retain poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts, which ſhould have been ceded to us purſuant to the terms of the treaty: why then is it neceſſary, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing poſts and garriſoning them, to increaſe the ſtanding force to ſo large a number, as that contemplated in the bill under conſideration?—During our late arduous ſtruggle for liberty, when we had to cope with the moſt powerful nation under heaven, the commander in chief had never at any one time above ten thouſand men, under his own immediate command; and if, with ſo ſmall a force, we were able to effect ſo glorious a revolution, there can be no neceſſity of going ſuch lengths at preſent, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a military character—it is ſtrange policy indeed, to raiſe five or ſix thouſand men, to oppoſe a handful of Indian banditti, whoſe utmoſt amount does not, from the documents on the table, appear to exceed twelve hundred.

We are preparing to ſquander away money by millions; and no one, except thoſe who are in the ſecrets of the cabinet, knows for what reaſon the war has thus been carried on for three years:—but what funds are to defray the encreaſed expenſe of maintaining ſuch a force as is now contemplated?—The exciſe is both unpopular and unproductive:—the impoſt duties have been raiſed as high as is conſiſtent with prudence:---to increaſe them would be but to open a door for ſmuggling, and thus diminiſh their productiveneſs: and if thoſe ſources of revenue fail, if our finances be thus exhauſted in unneceſſary wars, we ſhall be unable to ſatisfy the public creditors, unleſs recourſe be had to new taxes, the conſequence of which may, with juſt reaſon, be deplored; whereas, if we but keep our expenſes within bounds, if we nurſe our finances, we ſhall be reſpectable among the nations of the earth, nor will any nation dare to inſult us, or be able to do it with impunity.

At an early ſtage of the debate, an honourable gentleman had ſuggeſted, that, inſtead of paſſing a law for raiſing, at all events, the additional regiments, which, for his part, he did not think neceſſary, the houſe (if they finally determined the preſent eſtabliſhment to be inſufficient) would perhaps do better to appropriate a certain ſum of money, to enable the executive to call in ſuch additional aid, as circumſtances might require.

To this it was objected, that it is the duty of the repreſentatives of the people, in all appropriations of the public money, to make them for certain ſpecific purpoſes:---to act otherwiſe, on the preſent occaſion, would be ſetting a precedent, that might, in its conſequences, prove highly injurious; for, although the greateſt confidence may ſafely be repoſed in the virtue and integrity of him who now fills the preſidential chair,

it is impossible to foresee what use may hereafter be made of the precedent by his successors, or how far it may be carried.

That as to the justice of the war carried on against the Indian tribes, that was a question which could not admit of a doubt in the mind of any man, who would allow that self-preservation and indispensable necessity, are sufficient causes to justify a nation in taking up arms :---if the present war be not in every respect justifiable, then there never was, nor ever will be a just war : it was originally undertaken, and since carried on, not for the sake of conquest, but to defend our fellow-citizens, our friends, our dearest connexions, who are daily exposed, in the frontier settlements, to all the rage of savage barbarity, to which they, with their wives and children, must soon fall victims, unless we speedily fly to their assistance :---and although there are some people, who utterly deny the justice of any war whatever, this doctrine, however fine in theory, will hardly ever obtain in practice : for, is it to be imagined, that any set of men are of such a passive disposition, as calmly to look on, whilst their friends and relations are butchered before their eyes, and refuse giving them every assistance in their power ?

The murders and depredations, which have, for years past, been repeatedly committed by the savages, loudly call for redress :---from various documents, of unquestionable authority, now in the hands of the secretary at war, signed and attested by the executive and legislature of Kentucky, by the district judge, and the captains of the militia, it appears, that from the year 1783 to 1790, there have been, of the inhabitants of that district, or of emigrants on their way thither, no less than fifteen hundred persons, either massacred by the savages, or dragged into captivity; two thousand horses taken away; and other property plundered or destroyed, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars; and there is good reason to suppose, that on the other frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the number of persons murdered or taken prisoners, during the above mentioned period, would furnish a list of one thousand or fifteen hundred more.

The white people, it is true, have sometimes committed depredations on the Indians; but the instances have been rare of their making unjust attacks upon the savages, nor did they, on those occasions, commence hostilities against them, till exasperated by the strongest provocations, that could possibly stimulate the human heart : this circumstance may be justly allowed as some palliation of the offence :---even in these instances, however, a few individuals only were concerned; and when the affair came to the knowledge of the state, ample reparation was made to the injured party :---the general government too had shewn an equal disposition to do justice to the Indian tribes; witness the affair of the Cherokees : for, as soon as congress had heard their complaints of an encroachment made on them, by some people from the frontier of Carolina, immediate orders were issued for obliging the intruders to evacuate the Indian territory.

But, notwithstanding the disposition that prevails, as well in the legislatures of those states whose frontiers are most exposed, as in the general government, to cultivate peace and amity with the neighbouring Indians, that desirable object is become utterly unattainable in the present posture of affairs :---The frontier Indians have killed a number of whites; the whites, in their turn, have made retaliation : both parties are in the highest degree exasperated against each other, and likely to continue so, in spite of every endeavour that can be made to effect a reconciliation : with minds thus irritated, it is vain to hope for peace, as long as they continue in each other's neighbourhood; it is therefore necessary to form a strong barrier, to keep them asunder, unless indeed the advocates for a cessation of hostilities, would oblige the frontier settlers to abandon their lands :---but by what new-invented rule of right, should the inhabitants of Kentucky, and the other frontier settlers, be laid under a greater obligation, than any other citizens of the united states, to relinquish a property legally acquired by fair purchase ?---were it even proposed to pacify the savages, by purchasing the lands anew, such a measure would answer no other purpose, than that of procuring a temporary peace, which would soon again be interrupted by a war, that would produce the necessity of again having recourse to the same expedient : we should have to purchase the lands, again and again, without end; by thus squandering the public money, year after year, we should only swell the national debt to an amount, that we cannot possibly foresee :---better at once to make a vigorous effort, to act in a manner becoming the national dignity, and to maintain our ground by war, since we cannot obtain a durable or an honourable peace.

Attempts have, at various times, been made to effect treaties of peace with the Indian tribes, with whom we are now at war :---and although these efforts have constantly proved ineffectual, they yet shew that neither the united states, nor the state of Virginia, were backward to adopt conciliatory measures, and to do away that animosity which had commenced on the part of the savages, at an early period of the late war with Britain, and had continued to break out at intervals ever since. In the years 1783, 84, 85, 87, 88, and 90, offers of peace were made to them : on the last mentioned occasion, when a treaty was proposed at the Miami village, the Indians at first refused to treat : they next required thirty days to deliberate—and in the interim, the inhabitants of Kentucky were expressly prohibited, by the president of the united states, to carry on any offensive operations against them ; yet, notwithstanding this forbearance on the part of the whites, no less than 120 persons were killed or captured by the savages, and several prisoners roasted alive, during that short period, at the expiration of which, the Indians refused to give any answer at all.

On another occasion, the Indians, not content with rejecting our offers of peace, proceeded even so far as to insult us, by telling us we had lands within the British posts, and asking us, why we did not go and take possession of them?---Is this language to be used within the united states? No ! we *are* able, abundantly able to do it, whenever we please ; and if we would but retrench our expenses, in some instances, which might well admit of a reduction, our ability would still encrease ; our finances are not quite so insufficient as some gentlemen seem to imagine, nor so easily deranged --we are still able to prove that the boasted efficiency of the general government is something more than an empty name---we can yet raise both men and money, sufficient to defend the nation from either injury or insult.

It is now too late to inquire, whether the war was originally undertaken on the principles of justice, or not ; we are actually involved in it, and cannot recede, without exposing numbers of innocent persons to be butchered by the enemy : for, though we should determine to discontinue the war, can it be fair that the savages will also agree to a cessation of hostilities?—it is well known that they are averse to peace, and even the warmest advocate of pacific measures, must therefore allow, that the war is a war of necessity, and must be supported; we cannot, without impeachment both to our justice and our humanity, abandon our fellow-citizens on the frontier to the rage of their savage enemies : and although the excise may be somewhat unpopular, although money may still be wanted, what is the excise, what is money, when put in competition with the lives of our friends and brethren?

A sufficient force must be raised for their defence : and the only question now to be considered is, what that force shall be : experience has proved, that the force employed in the last campaign was inadequate : it is true, the establishment was not complete: but who will venture to assert, that, if it had been complete, it would have been sufficient for the intended purpose? Are gentlemen, who assert this, so well acquainted with the circumstances of the enemy, as to be able to give an accurate statement of the amount of their forces on the frontier? There are higher opinions in favour of an augmentation of the army, than can be adduced against it—opinions, given by men of judgment and experience, who have themselves been on the spot, and are well acquainted with the situation of affairs in that quarter :—these gentlemen, who must be allowed to be competent judges, are decidedly of opinion, that the present establishment, though completed to the last man, will not furnish an adequate force to carry on the war with effect; and that it will be a hopeless attempt, to open another campaign, with less than about five thousand regular troops, the number contemplated in the bill.

Nor ought that number to be deemed extravagant, under an idea, that we have only a contemptible handful of banditti to contend with : their numbers were, last year, from authentic documents, stated at about twelve hundred warriors, from different tribes;-- such was the opposition then contemplated,---but it is impossible to ascertain what accessions of strength they have since received, or even what force they had engaged in the late unfortunate action ; as the very men, who were in the engagement, do not pretend to form any just or accurate estimate of the number of their assailants : but there is good reason to suppose, that they had previously entered into an association with various tribes, that have not as yet come within our knowledge : the bows and arrows, used against our troops, on that occasion, afford a convincing proof, that they had foes to encounter, from distant nations, as yet unacquainted with the

use of fire arms---nor does the account of the bows and arrows depend, for its authenticity, on newspaper evidence alone; gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, who were personally engaged in the action, have declared, that they had themselves noticed the arrows flying.

When we consider the warlike dispositions of the Indians in general, and the alacrity with which the victors are ever sure to be joined by numerous allies, we have every reason to expect a much more formidable opposition in the next campaign :---it is well known, that the savages place all their glory in deeds of war; and that, among them, a young man cannot make his appearance in company, till he has signalized his valour by some martial achievement;---when, to this powerful incentive, a new stimulus is added, by the trophies obtained in the late action, it is presumable that numbers will crowd to their standard; and it strongly behooves us to prepare in time for a much more vigorous effort, than any we have yet made against them.

The objections drawn from the increased expense, must entirely vanish from before the eyes of any man, who looks forward to the consequences of one more unsuccessful campaign;---such a disaster would eventually involve the nation in much greater expense, than that which is now made the ground of opposition;---better, therefore, at once, to make a vigorous and effectual exertion to bring the matter to a final issue, than continue gradually to drain the treasury, by dragging on the war, and renewing hostilities from year to year.

If we wish to bring the war to a speedy and happy conclusion, and to secure a permanent peace to the inhabitants on the frontier, we must employ such troops, and adopt such measures, as appear best calculated to ensure success;---if we delay our determination, until the force of the enemy be ascertained, we can make no provision at all; for the nature and circumstances of the case preclude us from the very possibility of obtaining a knowledge of their strength and numbers---but are we, mean while, to remain inactive and irresolute, and make no efforts to repel their intended attacks? No! Whatever their numbers may be, prudence calls aloud for provision of some kind: and if experience is to have any weight with us, the example of the French, and of the British, points out the true mode of securing our frontier, and rendering it invulnerable to an Indian foe: let us occupy posts in the vicinity of the enemy; let them be properly garrisoned, and well provided, and the business is done.

These will afford an opportunity of trading with the friendly tribes, and will prevent all intercourse between the whites and the Indians, except under proper regulations; should hostilities be meditated by any tribes, who are not in amity with us, early intelligence of their movements can be obtained: their marauding parties may be beaten off on their approach, or intercepted on their return;---opportunities may be taken of separately attacking the hostile tribes; their old men, their squaws, their children, will be exposed, a great part of the year, whilst the others are out hunting;---in short, if fear, hope, interest, can be supposed to have any influence on the Indians, this mode of defence must be allowed to be preferable to any other, as giving the fullest scope to the operation of all those motives.

A different mode has been long pursued in Virginia, and adopted by the inhabitants of Kentucky; but its success has not been such, as to offer any inducement to the general government to follow the same plan :---Rangers have there been employed for a number of years, to scour the frontiers; and those rangers, too, were expert woodsmen, perfectly inured to the Indian mode of warfare; yet, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, the savages still found means to commit all the murders and depredations already enumerated;---'tis true, however, that a frontier militia-man, trained up in the woods, may be, in many respects, preferable to a regular soldier, who has not the same knowledge of the country, and of the mode of fighting;---but with equal experience (and proper men, possessed of that experience, may be enlisted on the establishment) regular troops will be found infinitely superior to any militia upon earth.

Every man who has ever seen militia in the field, cannot but know, that a very trifling disaster, or a slight cause of discontent, is sufficient to make them disband, and forget all subordination, so far as even to neglect the means of self-defence;---whereas, regular troops, under proper discipline, and acting with greater steadiness and concert, are much more to be depended on, especially when the object of attack is distant, and great fatigue is to be undergone. The militia, in whatever mode they may be called out, will hardly be men of a proper description;---if large pay be offered, the temptation will equally prevail upon those who are unfit for the service, as it will

upon good effective men :---Beſides, ſome of the ſtates have no militia laws ; and even in thoſe ſtates which have ſuch laws, they are gone into diſuſe ; no dependence can therefore be placed on militia, under any laws now exiſting ;---there is, indeed, a general militia law now before the houſe ; but if it ever paſſes, it certainly cannot be paſſed in due ſeaſon to anſwer the purpoſe of providing for the immediate defence of the frontier—regular troops muſt be raiſed, or nothing effectual can be done :—and if, to avoid the expenſe, we refuſe the only aid that may prove of any real ſervice, we render ourſelves reſponſible for the conſequences of this parſimonious policy, which may be attended with the ruin and deſtruction of our fellow-citizens in the weſtern country.

The queſtion, on the motion for ſtriking out, being put, it was determined in the negative—yeas, 18; nays, 34.

The bill was paſſed on the 1ſt of February—yeas, 29; nays, 19.

*Yeas.* Ames, Baldwin, Barnwell, Benſon, Brown, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzſimons, Giles, Hartley, Huger, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Madiſon, Moore, F. A. Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Seney, W. Smith, Sterrett, Silveſter, Tredwell, Tucker, Wadſworth, Wayne, and Moore.

*Nays.* Aſhe, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Grove, Hillhouſe, Jacobs, Macon, Niles, Parker, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sumpter, Thatcher, Ward, and Willis.

The ſenate amended the bill, in ſundry particulars. To ſome of theſe amendmendments the houſe of repreſentatives diſagreed ; and the ſenate would not recede from them. A conference was then held, between committees of both houſes ; an accommodation took place, and the bill was enacted into a law.

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WHILE the bill providing for the more effectual defence of the frontiers was depending before congreſs, the ſecretary of the treaſury was required, by an order of the houſe of repreſentatives, to lay before that houſe ſuch information, with reſpect to the finances of the united ſtates, as would enable the legiſlature to judge, whether any additional revenue would be neceſſary, in conſequence of the propoſed increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment. He accordingly gave a ſtatement of the products of the revenues, and of the appropriations thereof to different objects ; from which it appeared, that there would remain a conſiderable deficiency to be provided for.

A few days after the paſſing of the bill, the following motion was laid on the table: ---"*Reſolved*, That the ſecretary of the treaſury be directed to report to this houſe, his opinion of the beſt mode for raiſing the additional ſupplies requiſite for the enſuing year."—This motion was warmly diſcuſſed for two ſucceſſive days. The debate was intereſting and well ſupported. Much was ſaid of the baneful effects of miniſterial influence ; its unvaried tendency to ſap the foundations of liberty, in every country where it is ſuffered to exiſt ; and the dangerous conſequences to be apprehended by the people of America, if the houſe of repreſentatives, in whom the conſtitution veſts the ſole power of originating bills for raiſing revenue, ſhould ſo far ſurrender that power, into the hands of any executive officer, or head of a department, as to make him the oracle to dictate all their ſchemes of finance, and preſcribe ways and means of drawing money from the pockets of their conſtituents.---The following ſpeeches contain the ſubſtance of the moſt material arguments employed in this lengthy and animated debate.——

MR. SEDGWICK ſaid, that when the law was paſſed, conſtituting the department of the treaſury, and making it the duty of the ſecretary to report to the legiſlature, plans for the management and improvement of the revenue ; he had fondly indulged the hope, that a great principle in the adminiſtration of the government had been ſo far ſettled, that it would not have been called in queſtion at ſo early a period. The principle he then, and ſtill underſtood to be, that a great officer ſhould, by appointment for that purpoſe, and an adequate ſalary, be reſponſible to the community, to produce to the conſideration of the national legiſlature, ſuch ſyſtematic arrangements in the intricate buſineſs of finance, as ſhould give the higheſt aſſurance of the ſupport of public credit, with the leaſt poſſible burden to the citizens of America. That if this great principle remained ſtill to be determined, he ardently wiſhed that we might profit by the experience of other nations, and by our own—that he knew of no nation

that suffered under the weight of a public debt, but had found it indispensable to its welfare, to appoint some officer, whose duty it should be to superintend this important branch of business; and that without such appointment, it was impossible for him to conceive that an orderly administration of the finances could be effected. It was not long since, that all America had attempted to provide for the public exigencies, by the indigested schemes of legislating financiers. The effects are remembered by all—the revenue was incomparably less productive, and yet the people infinitely more burdened than at present. These facts would render any other arguments superfluous, with those who believed that experience was the best guide to well founded political conclusions. But, on the other hand, if gentlemen were disposed to calculate on the data afforded by imagination, and to build systems on arguments a priori, not only unsanctioned by experiment, but in opposition to all experience; we might render the debts we owed, which had been justly styled the price of liberty, and for which therefore, we were under the highest obligation to provide, an intolerable burden. For he would run the venture to pronounce, that the measures which would result from such a desultory mode of procedure, would create grievous exactions on the people, disappoint the expectations of government, and prove inadequate to the support of public credit.

By these observations, he did not mean to derogate from the respectability of the character of the house collectively, or of any individual member of it. There might be many who had sufficient talents ably to preside in the management of our finances, provided their minds were confined to the contemplation of that subject alone. But it should be remembered, that while separated, in the recess of the legislature, the avocations of professions, or other business, left to most of the members but little leisure for the investigation of political questions; that while in session, they were obliged to pay attention to every subject of legislation committed to the national government; that, considering the limited faculties of the human mind, he did not think gentlemen should feel themselves wounded in reputation, by the supposition that they were not collectively, minutely acquainted with every branch of science, a knowledge of which might be involved in the subjects of our legislation. Without such an extent of information and science, a man might be an excellent legislator. Otherwise the business of popular legislation must altogether cease, or be very badly managed. It would not produce the smallest uneasiness in his mind, to have it universally known, that he pretended not to the deep knowledge of jurisprudence of the attorney-general—the acquaintance of the secretary of state with the political interests and relations of the community—or the profound knowledge of the secretary of the treasury, of the intricate subject of finance. Yet he felt some degree of confidence in the ability which he possessed, of judging of the expediency of adopting such measures as those officers should recommend.

He observed, that the house, ever since the organization of the executive departments, had acted as if convinced of the justness of this reasoning, by their frequent references to the heads of those departments. That, particularly, when it had been suggested, that the judicial system required amendment, the subject had been referred to the consideration of the attorney-general. That when the commerce commerce of the country came under deliberation, it was referred to the secretary of state. That these subjects comprehended the most important and dearest interests of the people. That he heartily concurred in those references, and would take the liberty to add, that they had the support of the gentlemen who were now so strenuous in opposition to the present motion. That if the house was then right, those would not be wrong who were in favour of this question.

He observed further, that gentlemen, in the two cases which, in argument, they had supported, had given very opposite opinions of the collective character of the members of the house: when they were considering them solely devising the ways and means necessary to supply the deficiency of the revenue, they gave them all the qualities of profound financiers; but when they were to consider the reports of the secretary, they became at once transformed into resistless dupes, incapable of manly investigation, and quietly sailing down the stream of ministerial influence. Did gentlemen feel, he asked, in the latter instance, the want of that dependance of spirit, which is necessary, to enable them to investigate and decide for themselves? If so, they would want much of that greatness of character, which would enable them, in the former case, to act for the public benefit.

He concluded by obſerving, that it appeared to him, that gentlemen who ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the preſent motion, would, if they ſhould ſucceed in their wiſhes, deſtroy moſt of the benefits intended by the inſtitution of the office of ſecretary of the treaſury, and wholly ſcreen the officer from every ſpecies of reſponſibility.

Mr. *Page*—I ſhall always vote againſt a motion for applying to the ſecretary of the treaſury, for information reſpecting the *means* of procuring the ſums of money neceſſary for the exigencies of government.

It is no argument to me, to be told, that the act which eſtabliſhed the department, at the head of which that officer is placed, authoriſes that motion. That act may be pleaded as obligatory on the ſecretary, to reply to ſuch enquiry, when made by congreſs, but not to induce this houſe to make ſuch enquiry. When that act, which is now urged in juſtification of the motion before the houſe, was under the conſideration of the houſe which formed it, I raiſed my feeble voice againſt it—I endeavoured to ſhew that the powers given to an officer, who was appointed by the preſident and ſenate, and removable by the preſident alone, were ſuch as were utterly incompatible with the principles of the conſtitution, and perhaps with the letter of it, as that does not permit even the independent ſenate, the repreſentatives of the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, to originate a money bill.

I contended, ſir, that it was the peculiar duty of this houſe, to originate money bills, and to deviſe ways and means, as they are called—I am ſtill moſt decidedly of the ſame opinion; and I think, with the member from Pennſylvania, (Mr Fitzſimons) that ſuch a reference to the ſecretary of the treaſury, is a dereliction of our duty; and an abandonment of the truſt repoſed in us: and that many other references muſt have the appearance of an unbecoming indolence—I am alſo of opinion with the member from Georgia, (Mr. Baldwin) that if ever we make a ſtand, it ſhould be on this ground.

I will add, that it is high time to make that ſtand.---For a bill having paſſed, which was oppoſed as dangerous to the conſtitution, and utterly incompatible with the principles of a free government, and indeed as inconſiſtent with the plain conſtruction, and I may ſay, the very letter of our own conſtitution; and that bill being now appealed to, as a juſtification of a motion which can be ſupported on no other principles, but ſuch as may be uſed to ſubvert our government, and to introduce a monarchy, as unlimited as that lately aboliſhed in France---(for ſurely if more wiſdom can be found in a few heads of departments, than in the whole repreſentative body of the people---and if thoſe heads can be made reſponſible, whilſt the repreſentatives are free from reſponſibility, and diſpatch and energy can be obtained without the expenſe of a congreſs, or of this houſe at leaſt; I ſee not why the people might not make a favourite preſident as abſolute as the kings of France have been, and call on congreſs, like the parliaments of Paris, only to regiſter his edicts.) I ſay, as this is the caſe, it is high time to make a ſtand---But we are told that the heads of departments are recognized by the conſtitution, and the buſineſs now required of one of them ſanctioned by law---and we are alſo told of precedents, eſtabliſhing and authoriſing this mode of proceeding---it is ſurely then high time for every member, who views that law, and ſuch proceedings under it, in the light I do, to join with the member from Georgia, and make a ſtand, as he called it---And I truſt, ſir, that rather than ſuffer that law to be thus reſorted to, they will unite to amend or repeal it.

I repeat it, ſir, here we ſhould make a ſtand; for, however well intended ſuch meaſures may be, and the arguments in ſupport of them, their tendency is miſchievous, and ought to be oppoſed by every friend to a free government.

The bills eſtabliſhing the departments of government, have ſtrong monarchical features; and have too often led congreſs into the ſteps of monarchical governments. The republican part of the Britiſh government rely on a committee of ways and means---the heads of departments being members of the houſe of commons, are always forward to take the lead in the plans or projects of the crown---and they have ſo ingeniouſly involved the plans of finance, that few underſtand the myſterious buſineſs, and therefore it is in the miniſter's hands alone.---Sir, the houſe of commons always ſeverely ſcrutinize their plans, and are not ſo obſequious to their miniſters, as ſome gentlemen are diſpoſed to be to our ſecretaries.

But what would Engliſhmen ſay, if their parliament were to paſs ſuch a bill as this now referred to; and ſhould call on a man, not a member of either houſe, but appointed by the king, with the advice, indeed, of the houſe of lords, removable however by

the king alone; to lay before the house of commons a plan of ways and means? Would the people of England be satisfied with the strange story of his responsibility, and of his superior abilities? But what is this responsibility so much talked of? The president may dismiss the secretary from his office, or this house may impeach him---but when the president and congress both are his accomplices, who will dismiss, or who impeach? and where then is the responsibility?

We are asked, indeed, are you afraid of truth, and unwilling to receive instruction? I answer, no---Truth is our great object, and just information our only aim---but to get at truth, respecting the most likely means of raising a revenue, with as little inconvenience as possible to our constituents, was, I conceive, a principal object in the view of the framers of our constitution, when they instituted this house of representatives. In this house alone I should search for truth, respecting this important question ---from the representatives of the states I should expect to receive all the necessary information respecting it: and if the secretary be possessed of vouchers, or further information, the house should call for it.---In the committee of the whole, every enquiry should be made---resolutions be proposed, examined, amended, and when maturely considered and approved by the house, where all the further information which the heads of departments can give may be called for, our business would be done. This is the way for congress to get at information, and to arrive at truth.

It is ungenerous to hold up a secretary as responsible for errors adopted by congress; and it is unreasonable to impose upon him a task which, although our peculiar duty to perform, we shrink from. The multitude of references already made to the secretary of the treasury, and the necessary length of some of his reports, leave him no leisure to attend properly to the different branches of his own department.

But what information do we ask? We know the estimate of expenses for the present year---we have estimates of the probable amount of the revenue---and we have called for a report of the amount of surpluses, if any, in the treasury. We can then, as well as the secretary, determine whether any additional revenue will be necessary; and if so, we alone ought to devise the ways and means of raising it. If dispatch is necessary, it is better to determine here, at once, what is to be done, than apply to the secretary, whose plans we may, after long debates, reject ---As to the secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge his abilities; I know too that some of his reports do honour to his heart, as well as to his head---his gallant behaviour in the late war, has commanded my highest respect and esteem---but I owe too much respect to our country, to agree to the resolution before you——I wish, therefore, that this house would refer only such cases to him, as they cannot decide on, without official information in his hands---and that, in the present case, the house would, in a committee of the whole on the state of the union, take under their consideration the means of raising the supplies which may be found necessary, for the support of government, and the protection of the frontiers.

Mr. Murray observed, that on such a question, his object should be to pursue what appeared to him the wisest mode of raising taxes—In agreeing, however, with the resolution and its reference, he could neither see danger in the precedent, nor surrender of the constitutional right in the consequences—as to the privilege of originating money-bills—when ways and means are to be sought for, his first object should be to gain all the information the delicacy of the case demanded——The duty of exploring the resources of a country, as yet untried in many of its objects of taxation, was certainly the business of the house of representatives—but why they should refuse to themselves an opportunity of gaining additional knowledge, beyond what the leisure of any one here, or the abilities of few could collect, was extraordinary.—He wished for a reference to the secretary in the first instance, because it would not very well comport with the dignity of the house, to refer to him in the second instance—If, on trial, there should appear either a crudity or a conflicting of systems; and if, as would most probably be the case, partiality in the mover of any undebated set of resolutions, should show itself, the house must either make the most of the plans proposed, or, in the very last resort, call on the officer of government to suggest his opinion on the subject.—The subject was extremely intricate—but part of the intricacy of taxation and finance was removed, by the well arranged order in which he presumed the documents relative to the department were preserved.—An act of congress has already delineated the duties of the various departments—to the secretary of the treasury it belonged to collect information respecting the objects of taxation—to

invent, or adopt and propose schemes by which the revenues were to be improved—to digest ideas on the political economy of the country, and to superintend its finances—In such a department, he must think that a mass of information existed on the various resources of this country, and their probable productiveness, which was not necessarily to be expected elsewhere—He wished to avail himself of this information, on which he would exercise his right of judging, altering or rejecting; and he wished to obtain it in the mode most congenial with his own mind, an open responsible communication to the whole house.—He was certain that, though in no habits of intimacy himself, that could justify a private communication with the secretary, or warrant from the secretary an unsolicited opinion to him, the opinions and ideas of the secretary would, in some way or other, most assuredly find their way into the house---He wished to see no ministerial out-of-door influence---The wholesome influence of superior judgment, and of well-digested opinion, he did not fear; on the contrary, that superiority was the only one to which he could bow; and the only way in which the unmixed benefit of such an influence can be felt, was that way in which the law respecting the heads of departments contemplated the subject.--From this mode of communicating all the knowledge of the treasury department, two benefits would be derived---The secretary would send to us his best opinions on the subject, and in a way of which the whole house, and the public itself, could avail themselves in forming a judgment---and private influence, partially, and irresponsibly given to individual members, would be rendered useless.---He begged leave to remark, that the objection to this mode, that the power and right was in the house of representatives to originate money-bills, could not have much weight---The house of representatives, of right, and by the constitution, were properly constituted the sole origin of money-bills---But this reference does not deny the right, nor can it weaken its operation---A bill does not originate till the house has *agreed* to some principles or resolutions; or a committee reports a bill by order:---principles then, established by vote, resolutions, or leave, are the only ways in which, in a legislative sense, any thing can be known to this government to *originate* in the work of legislation—He who has not a seat here, of whom, for the sake of multiplied information, we require controlable opinion, does no more *originate* the legislative work of the house, than the author of a work on finance, from whose opinions we form a scheme of revenue, can be said to tax the people. There is certainly this good attending a reference in such cases—a greater chance for simplicity in the system of finance, and greater stability—The opinions thus obtained, are not obligatory farther than as they appear founded in wisdom—we can alter, add, or reject---a complete control is in our power.---It is thus we shall unite the efficiency and regularity, which are the only good parts of bad governments, with the control and right of rejection which belong to the most free. Gentlemen, after all, will not be precluded from furnishing the house with the result of their individual labours and talents.---Some gentlemen had agreed, that if a committee were to submit a plan to the house, that committee might obtain all the intelligence necessary from the secretary---This would, he thought, be better than obtaining information secretly by individuals; but would be very objectionable, and attended with this inconvenience---that the opinions of the secretary, on which the committee might make their report, would be but partially known to the house, and would come into it unaccompanied by the high responsibility which a formal report from the officer, made in the face of the world, would give them.---He said he would vote for the reference, because he wished, on so tender a subject as that of taxation, to have all possible information---because he felt his right to reject opinions to which he might not be able to subscribe; and because he thought the house ought not to look for official information, in any other mode, than that, in which they might rightfully exert their impartial judgments, in its admission or rejection.

*(To be continued.)*

# The CHRONICLE.

## ABSTRACT of FRENCH INTELLIGENCE.

WE mentioned, in our laſt, that M. Petion, mayor of Paris, had appeared at the bar of the national aſſembly, at the head of the envoys of the commonality, on the 4th. of Auguſt, and demanded that the king ſhould be ſuſpended, and a national convention called, for the purpoſe of chooſing a new king, or executive magiſtrate. At the ſame time, a decree of accuſation againſt M. la Fayette, charging him with high treaſon, was depending before the aſſembly. All waited, with anxious attention, the deciſion of the aſſembly, reſpecting M. la Fayette; as being a meaſure which would determine the comparative ſtrength of the Jacobin and conſtitutional parties. At the cloſe of the debate on this decree, there appeared 224 members in ſupport of it, and 400 againſt it. This deciſion was ſo unpopular, that the majority, on quitting the hall, were groſsly inſulted and abuſed, by a large mob aſſembled about the door.

It was now feared by the Jacobin leaders, that the ſame majority, who had voted in favour of M. la Fayette, would alſo oppoſe the ſuſpenſion of the executive powers of the king. Meaſures were therefore taken for accompliſhing by force, what could not be hoped from the calm decrees of the legiſlative body; and a plan was formed for uniting the whole force of the Jacobin party, ſo as to enable them to act in concert, immediately upon the ringing of the tocſin, or alarm-bell, which was fixed for midnight, between the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, in caſe the aſſembly ſhould not decree the king's ſuſpenſion, in their ſitting of the 9th. The more effectually to enſure the ſucceſs of this plan, the police of the city was totally ſubverted by the reſpective ſections, and a new ſyſtem introduced, in which only three members of the preceding body were retained. As the national guards had, in the diſturbances of the 20th. of June, given ſtrong appearances of attachment to the king, a new commander, (M. Santerre) was appointed. Detachments were made from the national guards, of men who could be depended on; and theſe with a battalion from Marſeilles, and a large body of federates from the different ſections, conſtituted a powerful force, which was to be under the immediate command of M. Santerre, who was not to obey the exiſting ſuperior officers.

All things being thus in train, a rumour of an intended attempt to carry off the king, was ſpread among the people, on the evening of the 9th. Upon which all the avenues leading to the Thuilleries were immediately crowded with an enraged populace. Under the pretext of quieting the apprehenſions of the people, detachments of the national guards were poſted in the ſeveral avenues around the palace.——In the mean time, the friends of the conſtitution and of the king, though they did not know that the other party had managed matters with ſo much ſyſtem, were informed of the intention to excite a tumult, by ringing the alarm-bell at midnight. A force which was deemed adequate to the defence of the palace, was accordingly ſtationed there. Some courtiers, however, were arreſted in diſguiſe; and this circumſtance ſerved not a little to give a keener edge to the fury of the people. The tocſin was rung, the drums were beat, and the avenues to the aſſembly and the palace were crowded with an incenſed multitude, who demanded vengeance on the traitors that had been apprehended. The unfortunate victims, ſome with a mock-trial, and others without any ſuch form, were immediately put to death. Before nine o'clock on the morning of the 10th. the palace was inveſted with an aſtoniſhing and outrageous multitude, calling out for the dethronement of the king; who had fled, in the mean time, with the queen and royal family, to the national aſſembly, for protection. They were placed, during the remainder of the day, in a box, which had been occupied by the ſhort-hand writers; while the aſſembly continued their deliberations, and ſcenes of horror ſurrounded them. An attempt was made to force the palace. A regiment of Swiſs guards, ſtationed there, endeavoured to defend it. They fought with the utmoſt intrepidity,

and killed ſeveral hundreds of the aſſailants. But the attack being continued with fury; and ſeveral pieces of cannon, loaded with grape-ſhot, being employed againſt them, they were obliged to yield to ſuperior force. A few eſcaped the general maſſacre, and were made priſoners; but theſe ſoon after fell a ſacrifice to the rage of the populace, as did many others who were ſuſpected of attachment to the king. The number of the Swiſs who fell on this occaſion were about 700, but the whole number of the killed is ſaid to have conſiſted of ſome thouſands.—While theſe ſcenes of horror were going forward, the aſſembly decreed the ſuſpenſion of the king, and ordered that he ſhould be kept in confinement, under the care of the commander of the national guards, and the mayor of Paris, till a national convention could be convened; and that, in the mean time, the executive power ſhould be veſted in ſix reſponſible miniſters. A decree of accuſation againſt M. la Fayette was again brought forward, and ſanctioned by the aſſembly. By this decree any perſon was authorized to bring him to Paris, living or dead. M. la Fayette was ſoon informed of this decree. He found-ed the inclination of his army, and found the men generally diſpoſed to be governed by the will of the national aſſembly. To tarry till the news of the decree againſt him reached the army, would have been inevitable deſtruction. He, with a number of officers, ſet out for Holland, in the character of French emigrants; but in paſſing through the territories of the principality of Liege, the whole party were made priſoners, and confined in Namur.—It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, although the decree of ſuſpenſion appears to have been extorted from a majority of the aſſembly, by the Jacobin faction in that body, ſupported by a tumultuous aſſemblage of Pariſians, yet this decree, like almoſt every other meaſure of the aſſembly, has been loudly applauded throughout the nation. The king, it is true, had long loſt the confidence of the people, who have been accuſtomed, for ſome time paſt, to look to their repreſentatives, for the political ſalvation of France. The aſſembly have publiſhed a lengthy vindication of their conduct.

Accounts from London, to the 8th of September, ſtate, that the Duke of Brunſwick, after taking ſeveral fortified places, had marched with his army towards Paris. —In conſequence of his ſucceſſes on the frontiers, Longwi, and ſeveral other places having fallen into his hands, the national aſſembly paſſed a decree, expreſſing in ſtrong terms, the danger of the country, and calling on the citizens to arm, and turn out to reinforce the army—Sixty thouſand armed men were to be raiſed immediately—this decree provided for a general alarm—the tocſin was rung, and the *general* beat in all the ſections. The citizens immediately repaired to the camp de Mars, to ſelect their volunteers, and make their arrangements to comply with the decree for reinforcing the army.

It being ſuggeſted, that, previous to going to the frontiers to fight the enemy without, it was proper to take care of the enemy within—the idea was immediately communicated from man to man, and the whole body immediately divided themſelves into parties, and ſpread themſelves all over the city---they broke open the priſons, and put all the priſoners to death; among whom were upwards of one hundred of the non-juring clergy, including one biſhop, col. Montmorin, &c. &c.---The garriſon of Longwi conſiſted of 1800 men, who were all made priſoners of war.---Part of the Auſtrian army were beſieging Verdun.

An account was circulated in Paris, at the time of the maſſacre, which added greatly to the fury of the populace, namely, that four thouſand men, belonging to the army of M. Dumourier, ſent to reinforce the garriſon of Verdun, had been treacherouſly led into an ambuſcade, and cut to pieces.

Among the victims in the priſon called the Abbaye, were all the queen's ladies, as Madame Lambelle, half ſiſter to M. D'Orleans, Madame de Tarrante, &c. &c. ---M. Montmorin was ſlain between two members of the national aſſembly, who were ſent to check the people. From the priſons the populace proceeded to the houſes of ſuſpected perſons, and wherever they found *depots* of arms, or any papers that diſcovered a correſpondence with emigrants, they ſlaughtered the owners.---The moſt moderate accounts ſtate the ſlain to be about 4000; the higheſt eſtimate is 7000.---The national aſſembly, the public offices, and the treaſury, during theſe horrors, remained unviolated.---The temple, the reſidence of the king and his family, was not attacked ---the guard had been doubled, and it was hoped it would remain in ſafety.---Though it was apprehended by many, that when the news of the capture of Verdun ſhould

arrive, the populace, exasperated by this new disaster, would destroy the royal family.

Earl Gower, the British ambassador, is arrived in England, from Paris.—The Marquis de la Fayette is gone to Luxembourg, by order of the Duke of Brunswick. —M. Luckner is reinstated in his command, as generalissimo of the French armies.

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PHILADELPHIA, *October* 3.

NOTHING shows, in a stronger light, the rooted inveteracy of the Indians, than their putting to death every flag, that has been hardy enough to approach them. Captain Snake, a chief belonging to the Munsee (friendly) tribe, was sent, some time since, with a message to the hostile nations, but was killed at one of the Delaware towns, the moment he made his business known.

At the anniversary commencement at Princeton, the 26th ult. the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on 36, and that of Master of Arts, on eleven gentlemen.

*6th.* Mr. *Spilsbury*, the celebrated English foot-traveller, who is now engaged in exploring the interior of America, and means to proceed, if possible, from sea to sea, arrived at Augustine, in East-Florida, about the first of July, and requested leave of the governor to explore that province, for the purpose of botanical researches. Although otherwise treated with civility, his request was refused, under pretence of rigid orders to suffer no strangers to come there, except for the purpose of settling under the Spanish government.

By a letter from capt. John Rogers, to governor Lee, of Virginia, dated August 5, 1792, in the territory south of the Ohio—it appears that a series of most cruel murders and depredations have been committed on the frontiers in that quarter; and principally by the Creeks. The number of men, women and children killed since January 1, 1792, amounts to 63, and the number of horses stolen, to 400. There was a treaty to be held the 6th of August, in the district of Mero—600 of the Chickesaws, and 110 of the Chocktaws, had arrived on the ground.

By a return made to his excellency the governor, there has been exported from this city, during the months of July, August, and September, 89,729 barrels of flour, and 2,331 barrels of middlings.

*10th.* A French gentleman, recently from the Wabash, informs that the Indians are employed in removing their families beyond the waters of the Mississippi, in order that the warriors, upon their return, may be less incumbered for battle.

It is a fact, that the demand for printing-paper has become so extensive in this city and state, and from other states that depend upon the Pennsylvania mills for a supply, that it can no longer be answered. It is hoped that a regard to the interests of literature in the united states, will induce the legislature to take some steps towards remedying this evil. Perhaps it will be found, that the taking off the present duty on foreign paper will be the only means, for some time to come, of procuring a sufficiency of this very necessary, and indispensable article.

A large, commodious, and elegant state-house has been lately erected at Trenton, in New-Jersey, for the accommodation of the legislature and public offices of that state. It is said to be almost finished, at least so far as comfortably to receive the two houses at the October session. The building is one hundred feet long by fifty wide, with a semi-hexagon at each end, over which is to be a balustrade.

Mr. *John Churchman*, author of the ingenious new Magnetic theory, having failed in his applications, in this country, for the means of enabling him to prosecute his discoveries, by making a voyage to Baffin's-bay, lately embarked, at Baltimore, for London, it is said, with a view to apply to the *Literary Societies* there, to countenance him in his future endeavours for the above purpose.

*13th.* A number of artists are arrived at Boston, from Amsterdam, who are to be employed in the manufacture of glass, in the glass-house in that town.

A Richmond (Virginia) paper of October 5th, informs, that the four horses belonging to the mail-stage were drowned the preceding day, in attempting to ford Pamunkey-river—the passengers crossed the river on a temporary bridge erected for foot passengers—the driver narrowly escaped drowning.

*17th.* On the 26th of September happened a severe frost in Elizabethtown (Maryland) and its vicinity, which totally destroyed all the tobacco that was in the fields. The loss is said to be severely felt by the people in that part of the country.

On the 3d inſtant was celebrated in New-York, the completion of the third century ſince the diſcovery of America by *Columbus*. On this occaſion a monumental obeliſk was exhibited by the Tammany ſociety at their great wigwam; where an animated oration on the great nautical hero, was delivered by *J. B. Johnſon*, eſquire.

Information has been received from governor Blount, (territory ſouth of the Ohio) that the Cherokees of the five lower towns on the Teneſee, had declared war againſt the united ſtates, on the 11th of September, and that from three to ſix hundred warriors had ſet out upon an expedition againſt the frontier ſettlements. In conſequence of this intelligence, one regiment of the militia of Waſhington diſtrict was ordered out. —On the 15th of September, however, news was received, that ſome leading men had prevailed with the Cherokee Indians, that had collected to go to war, to diſperſe and go to their homes.

A gentleman at Fort Franklin, in a letter, dated Sept. 27, writes thus to his friend in this city: "We are in great expectations of a peace by ſpring. Cornplanter, with 130 warriors from the Seneca tribes, from the Munſies, the Maſſaſagues, &c. ſet off about twenty days ago, for the hoſtile tribes, for the purpoſe of endeavouring to obtain a permanent peace. If he does not meet with ſucceſs, we may expect a bloody war."

The Nantucket whaling veſſels have been remarkably fortunate the laſt ſeaſon in taking fiſh. One ſhip only, brought in 1300 barrels of oil, and 7000 wt. of bone. It is remarkable that the Engliſh and Nova-Scotia fiſhermen have, during the ſame ſeaſon, met with but very little ſucceſs.

A petition has been drawn up at Wincheſter, in Virginia, to be preſented to congreſs early in the enſuing ſeſſion, requeſting them to take into conſideration the impropriety of officers acting under the exciſe laws being proprietors of ſtills, or any way intereſted therein.

A letter from a gentleman in Charleſton, (S.C.) dated Oct. 1, mentions two froſts having happened in the neighbourhood of the Wateree river, previous to that date; a circumſtance extremely uncommon in Carolina.

The following is extracted from a letter received on Monday from Charleſton—"Capt. Robert Maxwell and a Mr. Spears, an Indian trader, are arrived here with diſpatches from gen. Pickens and col. Anderſon, to the following purport: "That a general Creek war may ſhortly be expected to take place; that the four lower Cherokee townsare hoſtilely diſpoſed, and will act in concert with the Creeks. A body of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Shawaneſe, in all about five hundred men, are now out, and it is ſuppoſed will fall upon the ſettlements at Cumberland or Holſtein. Col. Anderſon has erected four block-houſes on the frontiers. An old trader, by the name of Ramſay, with another trader, hath been killed in the Creek nation, and a Mr. Shaw, an agent from congreſs, narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate; and which was prevented by ſome Indian women, who gave Mr. Shaw timely notice thereof, ſo that he made his eſcape. General M'Gillivray is now at Penſacola—It is the opinion of the back country, that every Indian tribe, from Lake Erie to the gulph of Mexico, will, in the courſe of this winter, be in a ſtate of warfare with the united ſtates."

The grand jury of Charleſton diſtrict, (S C.) recommend, in a late preſentment to the legiſlature, to inflict ſome other puniſhment than a *fine* upon thoſe maſters, &c. who are guilty of murdering negroes.

The number of perſons lately inoculated in Boſton, is ſtated in one of their papers at nine thouſand three hundred and eighty-four, of whom one hundred and ninety-eight died, which is in the proportion of about *one* to *forty*.

*20th.* We hear from Newark (N.J.) that on Friday the 12th inſtant, Nicholas Low, Eſq. was choſen governor of the Jerſey manufacturing ſociety; and that John Bayard, Eſq was choſen deputy-governor of the ſaid ſociety.

A Virginia paper mentions an extraordinary inſtance of longevity, in a perſon now living in Prince-Edward county, in that ſtate. His name is John Holloway, who was born in the year 1670, conſequently now 122 years of age. He is ſaid to enjoy good health and ſpirits, and a remarkably cheerful temper. His mode of living has nothing ſingular in it, except that he often drinks freely of ſpirits, and is very fond of ſweets, particularly honey. He lately loſt a wife, near one hundred years of age, whom he married, a widow, in his ſeventieth year, who, though childleſs before, bore him a ſon within one year after their marriage. Old Mr. Holloway can now, with-

out fatigue, walk twelve miles a day, and, from all appearance, may yet for several years, bid defiance to the ſcythe of time.

*[Extract of a letter from New-Jerſey, October 15.]*

"On the 10th of May laſt, the wife of Mr. Griggs, of Middleſex county, New-Jerſey, was delivered of three children; two females and a male—I have ſeen them, and think they are as fine children as I have generally obſerved of the ſame age, when only one at a birth."

On the 11th inſtant, the houſe of repreſentatives of Virginia, unanimouſly reſolved to inſtruct the delegates from that commonwealth to the ſenate of the united ſtates, to uſe their intereſt and exertions to have the doors of that honourable body opened to the citizens of the union.

*Extract of a letter from a citizen of Cinninnati, Sept. 9th 1792.*

"The day before yeſterday general Wilkinſon returned to this place, from a viſit to the out-poſt, and an extenſive excurſion, to general St. Clair's field of ſlaughter, and around the head waters of the Big Miami---I am informed that he has diſcovered two pieces of the braſs ordnance loſt on the 4th of November; that he explored the country in front of the field of battle, within eight miles of the old Miami village, which turns out to be ſixty miles from the field; He has alſo explored the country to the eaſt of general St. Clair's trace; from whence it appeared that the governor bore much too far to the weſtward."

*27th.* The army under general Wayne had not gone down the river Ohio, from Pittſburgh, on the 4th of october; the water being ſo low as to prevent their paſſage. It is probable, therefore, that the operations of the troops will be retarded to a tedious and laborious winter campaign.

Mr. William Longſtreet, of Auguſta, in Georgia, has lately completed the model of a new invented ſteam engine, calculated for moving all kinds of heavy machinery. This engine is ſo conſtructed and applied to ſaws, as to perform from forty to forty-five ſtrokes with each in a minute, without the complication of wheels, cogs, or cranks; and all its operations are managed by a ſingle cock. The inventor aſſerts that his machinery may be ſo applied as to grind 150 buſhels of grain per day, or ſaw 2000 feet of inch boards in the ſame time.

*29th.* In Paris there are two ſeminaries of learning for the children of Iriſh parents. Their revenues are large, ſome ſay, to the amount of 100,000l a year; be that as it may, the ſtudents, in number about 700, had by ſome ill-judged intemperance of conduct given offence to the people of Paris; an inſurrection was the conſequence, and the rage of the populace was concentered on the two colleges; the ſtudents immediately ſought ſafety in flight; the people had ſoon completely demoliſhed both the colleges. Happily all the ſtudents are ſafely arrived in the Britiſh dominions.

*30th.* The late French news will probably induce many to be apprehenſive that the cauſe of liberty is in danger. But the people of France are the beſt judges of their own ſituation. When the enemy is at the gates, it is no time to trifle with thoſe within, who are not *heartily* engaged for us. The common practice of all nations, in ſuch hours of extreme difficulty and danger, will juſtify the conduct of the French. The citizens of Paris received news that a body of 4000 French, detached to the aſſiſtance of *Verdun* had been defeated, and it is agreed that *every man* ſhall turn out to oppoſe the common enemy. In ſuch a caſe, can any one ſuppoſe they would leave their wives and children in the hands of "refractory prieſts" and others, convicted of high crimes againſt the nation, and attached to the cauſe of the duke of Brunſwick?—Upon a careful review of every article of European intelligence, yet received, it does not appear that the duke of Brunſwick, at the head of his army, can ever reach Paris. Should he, however, arrive there, his *total defeat* will be the more certain. He need not promiſe to himſelf in Paris, even the fortune of Burgoyne at Saratoga; his life muſt atone for his temerity, and his army, in all human probability, will fall by the ſword.

*Proteſt of M. La Fayette, and the officers who accompanied him, againſt the ſeizure of their perſons on a neutral territory.*

The undernamed French citizens, forced by an irreſiſtible concurrence of extraordinary circumſtances, to renounce the glory of protecting, as they have hitherto done, the

liberty of their country, unable any longer to oppoſe the violations of the conſtitution which the national will had eſtabliſhed therein, declare, "That they cannot be conſidered as military enemies, ſince they have given up their poſts in the French army; and ſtill leſs, as part of thoſe of their countrymen whoſe intereſts, ſentiments, and opinions, abſolutely oppoſite to theirs, have engaged them to league themſelves with the powers at war with France; but as ſtrangers, who claim a free paſſage, which the rights of nations ſecure to them, and which they only wiſh to make uſe of, to repair as ſpeedily as poſſible to a territory, the government of which is not in an actual ſtate of hoſtility againſt their country.

An opinion has prevailed that the Americans fall ſhort of the longevity of the inhabitants of Europe. After premiſing that we are leſs attentive in collecting the inſtances of long life here than in Europe, we ſhall enumerate a few extracts from the newſpapers during 1789 and 1790. Mrs. Kenzey, N. Car. aged 114. Mr. Elithrop, Con. 105. Mr. Carter, Con. 107. Mr. Williams, Con. 101. Mrs. Dowſet, Con. 103. Mrs Dixon, Maſſ. 101. Mr. Hayley, N. Hamp. 101. and Mrs Ulrich, 105, Mr. Van Verts, Albany, 124. Dr. Vanlear, Penn. 104. Mr. Montz, 100. and Mrs. Benneiſon, 100.

A writer in the Knoxville Gazette, ſays, It is an undoubted truth, (ſtrange as it may appear) that the baron D'Corrondolet, governor of Louiſania, and governor O'Neal, of Penſacola, have opened the ſtores of the king of Spain, in Weſt Florida, to the Creeks and Cherokees, and delivered them arms and ammunition in abundance, adviſing and ſtimulating them to go to war againſt the frontier inhabitants of the united ſtates, and that quickly, that now, or never was the time, while the united ſtates were engaged with the northern tribes.

The diſunion that has been ſo much talked of in France appears to have ariſen wholly from the ſchemes and artifices of the royaliſts and retainers to deſpotiſm, actuated by the king and his family. Since the ſuſpenſion of the monarch, and his confinement, the moſt authentic accounts repreſent the nation as *united* againſt all its enemies. Should this really be the caſe, when the amazing ſtrength of the nation is conſidered, it is evident it will be at their own option to adopt what form of government they ſee fit. The number of perſons capable of bearing arms in France, is ſix millions, ſeven hundred thouſand, whereas the whole combined force that can be brought to act againſt them cannot exceed two hundred and fifty thouſand.

*State of Europe, with reſpect to France; communicated to the national aſſembly by the ſecretary for foreign affairs.*

*Sweden.* That kingdom had already teſtified pacific intentions. Government refuſed to enter into the league againſt France. Several Swediſh officers wiſhed to be employed in the French ſervice. The regency made propoſals for a commercial intercourſe.

*Ruſſia.* That empire never concealed its hoſtile views; but it could only threaten France for a long time to come.

*The ſouthern courts* were in the ſame caſe.

*The German Empire* was combined againſt France.

*Holland.* That republic promiſed the moſt perfect neutrality. The Dutch ambaſſador remained in Paris.

*Great-Britain.* That empire profeſſed exact neutrality. The Britiſh ambaſſador had orders from his court to quit France; but nothing hoſtile was inſinuated in the mandate. The Engliſh government obſerved to him, that as the executive power had been taken out of the king's hand, his credentials were no longer valid or of any effect; and that it was his duty to withdraw without loſs of time. His Britiſh majeſty continues perfectly neuter, but did not think he would invade that neutrality, by demanding that the lives of Louis XVI. and his family ſhould be protected. He expected that no violence would be offered to their perſons, as that would awake the indignation of all Europe. Authorized by the executive power *ad interim*, the ſecretary for foreign affairs had written to the Engliſh ambaſſador, and teſtified how much the French deſired to continue in amity with a great people, who were the firſt to acknowledge the ſovereignty of nations.

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, In the Month of SEPTEMBER, 1792.

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In. | Thermometer of Farenh. D. | Thermometer of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail Wind | rain | thunder | sunnet | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 30 1 | 52 2 | 9 0 | E | | | | Fair, cloudy |
| | 30 0 | 12 85 0 | 23 6 | SW | | | | Overcast, |
| 2 | 30 0 | 7 63 5 | 14 0 | SW | I | | | Rainy |
| | 30 0 | 3 80 4 | 21 5 | SW | | | | Overcast |
| 3 | 30 0 | 12 65 7 | 15 0 | Variab. | | | | Fair, |
| | 30 1 | 0 80 4 | 21 5 | Idem. | | | | Overcast |
| 4 | 30 2 | 0 49 0 | 7 5 | NE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 3 | 2 81 5 | 22 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 5 | 30 4 | 6 47 7 | 7 0 | NE. | | | | Idem |
| | 30 3 | 8 85 0 | 23 5 | ESE | | | | Idem |
| 6 | 30 3 | 2 9 0 | 12 0 | ESE | | | | Cloudy |
| | 30 2 | 14 77 0 | 20 0 | ESE | I | | | Rainy, overcast |
| 7 | 30 1 | 12 62 4 | 13 5 | SW. S | | | | Overcast |
| | 30 0 | 13 88 2 | 25 0 | S. SSE | | | | Idem |
| 8 | 30 0 | 1 68 0 | 16 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 | 14 88 2 | 25 0 | SSW | | | | Cloudy |
| 9 | 29 11 | 14 63 5 | 14 0 | E | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 10 | 0 90 5 | 26 0 | W. | I | I | | Idem, thunder, rain |
| 10 | 30 1 | 13 49 0 | 7 5 | NNE | | | | Overcast |
| | 30 2 | 2 67 0 | 15 5 | Varia. | | | | Cloudy |
| 11 | 30 2 | 12 43 2 | 5 0 | NE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 2 | 2 75 8 | 19 5 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 12 | 30 2 | 9 49 0 | 7 5 | ENE | | | | Foggy, cloudy |
| | 30 0 | 12 79 2 | 21 0 | | | | | Cloudy |
| 13 | 30 1 | 1 50 0 | 8 0 | NNE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 1 | 2 77 0 | 20 0 | NNE | | | | Idem |
| 14 | 30 0 | 0 57 9 | 11 5 | Varia. | | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 | 4 85 0 | 23 5 | S | | | | Idem, cloudy |
| 15 | 29 8 | 10 63 5 | 14 0 | SW | | | | Foggy, overcast |
| | 29 2 | 7 83 7 | 23 0 | WNW | | | | Overcast |
| 16 | 29 11 | 1 61 9 | 13 3 | NNE | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 | 0 74 7 | 19 0 | NNE | I | | | Rainy |
| 17 | 29 9 | 0 59 0 | 12 0 | NNE. | I | I | | Idem, thunder |
| | 29 10 | 4 74 7 | 19 0 | N | I | I | | Overcast |
| 18 | 30 0 | 0 64 5 | 10 0 | N | | | | Overcast |
| | 30 0 | 0 73 6 | 18 5 | N | | | | Cloudy |
| 19 | 30 0 | 0 50 0 | 8 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 | 8 60 0 | 12 5 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 20 | 29 11 | 12 44 4 | 5 5 | N | | | | Rain, overcast |
| | 30 0 | 12 57 9 | 11 5 | N | | | | Overcast |
| 21 | 30 2 | 8 37 4 | 2 4 | NW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 2 | 1 38 0 | 3 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 22 | 30 1 | 14 38 7 | 3 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 1 | 7 74 7 | 19 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| 23 | 30 1 | 8 45 5 | 6 0 | WSW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 | 10 78 8 | 20 8 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 24 | 30 0 | 6 55 6 | 10 5 | SW | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 10 | 1 77 6 | 20 0 | SW | | | | Cloudy |
| 25 | 29 11 | 4 54 5 | 10 0 | W | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 10 | 10 79 2 | 21 0 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 26 | 29 10 | 9 50 0 | 8 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 | 5 88 2 | 25 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| 27 | 29 11 | 12 54 5 | 10 0 | NNE | | | | Rainy |
| | 30 2 | 2 50 0 | 8 0 | NNE | I | | | Idem |
| 28 | 30 3 | 0 34 2 | 1 0 | NNW | | | | Fair |
| | 30 3 | 8 65 5 | 15 0 | NNW | | | | Idem |
| 29 | 30 5 | 8 38 3 | 3 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 30 4 | 14 68 5 | 16 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| 30 | 30 2 | 2 45 5 | 6 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 | 4 79 2 | 21 0 | SW | | | | Idem |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29th gr. ev. | 30 5 | 1 | 90 | 5 | 26 | | | |
| 15th least | 29 8 | 10 | 34 | 2 | 7 | | | |
| Variation | 8 | 14 | 56 | 3 | 25 | | | |
| Meanelevat. | 30 | 12 | 64 | 4 | 14 | 4 | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30th gr. of heat | | | | | | | | |
| 15th de. of heat | | | | | | | | |
| Variation | | | | | | | | |
| Mean deg. of | | | | | | | | |

SW

8 6 2

NNE

Fair and dry.

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

## FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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## *To CORRESPONDENTS.*

WE have to acknowledge the receipt of sundry valuable performances, both in prose and verse. The following pieces will be inserted next month—*Honoria, or the mourner comforted*—*The premature adviser*—*The revolutions of fashion*—*Lines addressed to a lark*—*Hymn*—*Verses for the close of the year* 1792—*Truth, an epigram*—*The distressed maiden*—*On the gout*—*Hypocrisy universal*—*On Delia*—*On satiety*—*Anacreontic*—*The country swain's address to his city charmer*—*The superannuated maiden.*

We have received two letters this month from our correspondent, who signs himself *Incognito*. We are sorry we cannot think so favourably of his piece signed *Horatio* as he himself appears to do—We must adhere to our former decision respecting it. The lines in memory of a celebrated bard, some time since deceased, besides being rather prosaic, contain what could not fail to be construed into a censure of the deceased's surviving friends.

The *poem on spring* is *cold* as winter.

The *bosom-friend* is replete with sorry *puns*.

*Mercutio's enigma* would puzzle the brains of our readers, without affording them either intellectual improvement, or rational amusement.

*The Oddity* is written with great humour and spirit, but the satire is *too pointed*.

*Amelia, a Historiette*, borders too much on the marvellous—"Keep probability in view."

Had A. B. reflected on the impropriety of giving a *public* answer to his question, he would probably have proposed a *private* interview, which we should not have declined.

---

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 30, 1792.

### Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Six per cents, per £.* | 21s. | *Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance* | 43 |
| *Deferred six per cents,* | 13/2. | *Bank of N. America do.* | 31 |
| *Three per cents,* | 12/4. | | |

### COURSE *of* EXCHANGE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,* | 66⅔ | *Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,* | 37 |
| *Ditto.* 60 *days,* | 68. | *Ditto.* 90 *days,* | 2/11 |
| *Ditto.* 30 *days,* | 70. | | |

THE

# UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

# Columbian Magazine,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *On* MODERN IMPROVEMENT.

MR. EDITOR,

IF the preſent times abound in revolutions, they are alſo productive of improvement, not only in government, but in the arts, whether termed liberal or mechanical. With reſpect to government, the conſtitution and laws of the united ſtates would operate as ſufficient proofs, could not others be adduced. A ſenſe of liberty pervades Europe, and is extending to its dependencies in the three other quarters of the globe. The Quixotiſm of attachment to monarchy has ſubſided; and loyalty is no longer the Dulcinea of modern refinement.

We ought to ſmile at the pompous deſcription of feaſts, tilts and tournaments, did not reflection convince us, that they were the reſult of falſe pride and real barbariſm. They were intended to advance that predatory ſyſtem, which even religion could not ſubdue. Women, if noble and beautiful, were ideally exalted into angels; and a miſtaken adoration of the ſupreme power was impiouſly blended with this ſpecies of idolatry. A knight in armour ſallied from his caſtle in order to aſſert the ſuperiority of his miſtreſs's beauty; and thus every city in Europe, and throughout the greater part of Aſia, could boaſt a Helen, the object of contention, and the fire-brand of havoc. Surely the ſuperiority of the moderns muſt be inferred in this reſpect. Our women are certainly as fair as thoſe celebrated in the records of chivalry; and their mental accompliſhments muſt be without compariſon ſuperior. It is true, that a haughty fair-one occaſionally gives riſe to a duel. One, and ſometimes both admirers have been known to periſh in theſe conflicts; but it is at preſent very generally confeſſed, that female charms ought rationally to be eſtimated; and beauty is no longer conſidered as the price of blood.

The evils of piracy are almoſt annihilated. Formerly every coaſt abounded in theſe unlicenſed, maritime free-booters. The moſt pow-

erful nation, which ever exiſted, commiſſioned one of its moſt experienced generals, to wage war againſt theſe peſts of commerce, and ſociety in general. After his ſucceſs they even decreed him the honours of a triumph in their capital. At preſent we hear not of a ſingle inſtance of piracy; and ought not the moderns to claim ſome merit in this inſtance, as well as in many others?

A revolution, with reſpect to literature, has alſo happily ſucceeded. A man is no longer venerated for partially underſtanding uſeleſs and almoſt obſolete languages, unleſs he unites with them a knowledge of philoſophy and hiſtory, and a tolerable acquaintance with the uſeful and ornamental arts. The name of Newton is venerated, while thoſe of Scaliger and other pedants are ſcarcely mentioned. Locke and Monteſquieu have illuminated that world, which the learning of the ſchools, as they were called, threatened to ſink into ignorance and barbariſm. The humbleſt public ſeminary in Europe, or the united ſtates, poſſeſſes more ſolid erudition, than was in the univerſe in the twelfth century. Your readers, I hope, will not accuſe me of blameable neglect, if I forbear mentioning thoſe luminaries, whoſe labours reflect glory on the eighteenth century, eſpecially as the very enumeration of their names and works would greatly exceed the limits generally allowed to an eſſay.

Let us not therefore ſuperſtitiouſly bend before the ſhrine of boaſted antiquity; but let us, at the ſame time, allow it its intrinſic merits; ſtill however aſſerting, in contradiction to the injudicious admirers of the ancients, that the preſent age by far excels its moſt celebrated period, in literature, arts, ſcience, government, humanity and religion.

Yours, &c. T. W.

## FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*Vulnus alit venis, et cæco carpitur igni.*
Virgil.

The man, whoſe conſcience errs from reaſon's path,
E'en in this world muſt ſuffer heavenly wrath.

Mr. Editor,

TO enumerate a part of the enormities of which I have been guilty, is my object at preſent. Should I attempt to deſcant on the whole, my labour would exceed that of Hercules, when he vainly endeavoured to cleanſe the Augean ſtable. However, what I ſhall throw out may conduce to fertilize the human mind, and operate as a mental compoſt.

I was born in a village in the province (now ſtate) of Pennſylvania. My father was an induſtrious farmer, and my mother as good a houſe-wife as any in the neighbourhood. How great was their kindneſs! but how falſely directed! In their opinion, I could

ſpell, before I knew my letters; could read before I could ſpell; could write before I could read, and underſtood Latin, before I could well articulate Engliſh. If there is a pleaſure in parental anticipation, it too often inflicts miſery on their offſpring. Fondled, admired, and inceſſantly flattered, I conceived myſelf a being of a ſuperior order. My preceptor I deſpiſed, and, as if I had derived knowledge from intuition, diſregarded the inſtruction which books convey, and the experience which age beſtows.

When I look back on the events of the early period of my life, I derive ſome conſolation from thinking, that I was not altogether the author of my preſent woes. But when I reflect on a more mature period, I find myſelf diveſted of every ſhadow of excuſe. I was not an idiot; nor did I experience any bad examples; but ſuch as flowed from neglect, and injudicious indulgence. At a more advanced age, when youth prepares to ſtep into manhood, deprived of my parents, I became the ward of a worldly-minded man, who imagined, that, whilſt he duly attended to my pecuniary concerns, he fully diſcharged the duties of a guardian. Learning, in his eſtimation, was a trifle, except mercantile accounts. "A penny ſaved is a penny gained," was his favorite proverb; and if I could not at the end of the week minutely account for my ſmall ſtipend, he accuſed me of extravagance, and aimed to upbraid me into parſimony.

He died juſt as I had completed my twenty-firſt year; nor did I feel any regret on the occaſion. On the contrary, like a bow unbent, I ruſhed from one extreme to the other. In my opinion, economy had hitherto been avarice; and conſequently I now conceived, that profuſion was true gentility. My dreſs, from being plain, ſuddenly became tawdry. I ſang without muſic, and danced without obſerving meaſure or time. The jack was daily laborioufly heard, and the operations of the cork-ſcrew were almoſt inceſſant. Without company I was dull; with company I was frantic; and when, on account of my extreme folly, gentlemen would no longer conſort with me, I became the companion of rakes, and the prey of ſharpers.

Yet, ſir, I emerged from this dream of horror, in order to plunge into another more deep and horrible. I ſuddenly, more from the impulſe of fancy than the conviction of reaſon, diſcarded the companions of my jovial hours, and reſolved on reformation. I unfortunately conceived a violent paſſion for a beauteous and reſpectable maiden. Elvira, if thy ſhade attends to the accents of penitence, hear them uttered with all the energy of woe, and in the language of true affliction!—I ſaw her, I loved, and was truly beloved by her. She ſaw my follies through the medium of good nature, and over-rated thoſe good qualities, of which my friends thought me poſſeſſed.

Why ſhould I conceal my horror! I ſighed for her regard; ſhe liſtened, and conſented to be my wife. But alas! the raptures of love were but of ſhort duration. Shortly after our union, I was hurried to a priſon for debt; and was ſhortly informed, that Elvira was the victim of grief. Hallowed be the ſod under which her remains repoſe, and forgiven be the crimes of the man who injured her!

Such, ſir, is my hiſtory, which, without the aſſiſtance of epiſodes, I might have lengthened into a novel. But truth is my object, which

aims at truly amending the heart, without inordinately gratifying the fancy. But how grievous is my distress! I unceasingly hear and behold my Elvira. Conscience ever upbraids me, and horror is my constant companion.

Wishing that your young readers may derive improvement from this artless account of my sufferings, I am, Mr. editor, your obedient humble servant.

A PENITENT.

## RULES *for forming a* JUST *and* ELEGANT STYLE.

[*By* FELION.]

GIVE me leave to touch this subject, and draw out, for your use, some of the chief strokes, some of the principal lineaments, and fairest features, of a just and beautiful style. There is no necessity of being methodical, and I will not entertain you with a dry system upon the matter, but with what you will read with more pleasure, and, I hope, with equal profit, some desultory thoughts in their native order, as they rise in my mind, without being reduced to rules, and marshaled according to art.

To assist you, therefore, as far as art may be an help to nature, I shall proceed to say something of what is required in a finished piece, to make it complete in all its parts, and masterly in the whole.

I would not lay down any impracticable schemes, nor trouble you with a dry formal method; the rules of writing, like that of our duty, is perfect in its kind; but we must make allowances for the infirmities of nature; and since none is without his faults, the most that can be said is, That he is the best writer, against whom the fewest can be alleged.

"A composition is then perfect, when the matter rises out of the "subject; when the thoughts are agreeable to the matter, and the "expression suitable to the thoughts; when there is no inconsisten-"cy from the beginning to the end; when the whole is perspicuous "in the beautiful order of its parts, and formed in due symmetry "and proportion."

In every sprightly genius, the expression will be ever lively as the thoughts. All the danger is, that a wit too fruitful should run out into unnecessary branches; but when it is matured by age, and corrected by judgment, the writer will prune the luxuriant boughs, and cut off the superfluous shoots of fancy, thereby giving both strength and beauty to his work.

Perhaps this piece of discipline is to young writers the greatest self-denial in the world; to confine the fancy, to stifle the birth, much more to throw away the beautiful offspring of the brain, is a trial, that none but the most delicate and lively wits can be put to. It is their praise, that they are obliged to retrench more wit than others have to lavish; the clippings and filings of these jewels, could they be preserved, are of more value than the whole mass of ordinary au-

thors; and it is a maxim with me, that he has not wit enough, who has not a great deal to ſpare.

It is by no means neceſſary for me to run out into the ſeveral ſorts of writing: we have general rules to judge of all, without being particular upon any, though the ſtyle of an orator be different from that of an hiſtorian, and a poet's from both.

The firſt thing requiſite to a juſt ſtyle, is a perfect maſtery in the language we write in; this is not ſo eaſily attained as is commonly imagined, and depends upon a competent knowledge of the force and propriety of words, a good natural taſte of ſtrength and delicacy, and all the beauties of expreſſion. It is my own opinion, that all the rules and critical obſervations in the world will never bring a man to a juſt ſtyle, who has not of himſelf a natural eaſy way of writing; but they will improve a good genius, where nature leads the way, provided he is not too ſcrupulous, and does not make himſelf a ſlave to his rules; for that will introduce a ſtiffneſs and affectation, which are utterly abhorrent from all good writing.

By a perfect maſtery in any language, I underſtand not only a ready command of words, upon every occaſion, not only the force and propriety of words as to their ſenſe and ſignification, but more eſpecially the purity and idiom of the language; for in this a perfect maſtery conſiſts. It is to know what is Engliſh, and what is Latin, what is French, Spaniſh, or Italian, to be able to mark the bounds of each language we write in, to point out the diſtinguiſhing characters, and the peculiar phraſes of each tongue; what expreſſions or manner of expreſſion is common to any language beſides our own, and what is properly and peculiarly one phraſe, and way of ſpeaking. For this is to ſpeak or write Engliſh in purity and perfection, to let the ſtreams run clear and unmixed, without taking in other languages in the courſe: in Engliſh, therefore, I would have all Galliciſms (for inſtance) avoided, that our tongue may be ſincere, that we may keep to our own language, and not follow the French mode in our ſpeech, as we do in our clothes. It is convenient and profitable ſometimes to import a foreign word, and naturalize the phraſe of another nation, but this is very ſparingly to be allowed; and every ſyllable of foreign growth ought immediately to be diſcarded, if its uſe and ornament to our language be not very evident.

Languages, like our bodies, are in a perpetual flux, and ſtand in need of recruits to ſupply the place of thoſe words that are continually falling off through diſuſe: and ſince it is ſo, I think it is better to raiſe them at home than abroad. We had better rely on our own troops than foreign forces, and I believe we have ſufficient ſtrength and numbers within ourſelves: there is a vaſt treaſure, an inexhauſtible fund in the old Engliſh, from whence authors may draw conſtant ſupplies, as our officers make their ſureſt recruits from the coal-works and the mines. The weight, the ſtrength, and ſignificancy of many antiquated words, ſhould recommend them to uſe again. It is only wiping off the ruſt they have contracted, and ſeparating them from the droſs they lie mingled with, and both in value and beauty they will riſe above the ſtandard, rather than fall below it.

Perhaps our tongue is not ſo muſical to the ear, nor ſo abundant in multiplicity of words; but its ſtrength is real, and its words are therefore the more expreſſive: the peculiar character of our language is, that it is cloſe, compact, and full; and our writings (if you will excuſe two Latin words) come neareſt to what Tully means by his *Preſſa Oratio*. They are all weight and ſubſtance, good meaſure preſſed together, and running over in a redundancy of ſenſe, and not of words. And therefore the purity of our language conſiſts in preſerving this character, in writing with the Engliſh ſtrength and ſpirit: let us not envy others, that they are more ſoft, and diffuſe, and rarefied; be it our commendation to write as we pay, in true ſterling; if we want ſupplies, we had better revive old words, than create new ones. I look upon our langage as good bullion, if we do not debaſe it with too much alloy; and let me leave this cenſure with you, That he who corrupteth the purity of the Engliſh tongue with the moſt ſpecious foreign words and phraſes, is juſt as wiſe as thoſe modiſh ladies that change their plate for china; for which I think the laudable traffic of old clothes is much the faireſt barter.

After this regard to the purity of our language, the next quality of a juſt ſtyle, is its plainneſs and perſpicuity. This is the greateſt commendation we can give an author, and the beſt argument that he is maſter of the language he writes in, and the ſubject he writes upon, when we underſtand him, and ſee into the ſcope and tendency of his thoughts, as we read him. All obſcurity of expreſſion, and darkneſs of ſenſe, do ariſe from the confuſion of the writer's thoughts, and his want of proper words. If a man hath not a clear perception of the matters he undertakes to treat of, be his ſtyle never ſo plain as to the words he uſes, it never can be clear; and if his thoughts upon this ſubject be never ſo juſt and diſtinct, unleſs he has a ready command of words, and a faculty of eaſy writing in plain obvious expreſſions, the words will perplex the ſenſe, and cloud the clearneſs of his thoughts.

It is the unhappineſs of ſome, that they are not able to expreſs themſelves clearly: their heads are crowded with a multiplicity of undigeſted knowledge, which lies confuſed in the brain, without any order or diſtinction. It is the vice of others, to affect obſcurity in their thoughts and language, to write in a difficult crabbed ſtyle, and perplex the reader with an intricate meaning in more intricate words.

The common way of offending againſt plainneſs and perſpicuity of ſtyle, is an affectation of hard unuſual words, and of cloſe contracted periods: the faults of pedants and ſententious writers, that are vainly oſtentatious of their learning, or their wiſdom. Hard words and quaint expreſſions are abominable: wherever you meet ſuch a writer, throw him aſide for a coxcomb. Some authors of reputation have uſed a ſhort and conciſe way of expreſſion, I muſt own; and if they are not ſo clear as others, the fault is to be laid on the brevity they labour after; for while we ſtudy to be conciſe, we can hardly avoid being obſcure. We crowd our thoughts into too ſmall a compaſs, and are ſo ſparing of our words, that we will not afford enough to expreſs our meaning.

*(To be concluded in our next.)*

## *The* LIFE *and singular* PROJECTS *of the celebrated* JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL *of the* FINANCES *in* FRANCE.

(*Concluded.—See our last—page* 249.)

MR. LAW was named director-general of the royal bank at Paris, and branches of it were established at Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens. It is not a little remarkable, that the credit of the royal notes became equally respectable as that of the general bank, notwithstanding the *livres* of the former contained a fixed and positive value, and the latter, in consequence of a new regulation, by which the amount was to be paid in *silver coin*, could at any time have been greatly diminished in their value. In February, 1720, this bank was incorporated with the company of the Indies, and on the 29th of May following, there were no less than 2,236,083,500 livres of paper money in circulation, for which this incorporated body was responsible.

It is here necessary to observe, that soon after the establishment and success of the general bank, Mr. Law began to develope his grand and stupendous project, so universally known under the name of the Mississippi scheme; a project, which, if carried into full execution, would, in all probability, have exalted France to a vast superiority of power and wealth over every other state. The scheme was no less than the vesting the whole privileges, effects, and possessions, of all the foreign trading companies, the great farms, the profits of the mint, the general receipt of the king's revenue, and the management and property of the bank, in one great company, who thus having in their hands all the trade, taxes, and royal revenues, might be enabled to multiply the notes of the bank to any extent they pleased, doubling, or even trebling, at will, the circulating cash of the kingdom; and, by the greatness of their funds, possessed of a power to carry the foreign trade and the culture of the colonies, to a height altogether impracticable by any other means.

The outlines of this *monstrous and impracticable monopoly*, were approved of by the regent, who issued letters-patent for erecting "The Company of the West," to which he granted, at the same time, the whole province of Louisiana, or the country on the river Mississippi.

That part of America having been represented as a region abounding in gold and silver, and possessing a fertile and luxuriant soil, the *actions* or shares were bought up with great avidity, and such was the rage for speculation, that the unimproved parts of the colony were actually sold for 30,000 livres the square league.

The company of the west, of which Law was of course director-general, in pursuance of his scheme, undertook the farm of tobacco, at an advancement of upwards of two millions of livres; they soon after engrossed the charter and effects of the Senegal company, and in May 1719, actually procured the grant of an exclusive trade to the East-Indies, China, and the South Seas, with all the possessions and effects of

the China and India companies, which were now dissolved, on the condition of liquidating their debts. The price of *actions* now rose from 550 to 1000 livres each.

On the 25th of July, 1719, the mint was made over to the company of the west, which now assumed the name of *The Company of the Indies*, for a consideration of 50 millions of livres; and on the 27th of August following, they also obtained a lease of the farms, for which they agreed to pay 3,500,000 livres advanced rent.

Having thus concentered within themselves, not only the whole foreign trade and possessions of France, but the collection and management of the royal revenues, they promised an annual dividend of 200 livres per share, in consequence of which the price of *actions* rose to 5000 livres. As it appeared, by a specious statement, that their annual revenue exceeded 80,500,000 livres, and had every prospect of being improved by their foreign commerce, a rage for the purchase of their stock seems to have infatuated all ranks of people in the kingdom.

The frenzy prevailed so far, that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, statesmen and princes, nay, even ladies, who had or could procure money for that purpose, turned stock-jobbers, outbidding each other with such avidity, that, in November, 1719, after some fluctuations, the price of *actions* rose to above 10,000 livres; more than sixty times the sum they originally sold for.

Mr. Law had now arrived at an unexampled pitch of power and wealth; he possed the ear of the duke of Orleans; he was almost adored by the people, and was constantly surrounded by princes, dukes, and prelates, who courted his friendship, and even seemed ambitious of his patronage. Such was the immensity of his property, that he bought no less than fourteen estates with titles annexed to them, among which was the marquisite of Rosny, that had belonged to the great duke de Sully, the minister and friend of Henry IV. About this period too, a free pardon for the murder of Mr. Wilson was conveyed to him from England, while the capital of Scotland, proud of having produced so great a man, transmitted the freedom of the city in a gold box.

The only obstacle to his advancement to the highest offices in the state, being soon after removed, by his adjuration of the Protestant religion, in favour of the ritual of the church of Rome, he was declared comptroller-general of the finances, on the 18th of January, 1720. But after having raised himself to such an envied situation, he at length fell a sacrifice to the envy of the other ministers; who, playing upon the fears of the regent, induced him to issue an arret, on the 21st of May, 1720, which, contrary to sound policy, and even to the most solemn stipulations, reduced the value of the company's bank notes one half, and fixed their actions, or shares, at 5000 livres. By this fatal step, which seems evidently to have been taken in opposition to the opinion and advice of the comptroller-general, the whole paper fabric was destroyed, and this immense speculation turned out to be a mere *bubble!* The consternation of the populace was soon converted into rage; troops were obliged to be stationed in all parts of

the capital, to prevent mischief; and such was the depreciation of this boasted paper money, that 100 livres were given for a single *Louis-d'or.*

The fury of the mob, instead of being directed against the government, on account of the *arret*, which had been the occasion of all the mischief, was pointed entirely at the devoted head of the projector, who, perceiving the necessity of leaving France, asked an audience of the regent, to whom he is reported to have said, "Monseigneur, I have committed great faults I own; I did so because I am but a man, and all men are liable to err; but none of them proceeded from malice or knavery—you will find nothing of the kind in my conduct." Having retired, on the 10th of December, 1720, to a *villa* in the neighbourhood of Paris, by means of a passport from the duke of Orleans, the postchaise of madame St. Prie, and a detachment of the horse guards belonging to the duke of Bourbon, he, with some difficulty, escaped to Brussels. His brother was soon after sent to the bastile, and all his own immense property was seized upon, and confiscated by government.—Thus the ex-comptroller-general, from the splendid sphere in which he lately moved, was reduced to a comparatively indigent situation, having little else to support him, but the salary of his office, which he still retained, through the friendship of the duke of Orleans.

After waiting for some time in the capital of the Austrian low countries, in expectation of being recalled to France, he repaired to Rome, in which city he paid his respects to the personage, commonly known by the name of the Old Pretender. From thence he proceeded to Venice, and after having travelled through Germany, arrived at Copenhagen, where, in consequence of an invitation from the British ministry, he embarked on board the Baltic squadron, commanded by sir John Norris, and arrived a passenger in the admiral's own ship, on the 20th of October, 1721. On his landing, he instantly repaired to the capital, and was presented to George I. He afterwards hired a house in Conduit-street, Hanover-square, where he was daily visited by people of the first quality and distinction.

His arrival having occasioned a considerable degree of jealousy among the whig party, the earl Coningsby, after representing to the house of peers the danger arising from the residence of a person in England, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring country; who had renounced his allegiance to his natural sovereign, had openly countenanced the pretender's friends, and, what was worst of all, "had renounced his God by turning Roman Catholic;" moved the house to enquire, whether sir John Norris had received any orders to bring Mr. Law over.

This business, however, was suffered to drop, and on the 28th of November following, Mr. Law appeared at the bar of the king's bench, accompanied by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Hay, and several others of his friends, and pleaded his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, Esq. in 1694.

In 1722, Mr. Law repaired once more to the continent, and concluded the chequered course of his life at Venice, in March 1729, in the 58th year of his age.

## Life of Madame du Chatelet.

Gabriella-Emilia Tonelier-de-Breteuil, marchioness du Chatelet, was descended from a very ancient family of Picardy, established at Paris for above three hundred years. She was the daughter of the baron de Breteuil, introducer of foreign princes and ambassadors at court, and was born on the 17th of December, 1706. At a very early age, she displayed great strength of genius, and vivacity of imagination. She shewed a peculiar fondness for the belles lettres, and devoted great part of the early period of her life to the study of the ancients. Virgil, above all, was her favourite author. She had a wonderful attachment to the Æneid, and even began a translation of it; but, unluckily, that work was never brought to a conclusion. She was, likewise, remarkably fond of perusing the works of the best French poets; and could repeat the most beautiful and striking passages of them. She applied also to foreign languages; and, in a little time, made herself so far acquainted with the English and Italian, as to be able to read Milton and Tasso with ease.

Madame du Chatelet, however, did not confine herself to the study of the belles lettres. Metaphysics and mathematics were objects also of her pursuit; and Leibnitz, a philosopher equally profound and ingenious, was the guide whom she chose to direct her in this new path. By close application, she was soon enabled to write an explanation of that celebrated German's philosophy, under the title of 'institutions of Physics,' which she composed principally for the use of the count du Chatelet-Lomont, her son. If this work is entitled to praise, on account of the order and perspicuity observed in it, the preliminary discourse, which Voltaire justly calls a master-piece of eloquence and reasoning, is undoubtedly highly interesting. In this discourse, which is addressed by the marchioness to her son, she first shews, that one of the most sacred duties of men is, to pay the strictest attention to the education of their children; after which, she requests that he would take advantage of the dawn of reason, and endeavour to preserve himself from that ignorance which is so common among persons of his rank.—"You must accustom your mind early," says she, "to think, and to find resources in itself; you will be sensible, throughout life, what comfort and consolation arises from study; and you will even see that it can afford pleasure and delight." She then advises him to apply principally to natural philosophy; gives an account of the plan she proposes to follow in her lessons; and traces out, in a few words, how much that science has been indebted to those philosophers who have appeared since Descartes. In explaining the system of the latter, and that of Newton, she relates the violent disputes they created, and exhorts him, at the same time, to guard against party spirit, which always impedes the discovery of truth. "It is assuredly very unreasonable," continues she, "to make a kind of national affair of the opinions of Newton and Descartes. When a book of philosophy is in question, we ought to ask if it be good; and not whether the author is an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German." She exhorts her son, also, not to carry his respect for great men to an excess, bordering on idolatry.

Madame du Chatelet had too much judgment, and was too ardent in the purſuit of truth, to dwell long on the chimeras of metaphyſics; ſhe readily quitted, therefore, the imaginations of Leibnitz, in order to give herſelf up to the clear and perſpicuous doctrine of Newton. Having, by cloſe application, gained a complete knowledge of that eminent philoſopher's principles, ſhe undertook the arduous taſk of making a tranſlation of them from the original Latin into French, which ſhe publiſhed, with an admirable commentary, and by this enterprize rendered an eſſential ſervice to ſcience.

This commentary, which is far ſuperior to the tranſlation, is compoſed of two parts, and is preceded by a ſhort hiſtory of aſtronomy, from Pythagoras to the preſent time. The firſt part contains an explanation of the moſt remarkable phenomena of our ſyſtem, and the ſecond an analytical ſolution of the principal problems which relate to it. When we reflect on the dryneſs of the ſubject, and the little analogy it has with the delicacy and vivacity of the fair ſex, we cannot help admiring the abilities of the authoreſs, and calling to mind the following lines, which Voltaire addreſſes to her, in his epiſtle on Newton's philoſophy.

Comment avez-vous pu dans un age encore tendre,
Malgre les vains plaiſirs, ces ecueils des beaux jours
Prendre un vol ſi hardi, ſuivre un ſi vaſte cours,
Marcher après Newton, dans cette route obſcure,
Du labyrinthe immenſe où ſe perd la nature?

Spite of thoſe pleaſures which too oft engage
The youthful mind, unguarded yet by age,
How could you ſoar, and, with ſo vaſt a flight,
Great Newton follow, and yet follow right,
In that dark courſe, hid from the light of day,
Where nature's ſelf is forc'd to go aſtray?

Madame du Chatelet's manners were no leſs eſtimable than her talents. Though formed, by her figure, her rank, and her knowledge, to be diſtinguiſhed from the greater part of thoſe among whom ſhe lived, ſhe ſeemed never to be ſenſible of thoſe advantages which ſhe enjoyed. She was fond of glory, but without oſtentation. "No female," ſays Voltaire, "ever poſſeſſed ſo much knowledge; and yet no one ever ſhewed her learning leſs. She ſpoke on ſcientific ſubjects to thoſe only whom ſhe thought ſhe could inſtruct, and never with any view to call forth applauſe." This portrait muſt undoubtedly exhibit a juſt likeneſs of Madame du Chatelet; for no one had a better opportunity of knowing her character, than the perſon by whom it was delineated. Every one, almoſt, is acquainted with the cloſe intimacy which ſubſiſted between this celebrated lady and Voltaire, for nearly twenty years. The taſte which they each had for philoſophy and the belles lettres, ſerved to render this connexion extremely agreeable, eſpecially to the latter, who ſeems to have derived no ſmall benefit from it. Without the advice of his illuſtrious friend, many of his pieces, perhaps, would not have contained ſuch a number of beau-

ties. On every thing he wrote, madame du Chatelet was conſulted, and her criticiſms were always ſo proper, that her counſel was generally followed.

A woman, who has no other merit than that of being learned, is certainly wanting in her duty to ſociety. No reproach, however, can be thrown out againſt madame du Chatelet, on this head. Her fondneſs for ſtudy never made her forget what ſhe owed to her family; ſhe took upon herſelf the care of the education of her ſon, whom ſhe inſtructed in geometry; and ſhe did not think it below her, to enter into all thoſe details which are required in the management of a houſe. Inſtead of delighting in ſlander, or ridicule, ſhe often became the advocate of thoſe who, in her preſence, were made the objects of either. She poſſeſſed ſo much greatneſs of ſoul, that, though ſhe perfectly knew that ſhe was expoſed to the ſhafts of malice, ſhe never ſhewed the ſmalleſt deſire of being revenged on her enemies. A pitiful pamphlet, in which one of thoſe authors, who delight in blackening reputations, had made very free with hers, being put into her hands, ſhe ſaid, "that if the author had loſt his time in writing ſuch uſeleſs ſtuff, ſhe would not loſe hers in reading it;" and next morning ſhe exerted herſelf to liberate him from priſon, even without his knowledge.

All that madame du Chatelet can be blamed for is, that ſhe took too little care of her health, and ſacrificed it to her glory. Long before her death, ſhe foreſaw the fatal ſtroke which at length carried her off. Being then apprehenſive that ſufficient time would not be left her, to finiſh the commentary ſhe had begun on Newton's Principia, ſhe devoted almoſt every moment to it; and thus haſtened her diſſolution.

She died at Lunneville, in the year 1749, aged 43, ſome time after ſhe had been delivered of a child. She was a member of ſeveral foreign academies.

## ADMIRAL POCOCKE'S RECEIPT *for* PICKLING BEEF, PORK, MUTTON, *&c. and keeping the* MEAT *good and ſweet.*

TAKE four gallons of good water, to which add one pound and a half of Muſcovado ſugar, two ounces of ſalt-petre, and ſix pounds of Bay, or common great ſalt; put the whole into a clean pot or kettle, and let it boil, being careful to take all the ſkum off as it comes up; when no more ſkum riſes, take the liquor off, and let it ſtand till it is cold; then, having put the meat you want to preſerve into the veſſel you intend to keep it in, pour the liquor over the meat, till it be quite covered, in which condition it muſt be kept. Beef, preſerved in this manner, has been taken out of the pickle after lying in it ten weeks, and been found as good as if not ſalted more than three days, and, at the ſame time, tender as a chick.

If you intend to preſerve your meat for a conſiderable length of time, it will be neceſſary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over

again, ſkimming off all that riſes, and throwing in, during the boiling, two ounces of ſugar, and half a pound of common ſmall ſalt. Thus, the ſame pickle will hold good for twelve months.

This pickle is incomparable to cure hams, neat-tongues, or beef which you intend to dry, or make what is called hung-beef; obſerving, when you take them out of the pickle, firſt to clean and dry them, then put them in paper bags, and hang them up in a dry, warm place.

N. B. Some who have tried the above receipt, and chooſe their meat ſalter than it will effect, inſtead of ſix pounds, take eight or nine pounds of ſalt.

In the hotteſt weather, it has been found neceſſary, before the meat is put into the pickle, to rub it well over with ſalt, and let it lie, from one hour to three or four hours, until all the blood run from it. If the meat is the leaſt tainted before it is put into the pickle, it will be entirely ſpoiled, in a day's time, in hot weather.

*Weſt's Regiſter.*

## *An* ADMONITION *to thoſe who glory in* SEDUCING *the* AFFECTIONS *of the* FAIR, *and then* DESERTING *them.*

NO man ought certainly to make profeſſions to a lady, till he is fully convinced her perſon, her temper, and her fortune, are perfectly agreeable to his circumſtances, and way of thinking; for without ſuch previous knowledge, he undertakes at random the moſt important affair of life; and then no wonder if he involves himſelf in difficulties and uneaſineſs.

Love, whatſoever ſome may think of it, is not a paſſion to be ſported with; nor is the affection of a lady to be attempted, till a man is aſſured his own is fixed on a laſting principle. All imaginable caution is neceſſary and adviſeable beforehand: but after his profeſſions of regard, his ſervices, and ſolicitations, have won the heart, and made him dear to her; reaſon, honour, juſtice, all oblige him to make good his engagement, and to be careful of her peace. Then there is no retreating; nor can any thing but her loſs of virtue juſtify his leaving her. And whether he has promiſed her marriage, or not, makes very little difference; for, ſurely, if he has courted her affections, and gained them, upon the reaſonable ſuppoſition that he intended making her his wife, the contract is, in the ſight of heaven, of equal force. He who baſely impoſes on the honeſt heart of an unſuſpecting girl, and, after winning her affections and eſteem by the ſoft and prevailing rhetoric of courtſhip, can ungenerouſly leave her to ſorrow and complaining, is more deteſtable than a common robber, in the ſame proportion as private treachery is more villanous than open force, and money of leſs concern than happineſs.

## *Of the* REFINEMENTS *of* TASTE *and* ELEGANCE.

Mr. EDITOR,

IT is of the greatest importance, in the conduct of life, to set a just value on things, and to give them only that share of attention that is due to them. To be too solicitous about trifles is affectation; to be inattentive to what our interest or happiness is nearly concerned in, is no less than shameful negligence. There are many things which are not to be regarded as either the *least* or the *most* important, and we ought to examine into their nature and their use, in order to know the measure of esteem they deserve. Of this kind are the refinements of taste and elegance.

If it be asked, what we mean by elegance? We may say, it is distinguished from beauty, as the *species* from the *genus*. Elegance is a kind of beauty. It is different from grandeur, as this regards the magnitude of an object, whereas elegance regards the texture and disposition of its parts. It is not the same with propriety; a thing is proper with regard to some use or end, but it is elegant in relation to the feelings of the mind. In short, it is one of those things which we clearly experience, though it is not easy to give a logical definition of them: every one has a notion of it, in proportion to the delicacy of his taste, and a thousand definitions and descriptions will not make him know a whit more of it.

Many and various are the advantages of elegance. It promotes the happiness of society, as it comprehends that polish of manners, that humanity of behaviour, which render the intercourse of mankind easy and agreeable. What sallies of passion, what insults, cruelty and blood-shed, are prevented by that deference which politeness obliges us to shew towards those we converse with! Besides, the pleasures of taste are an innocent gratification to those who have time and leisure for them. They are a valuable present from nature, to beguile the tedium of life, and to reconcile us to the hardships and severities of our lot. Though the man of taste, with a more susceptible heart than others, has commonly a larger share of grief and uneasiness, yet, amidst all the bitter draughts he takes of the cup of misery, he seldom misses to find relief in the elegant page of a classical author, or in the fairer page of Nature's works.

Again, elegance is favourable to the culture of arts and sciences. We must study these, as the means of attaining elegance; if we admire the one, we will, in course, cultivate the other: Besides, refinement of taste renders the communication of knowledge more easy, and places it in the most engaging light. What a very difficult appearance have the various branches of philosophy, as exhibited in the writings of the present times, from what they had in the dark ages, and even for more than a century after the revival of learning! Cleared, in some measure, from the obscurity and confusion of scholastic barbarism, the sciences now shine forth in their native beauty, and the agreeable simplicity of their dress increases the number of their admirers.

In fine, it has a happy influence on the morals of mankind. As there is a remarkable analogy between the graceful and becoming in the fine arts, and the beauty of moral conduct; so a just relish of the one, *may* have a tendency to bring us in love with the other. He that can bear nothing in a poem or picture, but what is decent or beautiful, will readily be disgusted at an irregularity of manners.

It must be owned, however, when a people are near the extremes of refinement, then a taste of elegance is apt to degenerate into luxury and dissipation; rich materials and expensive pleasures become the sole objects of attention—trifling away time, and the other gifts of Providence, in a manner unworthy reasonable creatures, is then the celebrated *scavoir vivre*. No sooner had the ancient Romans brought to perfection the arts that soften and adorn human life—or rather transplanted them all of a sudden from Greece, the native country of the muses and the graces, than they sunk into effeminacy, and soon lost their antient simplicity, their liberty, their virtue.

That we may taste the charms of elegance, without running into an excess of refinement, we should, in the first place, take care not to lose sight of simplicity; we must never think of adding to the beauty of nature; all we can do is but to imitate it, or set it in an advantageous light. It is true, objects often excite a more lively and agreeable emotion in the mind, as exhibited in painting and poetry, than as we see them in the common field of nature; the reason is, that it is the excellence of these elegant arts to select and arrange objects, so as to give them the additional charms arising from contrast or resemblance: but all other embellishment, all colouring that has a tendency to disguise the object, ought carefully to be avoided. Simplicity is the native dress of truth; and a sincere love of the latter is seldom without a taste for the former. A glare of tinsel ornament not only deprives us of the genuine beauties of nature, but hinders us from having clear and distinct views of things. Simplicity is modest, and therefore wins upon our affections; she disregards herself; if she recommend an object to our attention, she takes no share in the praise; she says it is good, it is useful, it is honourable, without assuming any airs of self-importance. Amiable pattern of humility! she does all she can, and yet *would* seem to do nothing. Why are we so taken with the story of Le Fevre, in Tristram Shandy? Were it told in the language of the Rambler, instead of the language of nature and simplicity, it would immediately lose its effect.

In the second place, we should never separate elegance from utility, nor admit any thing as a beauty, which does not answer some valuable purpose. One may go on, adding one superfluous ornament to another without end, and without ever coming, in the least degree, nigher perfection; for, having passed the point of utility, there is no other to stop at; all beyond is undistinguishable confusion, where the understanding is bewildered. The human mind, in all its pursuits, would have some end, some fixed point to aim at; without this, it may be sated, or overwhelmed, with variety of dissipating pleasures, but must be a stranger to solid satisfying enjoyment. Hence the superfluity of ornaments in Gothic architecture serves only to perplex and confound the attention; hence too, the profusion of epithets, meta-

phors, and pointed ſimilies in Cowley, and the other poetical writers of the luxurious reign of Charles II. will always cloy a reader of good taſte: In fine, hence it is the moſt ſolid and laſting pleaſure, to find what is of real uſe, placed in ſuch a point of view, as to diſplay a ſtriking elegance.

The beauty of ornament is relative; and, therefore, whenever we find it introduced purely for its own ſake, or whenever it engages the attention more to itſelf than to the ſubject, we may be ſure it is in a falſe taſte.

After all, elegance is but of ſecondary conſideration; uſefulneſs is of the firſt. It would be a poor compliment to an architect, that he had built a fine houſe—but convenience had been ſo little attended to in the plan, that no one could live comfortably in it. Nor is the ſpeaker more worthy of commendation, who endeavours leſs to enlighten the underſtanding, or touch the hearts of his audience, than to raiſe their admiration with glittering thoughts, flaſhes of wit, and all the pomp and glare of language. On the other hand, a convenient houſe, and a diſcourſe that is ſuitable to the purpoſe, will always have their value, however deſtitute of decoration. The truth is, it is a pitiable weakneſs to be ſo fond of elegant appearance, ſo caught with outward form, as to overlook real worth, becauſe it happens to lie under ſome exterior diſadvantages.

Yours, &c. PHILOCLES.

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*A* LETTER *from a* LADY *to her* NIECE, *on her expreſſing great uneaſineſs at the* LOSS *of her* BEAUTY *by the* SMALL-POX.

MY DEAR MARIA,

WE muſt diſtinguiſh thoſe evils which are impoſed by Providence, from thoſe to which we ourſelves give the power of hurting us. A ſmall part of *your* calamity is the infliction of heaven; the reſt is little more than the fretting of idle diſcontent. You have, indeed, loſt that which may ſometimes contribute to happineſs, but to which happineſs is by no means inſeparably annexed. You have loſt what the greater number of the human race never have poſſeſſed; what thoſe on whom it is beſtowed, for the moſt part, poſſeſſed in vain; and what you, while it was yours, knew not how to uſe. You have only loſt early, what the laws of Nature forbid you to keep long; and have loſt it while your mind is yet flexible, and while you have time to ſubſtitute more valuable and durable excellencies. Conſider yourſelf, Maria, as a being born to know, to reaſon, and to act: riſe at once from your dream of melancholy to wiſdom, and to piety: you will find that there are other charms than thoſe of beauty, and other joys than the praiſe of fools.

I am your affectionate aunt, A. V—.

## *Some particulars relative to the* Soil, Productions, *and* Commerce *of* Kentucky, *&c. with obſervations on the* vast Inland Navigation *of* America.

[*Extracted from a letter, written by Mr. Imlay, of Kentucky; formerly of New-Jerſey.*]

THE ſoil of Kentucky is uncommonly favourable to hemp, and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 buſhels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommonly fertile ſpot; but there are larger bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe, that, were I to mention, upon an average, the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hemp, per acre, | 8 cwt. |
| Indian-corn, or maize, ditto, | 60 buſhels. |
| Wheat, ditto, | 30 ditto. |
| Barley, ditto, | 40 ditto. |
| Oats, ditto, | 50 ditto. |
| Clover and Timothy graſs, ditto, | 25 cwt. |

Beſides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with conſiderable ſucceſs, particularly in the ſouthern parts of the ſtate, and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our ſettlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. No ſoil or climate can be more congenial to this plant, than the regions of the lowermoſt parts of the Miſſiſippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of ſilk alſo. The mildneſs of the climate, and the great quantity of the mulberry-trees, which are every where interſperſed in our foreſts, render this matter extremely eaſy; but how far this will be politic, when the uſe of ſilk is going out of faſhion, is a matter that requires ſome conſideration. Cotton has ſupplied its place, and its ſuperior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the ſame as thoſe of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps ſomething better; but the climate being conſiderably warmer, it is not ſo favourable to wheat and barley, nor does graſs grow there ſo luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland ſoon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps theſe articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Miſſiſippi, with as much ſucceſs, if not more, than they ever were in South-Carolina or Georgia; particularly the former, as the ſoil on the Miſſiſippi, is infinitely more luxuriant, than any whatever in the Carolinas. Some eſſays were made in this buſineſs, previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned, on the deſtruction of the ſettlement below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and ſome diſtance above, to conſiderable perfection. There are a variety of nuts, which grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, ſome of which

are common to both; the moſt remarkable of which is the pacane; but as they have all been noticed, both by Carver and Jefferſon, I ſhall refer you to them, for their particular deſcriptions and properties. Grapes, plumbs, gooſe-berries, and ſtrawberries, grow alſo ſpontaneouſly in the ſouthern parts of Kentucky, and in moſt parts of Cumberland.

To comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is firſt neceſſary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not deſirable; with a ſoil ſo prolific, a navigation ſo extenſive, and a ſecurity ſo permanent, from being inland, that it ſeems this vaſt extent of empire is only to be equalled, for its ſublimity, by the object of its aggrandizement.

Proviſions, tobacco, and raw materials will conſtitute the firſt articles of our trade. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheeſe, &c. &c. might be furniſhed from this country, as will, one day, no doubt, ſupply the Weſt-India iſlands, and afford relief to the miſerable Chineſe, whoſe ſcanty portion of rice is only ſufficient to keep ſoul and body together. Our mountainous countries muſt always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the graſs, in the ſummer, affording ſufficient food to fatten them, without the expenſe of cultivating meadows, and the winters are ſeldom ſo ſevere as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The diſtance from one place to another has been computed, with ſome degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made, confirm the opinion, that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of deſcending the ſtream, is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that about fifty or ſixty tons burthen, would be the moſt convenient, wieldy, and conſequently ſafe, particularly when the waters are very high; for, in ſuch caſes, the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy maſs with facility. Theſe boats are built of oak-plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as twelve feet to forty; which will be a boat of nearly forty tons. They are covered, or not, as occaſion may require. The object is, to build them as cheap as poſſible; for their unwieldineſs prevents the poſſibility of their returning, and they can only be ſold as plank.

Several of theſe boats ſet out together, let us ſuppoſe 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each ſix hands to navigate them. The boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the ſtream three boats of five tons each, and which would be more than ſufficient to bring back the cargo which the produce of the ten boats would purchaſe; as the articles we export are groſs and bulky, while we want only, in return, ſuperfine goods; the coarſer goods, of every ſort, will always be manufactured in the country. We alſo make our own ſalt, ſugar, ſpirits, malt-liquor, and ſhall ſoon make our own wine. Theſe boats muſt be worked up with ſteam and ſails.

The invention of carrying a boat againſt the ſtream by the influence of ſteam is a late improvement in philoſophy, by Mr. Rumſay, of Virginia, whoſe ingenuity has been rewarded by that ſtate with the excluſive privilege of navigating theſe boats in her rivers for ten years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of ſeparation guarantees his right. Some circumſtance or other has prevented his bringing them into uſe. If this principle ſhould fail, I flatter myſelf that philoſophy is capable of ſupplying the place, in the appropriation of ſome one of the ſecrets with which mechanics abound. But ſhould we ſtill be obliged to row our boats againſt the ſtream, it is not only practicable, but eaſy.

The frequent turnings in the Miſſiſippi produce in every bend, eddy water, which, with the advantage the wind affords, (blowing, the greater part of the year, from the ſouth-weſt, and directly up the windings of the river, which, by reaſon of the vacancy between the banks and riſing foreſts on either ſide, afford a channel for the current of the air) is ſufficient, with ſails, keeping as much as poſſible in the eddy water, to carry a boat fifty miles a day up the ſtream.

To account for thoſe winds philoſophically, would be extremely eaſy; but, as it is a circumſtance notorious, from the teſtimony of voyagers in the Miſſiſippi and Ohio, I preſume the teſt of experience will be preferred to any philoſophical diſquiſition upon the ſubject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulph of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a ſhort paſſage to a branch of the Teneſee, when you will have the advantage of the ſtream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumſtance merely for the ſake of information, for I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The diſtance from Pittſburgh to the Muſkingum, is 173 miles; to the Little Kanhaway, 178; to the Great Kanhaway, 285; to Great Sandy, 342; to the Sciota, 390; to the Limeſtone, 500; to the Little Miami, 510; to Licking-creek, 524; to the Great Miami, 550; to the Great-bone creek, 582; to the Kentucky, 626; to the Rapiers, 703; to Salt river, 723; to Green river, 922; to the Wabaſh, 1019; to Cumberland river, 1113; to the Teneſee, 1126; to the Miſſiſippi, 1183; from thence to New-Orleans, is about 1200 miles.

It is about 230 miles from the mouth of the Ohio up the Miſſiſippi to the mouth of the Miſſouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its ſource. From thence there is a portage only of two miles to Chickago, which is alſo navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michegan, which is a diſtance of ſixteen miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence, through Lake Erie, paſſing Niagara by a portage of eight miles. The lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for veſſels drawing ſix and ſeven feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities, between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire, will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourſe, it will be found extremely eaſy to paſs through lake Ontario to Wood-creek, up Wood-creek, and by a portage of about three miles you arrive at a creek, which in three miles more brings you to Fort-Edward, upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudſon's river. There are ſeveral carrying places between that and its junction with Hudſon; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the ſtate of New-York will be judicious enough to ſet early about it. It is certain that they have ordered ſurveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of thoſe obſtructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impoſſible a plan of ſo much utility could eſcape that ſage and penetrating politician, general Schuyler, whoſe vaſt eſtate lies moſtly in that part of America.

There are alſo portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabaſh, Great Miami, Muſkingum, and Allegany, from two to ſixteen miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about twenty miles, when the obſtructions in the Monongahela and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the firſt object of the gentlemen of Virginia, when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obſtructions to the navigation of the Great Kanhaway are of ſuch magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that ſhould be done, there will be an eaſy communication between that and James river, and likewiſe with the Roanoke, which runs through North-Carolina. But this is an event too remote, to deſerve any conſideration at preſent.

All the rivers in this country, of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable, almoſt to their ſources, for flat-bottomed boats, during their floods, and for batteaux, the greater part of the year, the great Kanhaway and Little Miami excepted. The Tenaſee has a conſiderable fall, where it paſſes through Cumberland mountain, where there muſt be a portage alſo. From thence it is navigable quite to Holſton.

The rapids of Ohio are no obſtruction, in high water, to boats going down the river; and, indeed, batteaux may paſs almoſt at any time. There are two ſmall rapids in the Wabaſh, between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaſkaſkia is a ſmall river, which runs into the Miſſiſippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a conſiderable way above the plains; the Miſſiſippi is navigable to St. Anthony's falls, without any obſtruction. Carver deſcribes it as navigable above them, as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Miſſouri, to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is, however, certain, that it is a more powerful ſtream than the Miſſiſippi; and, in entering that river, it triumphantly ruſhes acroſs, and its turbid waters, unmixed, ſeem to diſdain a connection with the clearer current of the other. An eaſy communication again opens, by land, from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudſon's bay, into the Arctic regions—and from the ſources of the Miſſouri into the Great South-Sea. Thus, in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reaſon and humanity, we ſeem

calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world.

Before I finiſh this letter, I ſhall juſt enter into ſome of the minutiæ of the diſtance and time of deſcending down the Ohio, which will ſerve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferſon has ſtated that "the inundations of the Ohio begin about the laſt of March, and ſubſide in July."

Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio; and it is an uncommon ſeaſon, when one of thoſe floods does not happen before Chriſtmas. If there is much froſty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over, (which is not very common,) there is always water ſufficient for boats of any ſize from November until May; when the waters generally begin to ſubſide; and by the middle of June, in moſt ſeaſons, they are too low for boats above forty tons, and theſe muſt be flat-bottomed. The froſt ſeldom continues ſo long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking the river is flooded: this flood may, in a degree, ſubſide, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The diſtance of deſcending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average diſtance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from ſixty to one hundred are the extremes; ſo that the mean time of going, in a flat-bottomed boat, from Pittſburgh to the rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New-Orleans; which will make a paſſage from Pittſburgh to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Miſſiſippi commence ſomething later than thoſe of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and ſubſide in July. This is the moſt proper time to aſcend the river; as you avoid the ſhoals, and have finer weather; but, above all, when the water is high, you have ſtronger eddies; and with taking the advantages, and with dextrous watermen, you may proceed fifty miles a day, which will bring you back to the rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I ſhall take leave of you, for the preſent, with obſerving, that the ſmaller rivers have no ſtated period to govern their inundations, but are ſubject to be flooded by all heavy rains; which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of ſending their produce to the ſeveral markets, upon the large rivers.

## *On the* LAWS *of the different* AMERICAN STATES *for the* MANUMISSION *of* SLAVES.

[*From M. Briſſot de Warville's Travels in the United States.*]

SLAVERY, my friend, has never polluted every part of the united ſtates. There was never any law in New-Hampſhire, or Maſſachuſetts, which authoriſed it. When, therefore, thoſe ſtates proſcrib-

ed it, they only declared the law, as it existed before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic austerity which predominated in that colony, could scarcely reconcile itself with slavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of freemen; and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the slaves;—so that almost every one has freed them; and the children of such as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The case of the blacks in New-York is nearly the same; yet the slaves there are more numerous. It is because the basis of the population there is Dutch; that is to say, people less disposed than any other to part with their property. But liberty is assured there to all the children of the slaves, at a certain age.

The state of Rhode-Island formerly made a great business of the slave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New-Jersey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that same Dutch spirit which I have described. Yet the western parts of the state are disposed to free their negroes; but the eastern parts are opposed to it.

It is probable that their obstinacy will be overcome; at least, it is the opinion of the respectable Mr. Livingston, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution; he has declared this opinion, in a letter written to the society at Philadelphia. He has himself freed all his slaves, which are very numerous. He is one of the most ardent apostles of humanity; and, knowing the character of his countrymen, he reasons, temporises with their interest, and doubts not of being able to vanquish their prejudices. The quakers have been more fortunate in Pennsylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the society who should persist in keeping slaves. In 1780, at their request, seconded by a great number of persons from other sects, the general assembly abolished slavery for ever, forced the owners of slaves to cause them to be enregistered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired servants, assured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide against all the abuses that avarice could afterwards invent. It was eluded in many points. A foreign commerce of slaves was carried on by speculators; and some barbarous masters sold their blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others sent the negro children into neighboring states, that they might there be sold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennsylvania, when they should come of age: others sent their black pregnant women into another state, that the offspring might be slaves; and others stole free negroes, and carried them to the islands for sale. The society, shocked at these abuses, applied again to the assembly, who passed a new act, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be sent into a neighbouring state without his consent; confiscated all vessels and cargoes employed in the slave trade; condemned to the public works the stealers of negroes, &c.

Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefatigable zeal of the society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did not this respectable body go farther? Why did it not extend at least the hopes of freedom to those who were slaves at the time of the passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment, so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But this injustice cannot long sully the law of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice; by which these slaves shall be drawn from its hands.

Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a freeman? You either suppose him less true than the freeman, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted, and more wicked?—it is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Finally, why do you ordain that the master shall be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

No, my friend, we will not doubt but these stains will soon disappear from the code of Pennsylvania. Reason is too predominant to suffer them long to continue.

The little state of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by quakers—instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this state, famous for the wisdom of its

laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the state of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the blacks. Yet there are some negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operation of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world, and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants. They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear, that if the blacks become free, they will cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in a separate district, or send them out of the country. These are the objections which you will hear repeated every where against the idea of freeing them.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change, when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the slaves, in condemning them to a miserable nourishment, in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

## HISTORY *of the* AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(*Continued from our last—page* 256.)

1780. THE American army, under general Gates, suffered exceedingly, from a scarcity of provisions, in marching through the inhospitable wilds of North Carolina. Their provision consisted principally of a few lean cattle, picked up in the woods; with green corn and peaches, as substitutes for bread. For several days, they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on peaches alone. From the unhealthiness of the season and climate, and a want of wholesome provisions, the men became very sickly. The dysentery was a generally prevalent disease. Exhausted by fatigue, fasting,

and ſickneſs, their murmurs became audible; and a diſpoſition to mutiny appeared among them. But as there was no particular perſon to whom they attributed their misfortunes, or on whom they could wreak their vengeance; and as the officers, who ſhared every calamity, in common with the privates, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to encourage them under their ſufferings, they, at length, ceaſed to complain, and patiently ſubmitted to every hardſhip. They even became witty on the occaſion, and uſed *ſtarvation* as a cant-word, to ridicule their ſufferings. By thus burleſquing their misfortunes, their ſpirits were revived, ſo that what had lately been a cauſe of deſpondency and murmuring, was now a ſubject of mirth.

The army at length arrived at Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of Auguſt. General Gates had been joined, on his march, by the North-Carolina militia, under general Caſwell; and by colonel Porterfield, a brave, active, and judicious officer, at the head of about 100 Virginia ſoldiers. By his ſingular addreſs, he had found means not only to avoid the hapleſs fate of moſt of the corps which retreated, after the ſurrender of Charleſton, but to ſubſiſt his little party ſince that time, and remain on the border of South-Carolina, in defiance, as it were, of the enemy. On the 14th general Gates was reinforced by the arrival of general Stephens, with about ſeven hundred Virginia militia. On the ſame day, an expreſs arrived from col. Sumpter, with information that he had been joined by a number of South-Carolina militia, on the weſt ſide of the Wateree; and that an eſcort, with clothing, ammunition, and other valuable ſtores, for the garriſon at Camden, was then on its way from Charleſton, and muſt paſs the Wateree, at a ferry about a mile from Camden, under cover of a ſmall redoubt, occupied by the enemy, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. To enable col. Sumpter to reduce the redoubt, and intercept the convoy, he was immediately furniſhed with a detachment of between four and five hundred men, with two braſs field-pieces.

As general Gates approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon collected his whole force at Camden. The retreat of the Britiſh from their out-poſts, the appearance of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new ſubjects, concurred, at this juncture, to bring about a general revolt in favour of independence. Numbers broke through all ties, and joined their countrymen. Among theſe were ſeveral parties of militia, who had been embodied for the Britiſh ſervice.

Lord Cornwallis, upon hearing of the approach of Gates, haſtened from Charleſton to Camden, which he reached on the 14th of Auguſt, the day after the arrival of the American army at Clermont. The Britiſh force at Camden conſiſted of about two thouſand men, three hundred of whom were cavalry. Gates's army was augmented, by the arrival of the Virginia militia, to nearly four thouſand men; but of this number no more than nine hundred infantry and ſeventy cavalry were regular troops. With this force he reſolved to advance to the vicinity of Camden, and take an eligible poſition, that he might favour the execution of col. Sumpter's enterpriſe, and, at the ſame time, be in readineſs to make the moſt of any advantageous circum-

ſtances, that might favour a co-operation with that officer's detachment. He had reaſon to expect, that, by ſtraitening the enemy in their quarters, and cutting off their ſupplies, they would become an eaſy prey to his ſuperior force; unleſs, indeed, they ſhould take the timely precaution, to evacuate Camden and retreat to Charleſton, which appeared probable. He therefore gave orders, that the ſick, and all heavy baggage and ſtores, that were not immmediately wanted, ſhould be ſent, under a guard, to Waxhaws, and that the army ſhould move from its encampment, at ten o'clock, in the night of the 15th; which it accordingly did, in excellent order.

Although the inferiority of Cornwallis's force would have juſtified a retreat, he determined, after weighing all circumſtances, neither to retreat, nor wait to be attacked in a diſadvantageous poſition; but to march immediately, and attack the Americans at Clermont, where he was informed that they were encamped in a bad ſituation. He well knew that, by retreating to Charleſton, he muſt loſe his magazines, abandon thoſe who were his friends, or who had ſubmitted to Britiſh government, and give up to the Americans the whole of South-Carolina and Georgia, except the fortified poſts of Charleſton and Savannah. This appeared to be the worſt fortune that could befal him, in any event; and he placed ſuch confidence in the goodneſs of his troops, that, even in caſe of a defeat, he did not deſpair of effecting a tolerable retreat to Charleſton. Thus it is evident, that he had much to gain by a victory, and little to loſe by a defeat. It was remarkable, that both armies began their march preciſely at the ſame time.

Between two and three o'clock, in the morning of the 16th, the advance of both armies met, and a briſk firing enſued; but ſome of the American volunteer cavalry, who were wounded by the firſt diſcharge of the enemy, fell back ſo ſuddenly, that the whole line was thrown into confuſion. This untoward circumſtance tended not a little to diſcourage the militia, although the order of the army was ſoon reſtored. Both armies kept their ground, and continued to ſkirmiſh, occaſionally, during the remaining part of the night. The light-infantry, particularly thoſe commanded by col. Porterfield, behaved with great ſpirit, at the time the army was thrown into diſorder; but, unfortunately, that valuable officer, on whoſe conduct and abilities Gates placed great reliance, was badly wounded, early in the attack.

As ſoon as day appeared, a general engagement took place. At the firſt onſet, the greater part of the Virginia and North-Carolina militia, on being charged by the Britiſh infantry, ſhamefully threw down their arms, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Dixon's regiment of North-Carolina militia, however, which had formed a part of Gregory's brigade, kept the field, and acquitted themſelves with bravery, while they had a cartridge remaining. General Gregory himſelf received two bayonet wounds; and ſeveral of his men, who were made priſoners, were ſeverely wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, whoſe charges they withſtood with great firmneſs.

The continental troops, on finding themſelves deſerted by the militia, ſcorned to follow the ignominious example. Though now in-

ferior in number to the British, they bravely stood their ground, and maintained the unequal conflict, for almost an hour; during which a heavy firing was kept up on both sides, and intermixed with several sharp contests, at the point of the bayonet. For some time, the Americans had an evident advantage over their opponents. They had even taken a considerable number of prisoners. But, being overpowered by numbers, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, they were finally obliged to give way.

The victory of the British was complete. Every American corps was broken and dispersed; and the scattered troops were pursued upwards of twenty miles, by Tarleton's legion, who found the way covered with arms, baggage, waggons, and wounded men. The whole of the American artillery, and 2,000 stands of arms, with upwards of 200 waggons, and almost all their baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. The number of the slain was never precisely ascertained; no returns of the militia having been made, after the action. The British accounts state their own loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, to have been no more than 324; that of the Americans they conjecture to have been more than five times that number, but there is reason to believe that, by this estimate, the loss of the Americans is considerably over-rated.—Baron de Kalb, who was mortally wounded in the action, and taken prisoner, died next day. This brave officer, who was by birth a German, had acquired great military experience, by long service in the French army. Congress resolved, that a monument, bearing an honourable inscription, should be erected to his memory, at Annapolis. General Rutherford, of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner; and about forty commissioned officers, of the various inferior ranks, were killed, wounded, or taken. Of the comparative degree of resistance made by the different American corps, an estimate may be formed, from this fact; that, of two hundred and ninety wounded prisoners, who were carried into Camden, two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two were North-Carolina militia, and but two belonged to the Virginia militia. The British troops behaved with great bravery; but their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia, conduced materially to the completeness of their victory.

Col. Sumpter's enterprise fully succeeded. On the same evening that the two hostile armies marched from their respective quarters, he reduced the British redoubt on the Wateree, captured the guard, intercepted forty waggons loaded with stores, and took the escort, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, prisoners. When col. Sumpter heard of the defeat of the army under general Gates, he immediately retreated up the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. But, on the morning of the 17th, Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of light-infantry, pursued, with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprise the retreating Americans, on the following day, at Fishing-creek. Sumpter's men having had scarcely any sleep, for the last four days, and supposing themselves out of reach of immediate danger, had chiefly submitted to the calls of nature; even the centinels were so much overcome by fatigue and want of sleep, that they neglected their duty. In this defenceless situation they

were surprised by the enemy, at noon-day; whose cavalry rode in among them, and put numbers to the sword. The British prisoners, in number about three hundred, were all retaken; and Sumpter's whole detachment was killed, captured, or dispersed.

On the 17th and 18th of August, a small party of Gates's dispersed army rendezvoused at Charlotte, about eighty miles from Camden, where they began to think of making a stand. They expected to be joined by the country militia, and by Sumpter's detachment; but on hearing of that officer's defeat, self preservation dictated an immediate retreat to Salisbury. All thoughts of resistance being now at an end; and the approach of the victorious enemy continually apprehended, the distressed situation of the whig inhabitants, in those parts of the country through which the wretched remnant of the unfortunate army retreated, may be more easily conceived than described. To avoid the cruelty of the British army, many families fled from their property, and their homes, and followed the troops; while others, whose situation rendered flight impracticable, mourned over the misfortunes of their country, and anticipated the worst of treatment that an exasperated enemy could inflict. Public calamity gave rise to so much private distress, and every one was so much engrossed by his own share of sufferings, that the sick, the wounded, and the dying, were almost entirely neglected, and exhibited, along the road, from Charlotte to Salisbury, scenes painful to humanity. A few days after the arrival of the troops at Salisbury, they proceeded to Hillsborough. To this place general Gates had repaired, shortly after his defeat; and, in concert with the government of North-Carolina, was devising plans for enabling him again to take the field.

Lord Cornwallis was restrained, by the season, and the sickness which prevailed in his army, from pursuing his conquests; but, the country being now completely in his power, he determined, by the most severe treatment, to crush the spirits of all who were attached to independence. Violating the rights which are held sacred between hostile nations, he resolved to punish, as traitors and rebels, all the citizens of South-Carolina, who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards took part with their friends and countrymen. We have already described the unjustifiable measures which were taken, first to constrain the citizens to become subjects of Great-Britain, and afterwards to compel them to take up arms in support of royal government. That the appearance of submission, thus extorted, should subject them to the punishment usually inflicted on traitors and deserters, was hard; that lord Cornwallis should take advantage of such circumstances, to aggravate the horrors of war, by a deliberate effusion of human blood, must be considered, by the impartial world, as a cruel "policy"; for "motives of policy" were pleaded in defence of the measure.

Orders were given, by lord Cornwallis, that all who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards revolted, should be punished with the greatest rigour—That they should be imprisoned, and their whole property be taken from them, or destroyed. He also issued positive orders, that every person who had been enrolled as a British militia-man, and afterwards joined the Americans, should, if taken,

be put to death. In compliance with this order, several of the inhabitants were actually hanged. A number of the most respectable citizens had firmly resisted every temptation to exchange their paroles for the protection of subjects. In order to crush this refractory spirit, orders were given to send out of South-Carolina, a number of its principal inhabitants. In pursuance of this arbitrary mandate, lieut. governor Gadsden, with most of the civil and militia officers, and several private citizens, were seized, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. In vain did they plead their rights, derived from the capitulation of Charleston, and challenge their adversaries to prove any thing against them, which merited expulsion from their country, and a separation from their families and friends. Lord Cornwallis meant to convince the inhabitants, that all who refused to relinquish their paroles, and become subjects, should be sent out of the country. General Rutherford and col. Isaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were also removed to St. Augustine.—To complete the measures for enforcing the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. John Cruden, Esq. was appointed to execute this business, on the receipt of an order or warrant, signed by lord Cornwallis, or the commandant at Charleston, and designating the persons whose estates were to be seized. All who should impede the said commissioner, in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property, or otherwise, were made liable to punishment, as aiders and abettors of rebellion.

Numbers, intimidated by these proceedings, yielded to necessity, and became British subjects. Indeed, to avow an adherence to independence, was, now, to brave poverty and ruin, and to court exile or an ignominious death. And yet, in this trying emergency, there were found many, whose patriotism and generous attachment to liberty were of that firm texture, which such great occasions always require, and frequently call into exertion. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions, the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers that were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced, of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers; exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the

progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, they with equal resolution parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were often reduced to the necessity of depending on charity for subsistence.—Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution, of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties.

Never were the mischievous effects of slavery more strikingly exemplified, than during the American war. When a southern state became the seat of military operations, it could not, like a northern state, summon to its aid a hardy yeomanry, who fought for every thing that was dear to them, as men and citizens. On the contrary, a large proportion of the population consisted of negro slaves, who had nothing to gain or lose by the contest, be its issue what it might. Their condition could not undergo a change for the worse; it was possible it might be bettered by a change of masters. It was probably from a faint hope of this kind, joined to a desire of taking vengeance on their masters, for all the cruelties and wrongs they had suffered, that such of them as were disposed to take any part in the contest, generally sided with the British.

From this circumstance, the opulent planters of South-Carolina, who were generally firm wigs, were unable, by their utmost exertions, to protect their property from plunder, much less to make a successful stand against the troops of the enemy. It was only in the back parts of the state, where a free and hardy peasantry resided, that the British found themselves opposed with firmness, after they had established a royal government in every other part of the state. Those daring whigs were almost continually engaged in the execution of some plan, against the outposts or straggling parties of the enemy. Of this kind were the parties who took the field under colonels Sumpter, Marion, Williams of Ninety-six district, and other popular leaders.

Of Sumpter's gallant exertions we have already taken some notice. On the day that officer and his party were surprised by Tarleton, col. Williams, with about 200 South-Carolina and Georgia militia, engaged a party of 200 British regulars, and 300 militia, at Musgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. Williams, when he perceived the enemy advancing to attack him, with a superior force, judiciously placed his men behind trees, and ordered them not to fire till the enemy were so near, that every man could make sure of his object. After the enemy had sustained a warm contest for some time, they were obliged to retreat. Sixty of their men were killed, and seventy wounded. Of the Americans, no more than three were killed, and eight wounded. Sundry other exploits were performed by this valuable officer. But no partisan rendered more essential service, with very small bodies of volunteers, than col. Marion. While Sumpter harrassed the enemy, on one part of the frontier, after the surrender of Charleston, Marion was rendering a similar service, in the north-eastern extremity of the state. At the time general Gates was advancing towards South-Carolina, Marion took post on the Santee, with *sixteen* men.

From this ſtation, after the defeat of Gates, he ſallied out, reſcued 150 priſoners, and captured a ſmall Britiſh guard, which was conducting them from Camden to Charleſton. Having releaſed the priſoners, he diſmiſſed the captured guard, and betook himſelf to the woods. He was now obliged to leave the ſtate; but he returned in a few days, and continued to harraſs the enemy, at the head of ſuch of the inhabitants as he could get to join him, from time to time. Sometimes he had a tolerably numerous party; but this was ſeldom the caſe, for a conſiderable while after Gates's defeat; and the number of his followers was always fluctuating. His achievments, at the head of parties which varied between twenty-five and ſeventy, were aſtoniſhing.—With a view to deter the inhabitants from joining Marion, the Britiſh burned a great number of houſes, on Pedee, Lynch's creek, and Black-river, belonging to ſuch as were ſuppoſed to do duty with him, or to befriend him. But this was an injudicious ſtep; and, inſtead of detaching any of Marion's followers from him, prompted many to join him. Thoſe whoſe houſes were deſtroyed took refuge with their friends, who were in arms; and, with them, for ſeveral months, ſlept in the open air, and ſheltered themſelves in the receſſes of deep ſwamps, from which they ſallied forth, whenever an opportunity of harraſſing the enemy preſented itſelf.

Gen. Sumpter, (for he had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general,) ſoon after the diſperſion of his corps, by Tarleton, on the 18th of Auguſt, collected a band of volunteers, partly from thoſe who eſcaped on that fatal day, and partly from new adventurers. Theſe he mounted, for the ſake of greater expedition in his enterpriſes. He did not remain long in one place, but frequently varied his poſition, about Evoree, Broad and Tyger rivers. His utmoſt endeavours were inceſſantly employed to diſtreſs his adverſaries, by ſucceſſive alarms, by intercepting their convoys, and by rendering all their movements extremely difficult and dangerous. He had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, to whom his enterpriſing ſpirit and deſultory mode of warfare were ſo injurious, that they made ſeveral attempts to deſtroy his force, all of which, however, proved unſucceſsful. On the 12th of November he was attacked, at Broad-river, by major Wemys, at the head of a corps of infantry and dragoons; but the Britiſh were defeated, and their commanding officer taken priſoner. Eight days after, an attempt was made, by col. Tarleton, to ſurpriſe Sumpter's corps at Black-ſtocks, in the vicinity of Tyger-river. A precipitate attack was made, with 170 dragoons, and about 80 men of the 63d regiment; but Sumpter, having been apprized of Tarleton's approach, had taken a ſtrong poſition, and was prepared to give him a warm reception. A conſiderable number of the Americans were ſtationed in a log-barn, through the apertures of which they fired with ſecurity, and did great execution. Tarleton made an impetuous charge with his cavalry, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to retreat. He fell back to a detachment of infantry, which was advancing to ſupport him, and left the Americans in poſſeſſion of the field. But Sumpter, having been badly wounded, and knowing Tarleton would be reinforced, retired acroſs the Tyger, a few hours

after the action. Sumpter's wound interrupted his gallant enterprises for several months; but otherwise, the loss of the Americans was very inconsiderable, compared with that of the enemy, among whose killed were major Money and two lieutenants. General Sumpter's zeal and activity, in animating the drooping spirits of the militia; and his bravery and judicious conduct, in several engagements with detachments of the enemy, obtained him the applause of his grateful countrymen, and the thanks of congress.

For some time after Gates's defeat, the whigs of North and South-Carolina were much intimidated. But in proportion as the impression made by that event became gradually more faint, a spirit of enterprise was revived among them. The severity with which the British treated the revolters, who fell into their hands, was, upon the whole, favourable to the American cause; inasmuch as it made those who escaped, persevering and desperate in their opposition, and thus added considerably to the force of those small, but daring bands, which were so troublesome to the enemy, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina.

Early in September, col. Clarke, availing himself of that reviving spirit of enterprise which has been mentioned, mustered about 500 Americans, and marched against Augusta, in Georgia, by a tedious route through the upper parts of South-Carolina. The garrison defended themselves with much bravery, in two or three attacks; and, upon the near approach of a reinforcement, sallied out, and obliged Clark to retreat. In this sally, the British took some prisoners, one of whom, named Henry Dukes, was instantly hanged. Such of the inhabitants of Augusta as were supposed to have been friendly to Clarke's design, experienced very severe treatment. About thirty of them were hanged. This cruel and impolitic measure excited a general abhorrence, in the minds of the people, and prepared them for a revolt, whenever a fit opportunity should occur.

While lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, by the excessive heats, and unhealthy season, which followed his victory at Camden, major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, visited the north-western settlements, and collected a corps of North and South-Carolina loyalists, which he disciplined, and prepared for service in the field. He also encouraged those who were disaffected to the Americans, by assuring them that lord Cornwallis would shortly commence offensive operations, in North-Carolina, with a respectable army; when, it was hoped, they would evince their loyalty, by an active co-operation with the royal army.

Major Ferguson, wishing to intercept Clarke's party, on its retreat from Augusta, kept near the western mountains. The inhabitants of the country west of the Allegany mountains were alarmed, on hearing that Ferguson was so near them, lest he should pay them a visit, and commit depredations similar to those by which the British, and their tory adherents, had excited the general indignation and abhorrence of all who had been exposed to their ravages. They therefore took up arms immediately, and marched against the enemy. The people, in various and remote parts of the country, were actuated by the same impulse, at the same moment; and, without any previous

concert or communication with each other, there was a very conſiderable combination of detached parties, from ſeveral adjacent ſtates, all having in view the deſtruction of Ferguſon, whom they knew to be in a ſituation where he could have no immediate ſupport. Their meeting was accidental. Col. Williams, of Ninety-ſix, was in purſuit of Ferguſon, with 450 horſe, when he was informed, that ſeveral other parties were advancing, with the ſame object in view. Williams, with colonels Campbell, of Virginia, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and M'Dowel, of North-Carolina, and Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South-Carolina, with their reſpective corps of volunteers, amounting to between two and three thouſand men, all rendezvouſed together. Being mounted and unencumbered with baggage, their movements were rapid. The hardſhips they underwent were ſevere. Some of them taſted neither bread, ſalt, nor ſpiritous liquors, for weeks together; and ſlept in the open air, without blankets. They ſubſiſted, chiefly, on ears of corn and pompions, with occaſional ſupplies of beef and veniſon, killed and roaſted in the woods. So little military ſubordination was there in this volunteer army, that there was no commander in chief, but each colonel continued, after the junction, to command his own men.

The Americans, apprehending that Ferguſon might be informed of their approach, and effect an eſcape, ſelected nine hundred of their men, and mounted them on their fleeteſt horſes. Theſe, on the 17th of October, came up with, and attacked major Ferguſon, on the top of King's-mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. They were formed into three diviſions, which were led on in different directions, by colonels Lacey, Campbell, and Cleveland. Ferguſon charged theſe ſeveral diviſions, ſucceſſively, as they advanced, and compelled them to give way; but as he could not preſent a front to each diviſion of the aſſailants, at the ſame time, they only fell back a little way, and, poſting themſelves behind trees and rocks, poured in a continual fire upon his corps, in almoſt every direction. The Americans were all excellent markſmen, as were alſo a conſiderable number of their adverſaries. An unuſual proportion of the killed, on both ſides, were ſhot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with ſuch exactneſs, that they killed each other in the ſame inſtant, while taking aim; and they were found, after death, with one eye ſhut and the other open, as is uſual with markſmen, when leveling at their object. Major Ferguſon diſplayed uncommon bravery; but his encampment was injudiciouſly choſen, in a ſituation where his men were much expoſed, while the Americans had a opportunity of making their approaches, under cover of rocks and trees. He might have made good a retreat, with the greater part of his men, had he purſued his march immediately on his charging and driving the firſt diviſion; for, notwithſtanding the Americans behaved with as much ſpirit as could be expected from undiſciplined troops, it was not eaſy to bring them to a ſecond attack, after having been charged with bayonets. But his unconquerable ſpirit diſdained either to flee or to ſurrender. After having maintained an obſtinate and bloody conflict, for upwards of three quarters of an hour, he received a mortal wound. No hope of eſcape, or of ſucceſsful reſiſtance,

now remained. The submission of the British put an end to the contest. About 800 were made prisoners, and two hundred and fifty had been previously killed or wounded. Of the assailants no more than about twenty were killed; but that distinguished officer, col. Williams, of Ninety-six, was of the number. Of the royal militia, who surrendered, ten were hanged by the Americans. These, it was alleged, had been guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited, by the laws of the state. It is not improbable, however, that the Americans were, in some degree, provoked to this measure, by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several prisoners, in South-Carolina and Georgia.

By the death of major Ferguson, the royal cause sustained a loss, which would have been very sensibly felt, at any time during the war; but which, under present circumstances, was irreparable. Superior abilities, added to an uncommon spirit of enterprise, fitted him both for planning and executing great designs. Hence he had been pitched upon, by lord Cornwallis, to muster and discipline those loyalists, who might be induced to take the field under him, and co operate with the British army, in its invasion of North-Carolina. Much was expected from this co-operation; but the total rout of the party which had joined Ferguson, rendered the loyalists extremely timid in their exertions. They were not disposed, indeed, to run any further risk in support of the royal cause, or to take any active part in the contest, until the British army should, by its own efforts, gain a decided superiority.

Cornwallis, leaving a small garrison at Camden, had taken the field with the main army; and, relying upon a powerful support from the loyalists, had penetrated into North-Carolina, almost as far as Salisbury, when he received the disagreeable and unexpected intelligence of Ferguson's death, and the total overthrow of his party. This circumstance, together with the opposition his army received from the North-Carolina militia, induced him to retreat to Winnsborough. In this march he experienced great annoyance from the American riflemen, who frequently approached within shot of his army, and, from behind trees, made sure of their objects. The militia took several of his waggons; and he was frequently insulted, in a very mortifying manner, by single men, who made a practice of coming up within musket-shot of his army, discharging their pieces, and then riding off. Ferguson's defeat, and the consequent retreat of Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field with uncommon alacrity, and renew their opposition with increased ardour; so that the British found themselves, at the close of the year, unpossessed of almost every advantage which might have been expected from the splendid victories they had gained, and the almost total annihilation of the American southern army, first by the capture of Charleston, and afterwards by the defeat of general Gates. British garrisons prevented open resistance, and awed the inhabitants into an apparent submission, in the vicinity of those places where they were established; but whenever the people were left to themselves, the active and spirited part of the community generally rallied round the standard of independence.

In the month of November, general Gates advanced from Hillsborough to Charlotte, at the head of a considerable force. He had exerted himself to the utmost, to repair the injuries of his defeat; and was again in a condition to face the enemy. But so much had the defeat at Camden operated to his disadvantage, that, in spite of all his former services, he became the victim of public ingratitude. Not even the remembrance of Saratoga could shield him from unmerited censure. His enemies could not accuse him either of incapacity, or mismanagement of any kind; but he had been once unfortunate, and this was deemed a sufficient cause, by congress, not only for depriving him of his command, but for ordering a court of enquiry to be held on his conduct. General Greene, who was appointed to succeed Gates, arrived at Charlotte, in the beginning of December, and delivered him the *first official* information of his removal from the command; although the resolution of congress, for that purpose, had been passed in the beginning of October. Such was the indelicate treatment he experienced. The resignation of Gates was manly—the conduct of Greene, on the occasion, bespoke the gentleman. Reciprocal politeness and friendship prevented the embarrassments which both must otherwise have felt. Greene uniformly vindicated the character of Gates, maintained that he had failed in no part of his military duty, and declared that his conduct deserved success, though he could not command it.—It was not against the pressure of public misfortune only, that general Gates had to struggle, at this trying emergency—the death of an only child, a promising youth of nineteen, added greatly to the poignancy of his distress. In passing through Richmond, on his way home, the house of Burgesses of Virginia, unanimously addressed him, in terms equally affectionate and polite. They assured him, that their grateful remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune.

*(To be continued.)*

## ACCOUNT *of the* RELICS *and* MONUMENTS *of the* INDIANS, *in* NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

[*From* BELKNAP'S *History of New-Hampshire*—Vol. III.]

IN describing any country, it is natural to make some inquiry concerning the vestiges of its ancient inhabitants. It is well known that the original natives of this part of America, were not ambitious of perpetuating their fame by durable monuments. Their invention was chiefly employed either in providing for their subsistence, by hunting, fishing and planting, or in guarding against and surprising their enemies. Their houses and canoes were constructed of light and perishable materials. Their mode of travelling was to take all possible advantage of water carriage, and to shorten distances, by transporting their birchen canoes across the necks of land which were convenient for the purpose. Their manner of taking fish was either

by entangling them in wears, or dipping for them in ſcoop-nets, or ſtriking them with ſpears. They took quadrupeds in traps or pit-falls, or ſhot them, as well as birds, with arrows. For the conſtruction of their canoes and houſes they uſed hatchets, chiſſels, and gouges of ſtone. To cook their meat, they either broiled it on coals, or on a wooden grate, or roaſted it on a forked ſtick, or boiled it in kettles of ſtone. Their corn was pounded in mortars of wood, with peſtles of ſtone. Their bread was baked either on flat ſtones ſet before a fire, or in green leaves laid under hot aſhes. Clam-ſhells ſerved them for ſpoons, and their fingers for knives and forks. They had no ſharper inſtruments than could be formed of ſtones, ſhells and bones. Of theſe the two laſt are periſhable by age; but of the firſt, relics are frequently found in the places of their former reſidence, generally in the neigbourhood of water-falls, and other convenient fiſhing places. The manner of finding them is by plowing or digging. The moſt of thoſe which have been diſcovered, have come to light by accident, and a few only are ſo perfect as to merit preſervation.

The hatchet is a hard ſtone, eight or ten inches in length, and three or four in breadth, of an oval form, flatted and rubbed to an edge at one end; near the other end is a groove in which the handle was faſtened; and their proceſs to do it was this: When the ſtone was prepared, they chote a very young ſapling, and, ſplitting it near the ground, they forced the hatchet into it, as far as the groove, and left nature to complete the work by the growth of the wood, ſo as to fill the groove and adhere firmly to the ſtone. They then cut off the ſapling above and below, and the hatchet was fit for uſe.

The chiſſel is about ſix inches long and two inches wide, flatted and rubbed ſharp at one end. It was uſed only by the hand, for it would not bear to be driven. The gouge differs from the chiſſel only in being hollow at the edge. With theſe inſtruments they felled trees, cut them into proper lengths, ſcooped them out hollow for canoes, trays, or mortars, and faſhioned them to any ſhape which they pleaſed. To ſave labour, they made uſe of fire, to ſoften thoſe parts of the wood which were to be cut with theſe imperfect tools; and by a proper application of wet earth or clay, they could circumſcribe the operation of the fire at their pleaſure.*

Their peſtles are long, cylindrical or conical ſtones, of the heavieſt kind; ſome of which have figures, rudely wrought, at the end of the handle.

Their kettle is nothing more than a hole, either natural or artificial, in a large ſtone; but their mode of boiling in it would not readily occur to a perſon who had ſeen a kettle uſed no other way than

* 'I have ſeen a native (ſays Roger Williams) go into the woods with his hatchet 'carrying only a baſket of corn, and ſtones to ſtrike fire. When he hath felled his 'tree (either a cheſnut or a pine) he maketh him a little hut or ſhed of the bark of it. 'He puts fire, and follows the burning of it in the midſt, in many places. His corn 'he boils, and hath the brook by him, and ſometimes angles for a little fiſh. So he 'continueth burning and hewing, until he hath, in ten or twelve days, finiſhed, and 'getting hands, launched his boat.'

Beverly, in his hiſtory of Virginia, gives a ſimilar account of the manner of making canoes, by the Indians, in that part of America. Page 198.

with a fire under it. Their fire was made by the side of the kettle, and a number of small stones were heated. The kettle being filled with water, and the food placed in it, the hot stones were put in, one after another, and by a dextrous repetition of this process, the meat or fish was boiled.

Of arrow-heads there is found a greater number than of any other instrument; and they are of all sizes from one to five inches in length; pointed and jagged, with a notch on each side, at the lower end, to bind them to the shaft, the end of which was split to let in the head. Children were early taught the use of the bow, and many of the arrow-heads which are found, seem to have been fit only for their use.

Another implement of stone is found, the use of which is to us undetermined. It is shaped like a pear, with a neck, and was probably suspended by a string. Some suppose it was hung to a net, and that many of them placed at the lower edge served the purpose of weights to sink it.

Some specimens of sculpture have been found, but they are not common. In the museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, there is an imitation of the head of a serpent, at the end of a long stone pestle, found at Wells, in the county of York. There is, in the possession of a gentleman in New-Hampshire, a piece of bone, on which is engraven the bust of a man, apparently in the agonies of death. The countenance is savage, and the work is well executed. This bone, with the figure on it, was found at the shore of the little bay, in the river Pascataqua.

In the places of their habitations are sometimes found circular hearths of flat stones, which were laid in the middle of their wigwams. Their mode of lodging was with their feet to the fire. This custom is adopted by people who lie abroad in the woods, and by others at home. It is accounted both a preventive and a remedy for a cold.

The cellars in which they preserved their corn, are sometimes discovered in their new settlements, and their graves are frequently seen. Most of the skeletons appear to be in a sitting posture, and some remains of the instruments which were supposed necessary to their subsistence, ornament or defence in the "country of souls," are found with them; particularly the stone-pipe for smoking tobacco, of which there are several varieties. In a piece of intervale land near the Ossapy ponds, is a *tumulus* or mound of earth, overgrown with pine, in which, at the depth of two feet, several skeletons have been discovered, buried with the face downward. At Exeter, about two years ago, the remains of an infant skeleton were dug up. It was in a perpendicular position, and had been inclosed with a hollow log. Some strings of wampum were found near it, and several spoons, apparently of European manufacture.

The remains of their fields are still visible in many places; these were not extensive, and the hills which they made about their corn-stalks were small. Some pieces of baked earthen-ware have been found at Sanborn-town and Goff's-town, from which it is supposed that the Indians had learned the potter's art; but of what antiquity

these remnants are, and whether manufactured by them or not, is uncertain.

The paths which served them for carrying places between rivers, or different parts of the same river, are frequently discovered, in the cutting of roads, or laying out of new town-ships. Probably some hints might be taken from this circumstance, to expedite and facilitate our inland navigation.

In their capital fishing places, particularly in great Ossapy and Winipiseogee rivers, are the remains of their wears, constructed with very large stones. At Sanborn-town there is the appearance of a fortress, consisting of five distinct walls, one within the other, and at Hinsdale there is something of the same kind; but these are vastly inferior, both in design and execution, to the military works found in the country of the Senekas and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio.

I have heard of two specimens of an Indian *Gazette*, found in New-Hampshire. One was a pine tree, on the shore of Winipiseogee river, on which was depicted a canoe, with two men in it. This is supposed to have been a mark of direction to those who might come after. The other was a tree in Moultonborough, standing by a carrying-place, between two ponds. On this tree was carved the history of one of their expeditions. The number of the killed and prisoners, was represented by so many human figures; the former were marked with the stroke of a knife, across their throats, and even the distinction between the males and females was preserved.

Some of their modes and customs have been learned by our own people, and are still retained. In the river Pascataqua, lobsters and flat-fish are struck with a spear; and the best time for this kind of fishing is the night. A lighted pitch-knot is placed on the outside of a canoe, which not only attracts the fish, but gives the fishermen direction where to strike. The river is sometimes illuminated, by a multitude of these floating lights. The Indian scoop-net is shaped like a pocket; the edge of which is fastened to a wooden bow, at the end of a long pole. With these are caught salmon, shad, alewives, smelts and lampreys. Frost-fish are taken with wooden tongs, and black eels in cylindrical baskets, with a hole, resembling mouse-traps made of wire.

The *culheag* or log-trap, is used for taking wolves, bears and martins. Its size varies, according to the bulk or strength of the animal. It is a forceps, composed of two long sticks, one lying on the other, connected at one end, and open at the other. Near the open end is made a semicircular, covered enclosure, with short stakes, driven into the ground on one side of the logs, which are firmly secured by another stake, on the opposite side. In this enclosure is placed the bait, fastened to a round stick, which lies across the lower log, the upper log resting on the end of a perpendicular pointed stick, the other end of which is set on the round stick. The animal having scented the bait, finds no way to come at it, but by putting his head between the logs. As soon as he touches the bait, the round stick, on which it is fastened, rolls; the perpendicular gives way; the upper log falls, and crushes him to death in an instant, without injuring his skin.

To take martins, the hunters make a great number of theſe traps, at the diſtance of about a quarter or half a mile from each other; they ſcent the whole ſpace between the traps, by drawing a piece of raw fleſh on the ground; this ſcent guides the animal to the trap, which is baited with the ſame. The hunters viſit the traps once in a day, and retire to their camp with the prey. There are two ſeaſons for this ſpecies of hunting, namely, in December and March.

Beavers are taken in iron ſpring traps. The Indians have learned to uſe theſe traps, in preference to their own.

The uſe of ſnow-ſhoes was learned at firſt from them. The ſhape and conſtruction of them are well known. The ſtick which projects behind acts as a ſpring, and ſets the man forward at every ſtep; by which means, one who is uſed to this mode of travelling, can walk on the ſnow, more expeditiouſly than on the ground.

We are indebted to them, for the method of preſerving the fleſh of animals in ſnow. This is very uſeful to people who raiſe or buy large quantities of poultry for the market. They fill the hollow parts, and pack them in a caſk with ſnow; which, whilſt it remains undiſſolved, preſerves the fleſh in its original ſweetneſs. The Indians had another way of preſerving fleſh, by cutting it from the bone, and drying it in ſmoke; but this is now ſeldom uſed, unleſs the meat has been previouſly cured with ſalt, the uſe of which, was unknown to the ſavages.

Their mode of catching ducks, is ſtill uſed in thoſe places where this ſpecies of game abounds. In the month of Auguſt, the old ducks ſhed their feathers, and the young, being unfledged, are not able to fly. During this period they ſwim on the water, and may be driven into ſmall creeks, whence they cannot eſcape. They are then eaſily caught in great numbers, and preſerved for winter by ſalt or ſmoke.

We have alſo learned from the natives, to dreſs leather with the brains of the animal, which render it extremely ſoft and pliable. They have an art of dying hair in various colours, which are bright and permanent. I know not whether they have communicated this knowledge.

Some of their modes of cookery have been adopted, and are retained. Their roaſted and boiled ears of green corn, their *ſamp* and *homony*, which conſiſt of corn bruiſed and ſoaked or boiled, their *nokehike*, which is corn parched and pounded, their *ſuckatáſh*, which is a mixture of corn and beans boiled, are much uſed, and very palatable. One of the moſt delicate of their diſhes was the *upaquontop*, or the head of a baſs boiled, and the broth thickened with homony. The lip of a mooſe, and the tail of a beaver, prepared in this manner, were among their greateſt luxuries.

Their cultivation was extremely imperfect. The only objects of it were corn, beans, pumpkins and ſquaſhes, which were planted by their women, with the aid of no inſtruments but ſtones and clam-ſhells; and no manure but fiſh. Yet, their judgment of the proper ſeaſon for planting, cannot be amended. It was when the leaves of the white oak are as big as the ear of a mouſe. Their method of girdling trees to kill them, that the land might be opened for plant-

ing, is used by some people in their first essays of husbandry. It is not only a lazy fashion and quite inexcuseable where axes may be had, but the ground needs clearing as often as the trees or branches are broken off by the wind.

The virtues of many herbs, roots and barks, with which the country abounds, were well known to the natives, and some traditionary knowledge of this kind has been preserved, though much is lost for want of a more certain mode of preservation than human memory. Some of their medicinal operations are still practised; but most of them are disused, being superseded by professional improvements. They raised a blister by burning *punk* or touchwood on the skin. They applied roots, boiled soft, in the form of a poultice to the throat or other parts, when swelled or inflamed. They relieved a person chilled with cold, by pouring warm water down the throat. They attempted the cure of fevers by sweating in a covered hut, with the steam of water poured on hot stones, and then plunging into cold water. For pains in the limbs they had another mode of sweating. A number of sods were heated, and the patient, wrapped in a mat, was laid on some and covered with others, till the heat of the turf was supposed to have extracted the pain. The offices of physician and priest were united in the same person, and a variety of mysterious rites accompanied his operations.

They had a knowledge of poisons and antidotes, and could so prepare themselves, that the most venemous serpents would avoid them, or prove harmless in their hands. This knowledge has seldom been communicated, and is always treated as mysterious.

I wish it could not be said, that some of their superstitious notions have been transferred and propagated. The idea that lonely mountains and rocks are inhabited by departed spirits, and other invisible and imaginary beings, is not yet worn out. Certain charms and spells, which are supposed to be effectual preservatives, or cures in cases of witchcraft, are still in use among the vulgar; though perhaps some of these traditions may owe their origin to the superstition of our European ancestors, descended from the remoter savages of Britain, Ireland and Germany. These notions, however pitied by some, and ridiculed by others, are still deeply engraven on the minds of many, and are maintained with an inflexibility which would do them honour if the cause were worthy of defence. So strong are these impressions, that the same persons, whose intrepidity in scenes of real danger is unquestionable, often render themselves miserable by the apprehension of evils, which exist only in their imagination.

## *An* EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON *accounted for.*

[*From the same.*]

IN the spring, the trees which have been felled the preceding year, are burned in the new plantations. If the season be dry, the flames spread in the woods, and a large extent of the forest is

ſometimes on fire at once. Fences and buildings are often deſtroyed by theſe raging conflagrations. The only effectual way to prevent the ſpreading of ſuch a fire, is to kindle another at a diſtance, and to drive the flame along through the buſhes, or dry graſs, to meet the greater fire, that all the fuel may be conſumed. This operation requires a large number of people, and no ſmall degree of dexterity and reſolution. In ſwamps, a fire has been known to penetrate ſeveral feet under the ground, and conſume the roots of trees. When a fire has raged to this degree, nothing can extinguiſh it but a heavy rain.

From theſe numerous fires ariſe immenſe clouds of ſmoke, mingled with the burnt leaves of the trees, which are carried to great diſtances by the wind. Theſe clouds meeting with other vapours in the atmoſphere, ſometimes produce very ſingular appearances. The unuſual darkneſs of the nineteenth of May, 1780, was cauſed by ſuch a combination of vapours.

Fires had ſpread very extenſively in the woods, and the weſterly wind had driven the ſmoke all over the country. It was ſo thick near the horizon, for ſeveral preceding days, that the ſun diſappeared half an hour before its ſetting; and in the low grounds, it was almoſt ſuffocating. The morning of the nineteenth was cloudy, with ſome rain; and a black cloud appeared in the ſouthweſt, from which thunder was heard. The rain water, and the ſurface of rivers, was covered with a ſooty ſcum. The remains of a ſnow drift, which had been raked clean the preceding day, became black. Several ſmall birds flew into the houſes, and others were found dead abroad, being ſuffocated. About an hour before noon the clouds aſſumed a braſſy appearance; after which their colour became a duſky grey; at one hour after noon it was neceſſary to light candles.

At the time of the greateſt obſcuration, the ſmoke of a chimney was obſerved to riſe perpendicularly, and then incline to the weſt. A thick fog, which came in from the ſea, moved along the hill tops in the ſame direction. The place where theſe obſervations were made, was at Dover, fifteen miles diſtant from the ſea. A light gleam was ſeen in the north. The extent of this darkneſs, was more than two hundred miles, from north to ſouth. To the weſtward, it reached beyond Albany, and it was obſerved, by a veſſel at ſea, fifteen leagues eaſtward of Cape-Anne.

The darkneſs varied its appearance, in ſome places, through the afternoon; but in the maritime parts of New-Hampſhire, there was no ceſſation or interruption of it; and the evening preſented a complete ſpecimen of as total darkneſs as can be conceived. Before midnight, the vapours diſperſed, and the next morning there was no appearance of them; but for ſeveral days after, clouds of ſmoke were ſeen in motion, and the burnt leaves of trees were wafted abroad by the wind.

# *On* SENSIBILITY.

AN exalted understanding, and a feeling heart, are the rarely united qualities which form a great soul. We consider the former as the more noble, and are generally at some pains, by study and experience, to acquire it; to use endeavours for acquiring the latter, is thought needless, or absurd and impossible; but if we reflect seriously, we shall perhaps find, that it is almost equally valuable, and may be obtained with much less difficulty.

Our passions are no less essential and necessary to our nature than our reason; and whatever may be the boasts of philosophy, they have, for the most part, a greater influence over all our actions.—Many more are honest, generous, and magnanimous, from a happy natural disposition, than from reasoning and principle: and, wherever the former is wanting, reason will have much more difficulty to bring the actions under her direction and control.—The pleasures which our understanding can afford of itself, however pure and abstracted they may be, are at best both few and insipid; the heart and affections only can produce those delicate and exquisite gratifications which deserve the name of pleasure.—It is therefore somewhat astonishing, to look round and see, how many of our species are almost, or entirely destitute, of the main organs of our happiness.—To suppose that the feelings of humanity were a gift of nature peculiar to a few, were absurd; and facts shew, that this is not the case; and that, whatever difference the constitution of our bodies may occasion in the nature and strength of our affections, still the deplorable callousness and insensibility of most, is more owing to education and habit, than to any natural cause whatever.

Stoics, indeed, have boasted of their insensibility, and extolled it as the most perfect and useful kind of philosophy; by which, if we lose some pleasures, we are strangers to numberless pains, and are enabled to bear those hardships with indifference, which others can hardly suffer with patience.—But be it so, who would not choose rather to possess all his members in their natural state, liable as they are to many pains and troubles, than, by a palsy, to lose at once all sense of pain and of delight?—The gratifications which our senses administer to us, compensate abundantly for the disagreeable sensations they sometimes present; and we should justly conclude that man to be mad, who should put out his eyes, because he must sometimes see an unwelcome object.—Not less mad are they, who argue in favour of stoical apathy; and a disregard or contempt of the inward and mental senses are so much the more foolish, as the happiness we lose thereby is more exquisite than any which the external senses can furnish.

But stoics in principle are not so frequent in the world as those who are practically so. There are not, indeed, many so perfectly callous, as not to be often touched with their own sufferings; but they have lost the finer feelings, and are incapable of distinguishing between those circumstances which, in more elegant souls, produce the highest pleasure, or the severest misery; and, even in those affairs which do affect them, they only look at things which are the most inconsidera-

ble, and least worthy of their regard. Their avarice, their appetites, or their sensuality, are only consulted; as these are gratified or disappointed, they remain pleased or dissatisfied. To shed a tear for a neighbour's woe—to feel the raptures of benevolence, in relieving the distressed—to share the joy of the joyful, and sympathize with the wretched, are pleasures unknown, or ridiculed by the insensible; yet, of all others, these are the pleasures most unalloyed and divine. The most desirable sweets of society are no less strangers to the unfeeling heart. They cannot experience that ardent love of their country which inspires the breast of the patriot—they are incapable of a true and refined paternal, or filial affection—far less can they taste the delights of genuine love, or exalted friendship. In all these cases, they can only embrace appearances, while at bottom they possess little more than those appetites which they have in common with the brute creation.

But it were needless to declaim after this manner, if it is not in our power to mend or improve our feelings more than to enlarge the stature of our bodies. But I observed already, that a want of these is oftener the effect of habit than any deficiency in our nature. To resist the influence of such a habit should be our care. Although we see many around us disregard, or ridicule sensibility of heart, perhaps account it a disease or weakness; far from adopting their sentiments, we ought to pity and contemn their ignorance. Nevertheless it requires the strictest attention, to defend ourselves against the almost universal contagion: when one is engaged in the pursuits of ambition or interest, and beset with persons blind to every other consideration, it will be found extremely difficult to preserve all that delicacy of soul which might be natural to him. Even in our childhood, our feelings begin to suffer and to be impaired, while they are yet but in a manner beginning to dawn. We are early taught the rudiments of cruelty, and the seeds of compassion are eradicated from our breasts, by being often severely treated ourselves, but especially by being taught to make a sport of the misery of our neighbours, or of the inferior animals. No less pains are taken by example, and by precept, to persuade us, that to be rich, to be fine, to eat and drink, are the chief ends and happiness of our being: these notions continue to be inculcated upon us as we grow up, and at last too often absorb all our faculties, and efface more than half our feelings. Besides, the many crosses and disappointments we meet with in life, must of necessity somewhat sour the finest temper, and deaden the highest sensibility.—In opposition to all these circumstances, which conspire to destroy our natural elegance of soul, our most effectual antidote is frequently and freely to indulge our feelings.—The world of fancy and of life do both furnish many objects, well calculated for such a purpose. To persons of taste and refinement, the polite arts will always prove a source of the most agreeable amusement, while many of them are nobly fitted to awaken and exercise every power and feeling of the soul.—Poetry, history, music, and painting, have a direct tendency to warm and interest our affections. When our emotions are excited, we ought to be very cautious of stifling them.—And here it is worthy

of obſervation, that the affections are generally on the ſide of virtue and our duty; at leaſt while they are unſeduced by the miſtakes and prejudices of our reaſon, or the corrupt examples of others.

In fact, moſt of our feelings may be reduced under the head of conſcience, or the moral ſenſe; which acts by many different methods, always to the ſame purpoſe, namely, to ſhew us the laws of *nature* and *propriety*. So far as our leſſer feelings are blunted or impaired, ſo far our delicacy in matters of right and wrong will be leſſened.

Finally, the higheſt ſenſibility of ſoul is no ways incompatible with the greateſt wiſdom and prudence: but, on the contrary, thoſe who have been moſt remarkable for an eminent ſhare of ſenſe and diſcretion, who have raiſed themſelves to the higheſt ſtations in life, and paſſed through it with the greateſt applauſe, have frequently been no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the amiable and manly quality of a *feeling heart*.

AMERICANUS.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## EUGENIA—*Or the* COQUETTE.—*A true ſtory.*

EUGENIA is ſtill poſſeſſed of wit, wealth, and beauty. For her wit ſhe was admired in her youth; for her wealth ſhe is ſtill apparently reſpected; but for her beauty ſhe was adored by ſeveral. When, obedient to her ancient parents commands, ſhe traverſed the market, or viſited the ſhop; whether ſhe lent her hand to a true admirer, when in the exerciſe of thoſe duties, or preſented it to a fop, *Eugenia* was ſtill reſpectable. Grace was in every motion; humility ſeemed to triumph in her eyes; but pride, predominant pride, preſided over her heart.

But be it demanded, whence did this pride proceed? was ſhe not foſtered with it in her cradle? was ſhe not lulled by it to ſleep, at a more advanced period? Did example deter her from vice, or lead her to virtue?—Alas! Eugenia's parents were diſſipated and luxurious; they looked forward to immenſe wealth; and, whilſt they courted, they beſtowed adulation. Pride, pomp, and luxury dazzled their eyes. Without a particle of principle, her father countenanced Britiſh depredation, at a time when the hirelings of tyranny were not ſparing in the arts of devaſtation.

A youth admired her—a foreigner—ſent for education to a certain ſeminary in one of the then American provinces. Spending his time between New-York and Philadelphia, when vacation was permitted to him, he ſaw—and being a youth, admired her beauty. As poſſeſſed of ſentiment he acknowledged many other charms in her, but ſhe ſoon diſplayed the character of the jilt. It muſt be owned he was alſo poſſeſſed of many perſonal graces. Manly, yet endued with ſoftneſs, he was welcome to the ſociety of well-educated men; and was equally endeared to the converſation of ladies of vivacity.—He is now ſettled in his native land, poſſeſſed of a woman, who boaſts on-

ly those real charms, (and how amiable are they!) which constitute the perfect wife. His children are like olive-branches around his table. The *true* friend of his bosom, convinced of his various virtues, displays all the delicacy of conjugal affection. He acknowledges her's with ardour, in return. They both confess the bounty of heaven; and as she never experienced the deceit of a fop, so he congratulates himself, that he has escaped from the smiles of a coquette.

## *An* ESSAY *in* PRAISE *of the* FIRESIDE.

THE ancient poets, who are generally supposed to be the greatest masters of thought, attributed their happy exercise of it to their great patron the sun; and that they might enjoy its kind influences with more purity, we find them quitting the smoke and riches of the city, for some country retirement, where they might temper the directer rays with cooling breezes, shady groves, purling streams, and melody of birds; where they might behold nature without disguise, and copy her without interruption; where they might at once earn their laurels and gather them.

Our northern poets think themselves warranted to follow those great originals, who yet, from the difference of climate, &c. seem to stand in little need of such cooling refreshments.—It would make one smile to see them, beyond even poetical fiction, invoking even the gentle gales, while they are shivering under the bleak northeast, or at best, when

Lull'd by zephyrs thro' a broken pane.

I have often wondered why our writers should not sometimes lay the scene of their poems, where in reality they took their rise.—The fire-side is surely capable of the most surprising imagery, by being diversified (if the poet pleases) with serpents, crackers, rockets, and the like short-lived gay creation of combustibles.—These, Mr. *Addison* has somewhere observed, are abundantly capable of fable and design, and to our modern poets no less full of moral.—Those that have not Italian fancy for fine prospects, and latent ruins, may by this means perpetuate their names (like the wiser *Dutch*) in some over-glowing night-piece. I myself, methinks, am enamoured with my subject, and ready, with Sir *John Denham*, to make it an example of just writing as well as the theme:—For lo! my chimney affords me

A happy temperature of heat and light,
Warm without rage, and, without glaring, bright.

But I confine not my observations to the poets alone, I appeal to composers of all denominations whether a brisk fire, and a clean swept hearth, has not brightened their imaginations, produced ideas, like a kind of hot-bed, and made them amazed at their own fecundity.

The robuſt, the buſy, or unthinking part of the world, perhaps are little ſenſible of the attractives of the hearth; but the men of ſpeculation, the only men of authority in the point before us, look upon it as their moſt comfortable retreat: Wearied with the fatigues, or, what is worſe, the impertinences of the day, they retire to their own home, as the mind does into her own breaſt, and ſolace themſelves in the moſt cheerful part of it.—Diſguiſe and reſtraint are here laid aſide, and the ſoul, as well as the body, appears the more beautiful for its diſhabille. That quinteſſence of earthly happineſs, which in warmer climates was expreſſed by ſitting under ones own *vine*, is with us more ſenſibly felt by ones own *fireſide*.

But the fireſide is not only a friend to a bachelor in ſolitude; it is noted to a proverb to be always ſo in company; it brings us to a nearer converſe with one another, by which means it promotes reconcilement between enemies, and mirth and ſociety between friends. There is a ſort of ſullenneſs in the tempers of the Americans, which the fire ſoftens, as it does metals, and renders them fit for uſe.—How often has there been a room full of viſitants, who could not furniſh out an hour's converſation, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were at too great a diſtance from one another? The ſame aſſembly, brought into cloſer order, has proved excellent company; it has reminded me of the dogs in a chace, (I hope I ſhall be pardoned the compariſon) who open with leſs frequency when they ſpread round the field at firſt ſetting out, but when the game is ſtarted, and they have all one point in view, they run united in full cry. While I am ſpeaking in praiſe of a ſedentary life, I am not afraid to draw compariſons from the pleaſures of the moſt active. The fire-ſide diſpels the gloominеſs of the brow, and throws upon the countenance not only the ruddineſs of youth, but its cheerfulneſs. Here I have ſeen a gay ſemicircle of ladies reſemble the beauties of the rainbow without its tears; and at other times a galaxy of white aprons more enlivening than all the blue in the brighteſt ſky.—United with that ſex by the fireſide, how ſerene are our pleaſures, and how innocent; we have laughter without folly, and mirth without noiſe: Thereby, reflecting the beams of the *ſunny bank* before us, we make the chimney-corner, I will not ſay, in Cicero's expreſſion, the *forge* of wit, but in our modern philoſophical term, the *focus* of it.

## Recipe *for a* Lady's Dress.

LET ſimplicity be your white, chaſtity your vermilion; dreſs your eyebrows with modeſty, and your lips with reſervedneſs. Let inſtruction be your ear-rings, and good-humour the front-pin on your head. Subjuiſſion to your huſband is your beſt ornament. Employ your hands in houſewifery, and keep your feet within your own doors. Let your garments be made of the ſilk of probity, the fine linen of ſanctity, and the purple of chaſtity.

# THE Columbian Parnaſſiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*Our* SAVIOUR'S CURING *the two blind* MEN.

[*By* CHARLES CRAWFORD, *Eſq.*]

AND as he travel'd o'er the favor'd land;
Diſpenſing bleſſings with a liberal hand,
Behold, two men, who were depriv'd of ſight,
Cried, give, great ſon of David, give us light.
And when he ſees their piteous ſtate he ſaith,
Have ye a lively and a ſettled faith,
That I at once can this relief afford?
Yea this, they ſaid, we firmly think, dear Lord!
Though dark without, depriv'd of nat'ral ſight,
Yet on their minds had beam'd celeſtial light.
For him they knew, whom not the eagle-eye
Of worldly penetration could deſcry.
Straight at his high invincible command,
As on their eyes he put his ſacred hand,
The darken'd orbs let in the beamy day,
And mercy ſoften'd its unuſual ray.

O light! fair bleſſing of indulgent heaven,
Among the ſweeteſt that to man are giv'n;
For we enjoy through thy propitious mean,
The bliſs that flows from many an earthly ſcene:
Of friendſhip and of virtuous love the ſmile,
Which ſtern deſpair to comfort can beguile:
The cheering ſplendor of the glorious ſun,
Riſing, or when he near his courſe hath run;
The milder beauties of the ſober night,
When the pale moon emits her ſilver light;
Or when the ſtars diſpenſe a feeble day,
Scatter'd, or crowded in the milky way;
All that the ſeaſons different diſcloſe,
The vernal bloſſom, and the ſummer roſe,
The varied leaf of the autumnal grove,
And winter's river which forgets to move;
The dawn of morning, and the cloſe of ev'n,
With all the fair magnificence of heav'n.

To him that's blind, ah what afflictions flow!
Ah! pleaſure, how incapable to know!
To him to wander o'er the ſummer fields,
Nature no heart-felt ſatisfaction yields:
For at each ſlow and trembling ſtep he takes,
A thouſand horrid fears ſuſpicion wakes,
Leſt he ſhould tumble headlong in a pit;
Or aught his poor unguarded head ſhould hit.
Idle at home, unnumber'd woes await,
His helpleſs, child-like, melancholy ſtate;
At home, as well as every where abroad,
Subject to ceaſeleſs wrong, abuſe, and fraud.

Ah! when thou ſee'ſt the beggar wanting eyes,
Let gen'rous pity in thy boſom riſe;
And, cheerful, ſomething to the wretch diſpenſe,
That thou ſuperfluous haſt from Providence.

Note—*At Liverpool, (for ſome good can come out of Liverpool) they have lately eſtabliſhed a plan for the relief of the indigent blind, which in many particulars is deſerving of high admiration. A ſketch of the plan is to be ſeen in the Edinburgh magazine for March* 1792. *Forty-three blind poor were ſome time ago engaged at Liverpool, in different branches of manufacture, ſuch as ſpinning linen yarn and reeling it, making baſkets and hampers, &c. &c. and earned weekly from three to ſix ſhillings ſterling each. They became happy, it is ſaid, not merely by being relieved from poverty, but by enjoying ſome ſociety. It was propoſed alſo to inſtruct the blind in the principles of chriſtianity, which might afford them conſolation. If Liverpool, which has been the ſeminary of that abomination, the ſlave-trade, ſhould continue in theſe acts of charity, and ſhould relinquiſh the ſlave-trade, ſhe may, with repentance, make her ſins, which have been as ſcarlet, white as ſnow, and, after all, not vengeance of heaven may render her deſolate.*

*November*, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *The* CLAIMS *of* AMBITION, AVARICE, *and* ENVY.

SATAN, on his infernal throne,
Surrounded by his nobles, shone.
Around, inferior fiends appear,
Resolved his mandates to revere.
Applause they shout—the horrid yell
Shook the vast hall, and spread thro' hell.

"Stand forth, ye candidates for fame,
He cried, "let each prefer his claim.
"No partial judge ye here shall find;
"Firm is the temper of my mind.
"He who can best to sin entice
"The heir of (once) our Paradise,
"Viceroy of hell *we* shall proclaim—
"Second alone to *us* in fame."

Like thunder, dormant in a cloud,
A solemn silence hush'd the crowd;
Till, conscious of superior worth,
Enraged AMBITION sallied forth.

"Monarch of Hell," he cried, "canst "thou
"Delay my merits to allow?
"Each page my glorious deeds relates—
"Have I not crush'd both thrones and "states?
"See! to my power the virtuous yield;
"I load with death the ensanguined field;
"Doubly augment terrestrial woes,
"'Till earth a scene of slaughter glows.
"From haughty Nimrod, down to Clive,
"Continued triumphs I derive;
"And still on earth maintain my sway,
"Where cruel despots slaves obey.——
"Why are infernal deeds confessed?
"Did I not fire thy gallant breast,
"Jehovah's lofty throne to gain;
"Or, missing that, in hell to reign?"—
He ceased—acknowledging his cause,
His furious party roared applause.

With steady step, and artful mien,
Now cautious AVARICE is seen.
Not even prodigal of words,
Scarce elocution he affords;
But in his hand a purse displays,
At which e'en fiends with rapture gaze.—

"Satan! Ambition's claim reject;
"And my superior deeds respect.
"Through reason's glass my worth be-"hold;
"And know, that Rage oft yields to "Gold.
"Whether his arts inflame the great,
"Or upstarts seize the helm of state;
"Know, that to me his efforts tend,
"Riches his object and his end."—

Well-pleased, his words his party hear;
But from intemperate joy forbear.

Cunning and malice in her eyes,
ENVY's dire frame is seen to rise.
Her heart a stranger was to rest,
And serpents twined around her breast.

"Ruler of Hell! attend to me!
"From envy Satan is not free.
"In Heaven that fury I inspired,
"Which thy all-grasping spirit fired
"To meditate unheard-of things,
"And e'en dethrone the King of kings.
"To vie with Avarice I disdain;
"Ambition must confess my reign.
"What though in thee he claims a part;
"Chiefly I swayed thy restless heart;
"And bade thee seek the glorious prize,
"Owning no equal in the skies.
"Intent thy orders to obey,
"To hapless man extends my sway.
"The filial and parental breast
"Alike my fury have confessed;
"Empire I claim beneath the skies,
"Bursting asunder human ties;
"Tho' oft Ambition's haughty claim
"Deprives me of my well-earn'd fame.

In former days admired, beloved,
His speech by Satan was approved.—

"Envy! at fate no more repine;
"My delegate henceforward shine;
(The demon spoke) "nor hiss at me,
"Condemned to greater woes than thee.
"Thou canst no more advance in evils,
"If envious of the chief of devils."

*Philadelphia, Nov.* 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## SONNET.

BRIGHT were my prospects as yon beaming sun;
My breast was like the cloudless heavens serene;
Young, vig'rous, volatile,—I seem'd to shun
Misfortune's deadly enervating mien.

But, dare I name:—the idea rends my heart!
Despair's grim aspect stares me in the face;

None whom I ask a solace can impart,
Now grief doth all my former bliss deface.

Gone, with my parents, are my hopes---now joy,
Once rais'd to ecstacy, is ever fled!
They, who for me did all their time employ
Are now, alas, both numbered with the dead!
On thee, sole-ruling Sire! on thee I call,
Who ne'er forsook the humblest of us all.

H. K——, jun.

*Nov.* 6, 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS *to* MODESTY.

[*Occasioned by reading an elegant essay on Modesty, in the last month's Asylum.*]

MILD is thy aspect, gentle is thy air;
Tho' unassuming, not devoid of care;
Easy, yet graceful, unaffected, kind,
Meek, and ne'er anxious to display thy mind.
Image of innocence! 'tis thou dost grace
The soft engaging beauties of the face;
Tho' all reserve, still do thy looks impart,
A good, a noble, and a feeling heart.

H. K——, jun.

*Nov.* 6, 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

STANZAS.

SWEET is the breath of rosy morn,
And bright the dew on yonder thorn;
But sweeter, brighter far her charms,
Whose every smile my bosom warms.

Tho' lightnings flash, or thunders roll,
She whispers comfort to my soul,
Restrains impetuous wrath and grief,
And e'en in death shall yield relief.

Methinks I hear the curious cry,
"Repeat her name, for whom you sigh,"
Her name with candour I declare;
'Tis CONSCIENCE, ever mild and fair.

Not all the rage of cruel war,
Nor poverty, which most abhor,
Nor other ills, which man infest,
Shall tear her from my peaceful breast.

*Philadelphia, Nov.* 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SONG.

WHEN the ready pen I seize,
And each couplet flows with ease,
Deaf to fame, to fortune blind,
Youth and beauty cheer my mind.

Happy in my humble lot,
Wealth and grandeur are forgot,
Clara's form delights my eyes;
Clara's worth excites my sighs.

Cynics, then, no more upbraid
Homage thus to merit paid.---
In her placid, beauteous mind
E'en the grave might solace find.

Tho' upon a distant shore,
I her beauties would adore.
Who then can my flame upbraid,
Since *I daily see the maid?*

*Philadelphia, Nov.* 1792.

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* PROGRESS *of* FOLLY.

AS he who, standing on a height,
To various scenes extends his sight;
Beneath him sees the river flow;
Above him hears the tempest blow---
Meads, hills, and vales enchant his eyes,
Whilst culture bids the harvest rise---
Thus I, life's middle state obtain'd,
(Much has been lost, though something gain'd)
Survey what has been pass'd, and view,
With fancy's eyes, what may ensue.

Sweet state of *child-hood!*---none despise
The music of the infant's cries;
Or call that infant knave or dunce,
Since we ourselves were children once.
Thus sympathy prevails, and all
Pay homage to the scream and squawl,
Th' apothecary's charge disburse,
And owe due deference to the nurse.
The nurse, sole mistress of debate,
Rules, the chief minister of state.

'Tis her's at times to slap or kiss,
(And nothing can be done amiss)
To drive the pin aslant or strait;
With Moll to scold; with Tom to prate;
With dog and cat hold disputation,
Just as two factions sway a nation;
And for herself to cut and carve,
Tho' all the world beside should starve.

Sweet state of childhood!---Nurse discarded,
With presents, silks, and lace rewarded,
Flaunts gaily, and is heard to praise
The boy, her cares could only raise;
Kindly she visits him each Sunday,
And dining, dinner gets for Monday.

Sweet state of *boy-hood*! *Master* now,
A different field prepares to plough,
Or, rather, in that field engage,
Which chiefly shows the warrior's rage.
The youth, inspired by Dryden's rhymes;
With Hannibal the Alps who climbs;
Who, like Achilles, fights or flies,
Or, bold as Ajax, Heaven defies;
That youth (such is the will of fate)
On a *mild* master's *nod* must wait;
And, whilst he smarts for various blunders,
Great *Jove!* despises all thy thunders.

*Sweet state of youth!* the lad survey,
Escaped from flogging and from play.
He meditates on various matters;
Bows to the rich, the bold man flatters,
The features of the age expresses;
Flirts with coquettes; like coxcombs dresses;
And dares, tho' wondrous are thy ways,
To tread, O Policy! thy maze.

Now manhood's serious scenes appear,
That autumn of the ripening year;
Yet, whilst I hoped to be renown'd,
An early, cruel frost I found.
My real friends, alas! I lost;
My time by trifles was engross'd;
And, whilst I hoped ease to procure,
Dire poverty knock'd at my door.

Now to the grave's sad verge I tend,
Without a comforter, or friend.
Age can no better prospect show,
Than one continued scene of woe.
Each limb, now with the ague shakes;
Now I experience, Gout! thy aches.
Trusting to him who reigns on high,
I faint, I sicken, pine and die.

Remember ye! my verse who read,
That Wit to Folly must succeed.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

POVERTY *the* BEST SECURITY.

AT ten, says Tom, my doors I bolt and lock;
And then securely sleep, 'till six o'clock.
Thomas! says Dick, the man who would molest
Thy sleep, must be both knave and *fool* confessed.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*To a* HAUGHTY BEAUTY.

WHAT means that frown upon thy brow?
Why does thy tongue those strains allow,
Which terrify each wondering swain?
Art thou so conscious of thy sway,
As thus to teach us to obey,
By admiration, mixed with pain?
Should'st thou this conduct, Cynthia! long pursue,
All will neglect the belle, and slight the shrew.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* GENEROUS WOOER.

TO Jane my ardent vows I paid,
And fondly loved the charming maid;
But vainly different arts I tried;
The lovely nymph for Damon sighed.

The secret once disclosed, I flew
To Damon, who my passion knew;
And bade him (tho' with fault'ring voice,
And sorrow) in his fate rejoice.

United now in Hymen's bands,
Each heart with gratitude expands.
Her candour truly I commend,
And in my rival find a friend.

Ye who admire a shape and air,
And those frail charms which grace the fair,
Know love such raptures never knows,
As from a generous action flows.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PROCEEDINGS *of* CONGRESS, *in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October,* 1791.

*(Continued from page 281.)*

MR. FINDLEY—I object to the resolution for calling upon the secretary to report upon the ways and means, as contrary to the principles of the government, and inconsistent with the purity and independence of the house of representatives, whose duty it is, exclusively, to prepare or originate revenue laws.

I consider this mode as a transfer of legislative authority. It is a serious question, if legislative authority can be transferred by the constitutional representatives of the people? if it can, how far? If any part of the constitutional legislative trust can be transferred, may not all or any part thereof be so? The opinion I have received, and in which I am firmly persuaded, is, that neither the legislature, nor any branch thereof, can do any part of legislation by proxy—the members only are responsible for the discharge of that trust; they are the official judges of the principles and objects of legislation.

The house of representatives are peculiarly intrusted with the authority of digesting fiscal arrangements and principles; of saying what shall be a subject of taxation, to what amount, and the uses to which it shall be applied—this power is supposed, by the constitution of the united states, and by the constitutions of most or all of the separate states, to be a most important and influential part of legislative authority; hence the senates, though they are also the people's representatives, and are, in other respects, vested with equal legislative authority, are not permitted to prepare revenue systems; their attempting to do it, would be an unconstitutional usurpation of legislative power.

The method of transferring a power to the secretary, to digest the principles of money-bills, and report them officially to the house, accompanied with his arguments in support of the principles and arrrangements contained in his report; which has been sanctioned by congress, and is now about to be repeated by the resolution before you, I consider as a method of originating money-bills highly improper in itself, and which hath a dangerous tendency.

But a worthy member informs us, in defence of the resolution, that the secretary can prepare a revenue system with more consistency, with respect to the existing revenue laws, and better calculated to support public credit---that it will pass with greater facility through the house---that the members are unequal to the business—that the members do not possess sufficient information, to enable them to originate the business ---that the secretary only is possessed of the information competent to it---that we can judge of his systems when they are laid before us—as there will be always some to find out his defects and expose them. All these arguments, respecting the incompetency of the members for the business, and the superior fitness of the secretary, apply against the government itself; if the constitution vests this house with a trust which it is not qualified to discharge, it is time to change it, and adopt a more simple form. It is much better to have a minister responsible to the people, for the revenue systems they introduce, than to have his responsibility lost in the legislature—If the members of this house are only to give a sanction to the minister's systems, it is better to dispense with that sanction. I have no doubt but that the secretary of the treasury is very capable of discharging this duty; and if he was a member of this house, would be fit for his part of that trust---but this is not the place for panegyric---The minister's eminent abilities, or his want of them, are all one to me on this subject---The modesty of gentlemen, who declare themselves unfit, is not very honourable to the house, nor easy to be credited. Let the house fix its own principles, judge for themselves the proper sources of revenue, and of the uses to which it ought to be applied; and capacity and information will grow out of the investigation. If the members differ in opinion, as may be expected, they will propose different systems; and, by comparison and discussion, they will become the better acquainted with the subject. If the members stand in need of that information which arises from the operation of existing laws,

or of the efficiency of operating revenues, the president has a constitutional power to call upon the heads of departments for the information, and communicate it to the legislature; and the house, by its own authority, has a right to call for information, from any officer or department, upon any subject respecting which it may originate laws---this is a power incidental to legislation. But with respect to the general interests of the community, the knowledge of which must grow out of a representation of all the local interests, this can only be found among the members of this house, and if the representation was more numerous, and more equal, that kind of information would be still more perfect---certainly this house contains in itself more extensive knowledge of the people's wants and pressures, of their situation and prepossessions, and of their resources, than the most enlightened minister can possibly do; especially when it is considered, that all the documents locked up in the minister's office are at their command---The practice of the house, in depending on the minister to originate principles, and to furnish the house with volumes of arguments in favour of those principles, and the custom of members having recourse to those arguments, as authorities, has done more to dishonour congress, and lessen the members in the public esteem, since the change of the government, than any other part of their conduct. How can congress be respectable, if they spend long sessions, at a great expense, on the most influential parts of legislation, only to give a sanction to ministerial systems; or, at best, only to criticise and correct them.

If, as it is alleged, the secretary's framing revenue systems, is better calculated to support public credit, and gives the business a greater facility in its passage through the house---I say, if this is true, it proves the influence to be dangerous in a high degree---Certainly, public credit and the means of supporting it, ought to depend only on the will of the legislature, and neither on the wisdom nor the caprice of a minister; indeed, if it stands upon any other authority or influence, it is not fixed upon stable ground---for the legislature may, and will, some time or other, act upon its own principles, and in this case the change of systems may be the more sensible.

Gentlemen say, that it is proper the secretary should be permitted to accompany his report with arguments, in order to explain the principles thereof, and state the facts with which it is connected. I wholly object to a minister's dictating or propounding revenue systems, and still more to his supporting them with arguments; as it is carrying the influence of the executive administration to a still greater extent---the president has a constitutional right to communicate information, to recommend such business as he may think expedient, and to exercise a limited negative after the bills have passed both houses---but if the president was to claim a right to originate a money-bill, it would be judged contrary to the principles of the government, and dangerous to liberty. How much more dangerous, and I had almost said degrading, is it, to transfer that power to a temporay minister, not chosen by the people, nor responsible to them.

But one gentleman says, that this is made the secretary's duty, by the law which constitutes his office---that it is made his duty by law, is a sufficient apology for him in undertaking and discharging it, but not for the house in transferring it to him. I deny that the house can be bound by a law, with respect to its powers and duties; this house is as free to originate money-bills as the last house was, and any future house will be as free as this; the constitution is the only law whereby the powers and duties of this house can be governed, nor can we either decline a duty or transfer a trust, which has been specially bound on us by it. Nor will I agree with the gentlemen, that if it is an evil, it arises from necessity; certainly, if we are capable of altering, amending, or changing the principles of the secretary's reports altogether, as is granted, we must be capable, with due industry and attention, to originate them ourselves.

But we are further told, in defence of referring to the secretary, that if we do not do it ourselves, the committee employed, or some of the members, will have recourse to the secretary for assistance, and that, in this way, his principles and arguments will be introduced, with equal influence, secretly; and that it is better to face it openly, and for all the members to have equal advantages from it.

This argument is plausible indeed, but will not bear examination: so far is the method contended for from preventing private influence, that it produces it in a much greater degree; from the nature of the case, we may conclude, that a minister will not digest a revenue system, without adapting it to the views and interests of a number of

influential members, who will assist him in preparing it, and in influencing others to support it, when introduced; indeed it gives the greatest possible stimulus to private influence; for it not only combines an influential private interest to support it, but the minister's character, and the character of his friends, are much higher pledged for its success, than if the influence was private: Thus, I apprehend, this method is not only objectionable on account of the ministerial systems and arguments which the members receive in this house, and peruse in their closets; but also, on account of the greater inducement it must give to a more dangerous private influence, and, in time, to corruption.

But it is said, that we may, upon the same grounds, object to the president's address, recommending business to the legislature; and that myself and others, who oppose the reference in question, very lately advocated a report of the secretary of war, by carrying the substance of which into a law, we have saddled the government with a debt, for which we are now about to provide.

I have observed already, that the president has a right, created by the constitution, to recommend business to the legislature, as well as to give information of the state of the union; in consequence of this trust, he, by a report of his secretary, gave us information of the state and misfortunes of the Indian war, and his opinion of the force and expence that he judged necessary, to enable him to bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion; this information was constitutional and necessary; well knowing that an inadequate force, and the short enlistments, rendered the two last campaigns disgraceful, and increased the strength and irritation of the enemy, I voted for the increase of the army, and for longer enlistments; but I voted for higher wages than was reported, and we shall yet regret that this was not agreed to; and, I think, in doing so I was promoting the best interests of the country, and countenancing no unconstitutional influence. Surely, if the gentleman would reflect for a moment, he would not quote this as a precedent, to justify this house in voting a transfer of the peculiar and exclusive constitutional privileges, and unalienable trust of this house, to originate or digest the principles of revenue systems, to an executive officer, not known in the constitution, nor appointed by, or dependent on this house.

It has also been observed, that there is independence and good sense enough in this house, to examine, to alter, or reject a report of the secretary, notwithstanding his arguments which accompany it—and that we have done so in various instances. This I freely grant; nay I advocate more than this; I believe there is good sense and independence enough in this house, to digest and originate revenue systems, without the secretary's doing it for us. But what does this argument amount to? Why it amounts to giving the peculiar trust of originating to the secretary, and reserving that power to ourselves which the constitution vests in the other branch; the senate cannot prepare a money-bill, but they may alter, amend, or reject such as we prepare and transmit to them; and they have done so: is not this giving the power and influence in a great degree to the secretary, which the constitution gives to us? It is not in fact giving up the point? The senate are not permitted to digest their arguments, and transmit them to us, in support of business which they prepare; neither are we permitted to do so with them: Nay, it is unparliamentary to mention what we think would be agreeable to the senate, or the president, in our arguments on the floor, lest it should have the appearance of influencing the measure: The one branch cannot call upon the other officially to originate business; how unreasonable then is it, to refer the most important business to the secretary, to digest and prepare; and also to digest arguments for us, which we order to be printed, and put into every member's hand!

But this method is highly objectionable on another ground; it is putting the power of the business out of our own hands, with respect to the time of our deliberation; this is certainly more than we are authorized to do, or can be accountable for to our constituents—if this practice becomes established, I shall not be surprised to find a minister, in connection with his friends in the house, delaying to report on the most important business till near the end of the session, when many of the members are gone home, or so anxious to get home, that there will not be a sufficient opportunity for deliberation—such things are not usually attempted in public bodies, without the aid of a minister; in this house, I have heard the close of a session mentioned, as an apology for the passing of an improper law—it is not necessary to create new fears for the deliberations of the house. Before I had the honour of a seat in this house, I was informed of this method of originating revenue systems, and I always thought it wrong;

—I am not confident the oppoſition to it will ſucceed at this time; the ſeſſion is drawing near a cloſe, and the oppoſition of members, who advocate the propoſed reference, may delay the buſineſs, if originated in a way diſagreeable to them; theſe reaſons may induce ſome members to vote for it now, that would not do ſo in other circumſtances—however, if it is carried, I hope the precedent will not be ſtrengthened by a large majority. For my part, I pledge myſelf to perſevere in oppoſition thereto; and have no doubt, but when a more equal and more numerous repreſentation occupies this floor, this unwarrantable practice, of transferring ſo influential a part of the legiſlative truſt, will be changed.

The queſtion being put on the motion before the houſe—viz.—"*Reſolved*, that the ſecretary of the treaſury be directed to report to this houſe his opinion of the beſt mode for raiſing the additional ſupplies requiſite for the enſuing year"—the ſame was carried—*Yeas* 31---*Nays* 27.

*Yeas.* Ames, Barnwell, Benſon, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hillhouſe, Huger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Laurance, Learned, Livermore, Murray, Schoonmaker, Sedgwick, Seney, W. Smith, Steele, Sterrett, Sturges, Silveſter, Thatcher, Tucker, Vining, Wadſworth, Ward, and Wayne.

*Nays.* Aſhe, Baldwin, Brown, Clarke, Findley, Fitzſimons, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heiſter, Key, Kittera, Lee, Macon, Madiſon, Mercer, Moore, Muhlenberg, Niles, Page, Parker, Tredwell, Venable, White, Williamſon, and Willis.

In purſuance of this reſolution of the houſe, the ſecretary, on the 17th of March, reported his opinion of the beſt method of raiſing the additional ſupplies. The deficiency to be provided for was eſtimated at 525,950 dollars; which he propoſed to raiſe by additional duties on ſundry imported articles. Before he proceeded to an enumeration of the articles, he ſtated the reaſons which induced him to prefer this mode of raiſing the required ſum.

"*Three* expedients occur to the option of the government for providing this ſum. —*One*, to diſpoſe of the intereſt, to which the united ſtates are entitled in the bank of the united ſtates. This, at the preſent market price of bank ſtock, would yield a clear gain to the government, much more than adequate to the ſum required. *Another*, to borrow the money, upon an eſtabliſhment of funds either merely commenſurate with the intereſt to be paid, or affording a ſurplus which will diſcharge the principal by inſtalments within a ſhort term. The *third* is, to raiſe the amount by taxes.

"The *firſt* of theſe three expedients appears to the ſecretary altogether unadviſeable. Firſt—It is his preſent opinion, that it will be found, in various reſpects, permanently the intereſt of the united ſtates to retain the intereſt to which they are entitled in the bank. But, ſecondly—If this opinion ſhould not be well founded, it will be improvident to diſpoſe of it at the preſent juncture, ſince upon a comprehenſive view of the ſubject, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that its future value, at a period not very diſtant, will be conſiderably greater than its preſent—While the government will enjoy the benefit of whatever dividends ſhall be declared in the interval. And, thirdly—Whether it ſhall be deemed proper to retain or diſpoſe of this intereſt, the moſt uſeful application of the proceeds will be as a fund for extinguiſhing the public debt. A neceſſity of applying it to any different object, if it ſhould be found to exiſt, would be matter of ſerious regret.

"The *ſecond* expedient would, in the judgment of the ſecretary, be preferable to the firſt. For this the following reaſons, if there were no other, is preſumed to be concluſive—namely, That the probable increaſe of the value of the ſtock may itſelf be eſtimated as a conſiderable, if not a ſufficient fund, for the repayment of the ſum which might be borrowed. If the meaſure of a loan ſhould be thought eligible, it is ſubmitted as moſt adviſeable to accompany it with a proviſion, ſufficient not only to pay the intereſt, but to diſcharge the principal within a ſhort period. This will, at leaſt, mitigate the inconvenience of making an addition to the public debt.

"But the reſult of mature reflection is, in the mind of the ſecretary, a ſtrong conviction, that the *laſt* of the three expedients, which have been mentioned, is to be preferred to the other two.

"Nothing can more intereſt the national credit and proſperity, than a conſtant and ſyſtematic attention to huſband all the means we poſſeſs for extinguiſhing the preſent debt, and to avoid, as much as poſſible, the incurring of any new debt. Neceſſity alone therefore can juſtify the application of any of the public property, other than the annual revenues, to the current ſervice, or the temporary and caſual ex-

igencies of the country—or the contracting of an additional debt, by loans, to provide for those exigencies. Great emergencies indeed might exist, in which loans would be indispensible. But the occasions which will justify them must be truly of that description. The present is not of such a nature. The sum to be provided is not of magnitude enough to furnish the plea of necessity.

"Taxes are never welcome to a community. They seldom fail to excite uneasy sensations, more or less extensive. Hence a too strong propensity, in the governments of nations, to anticipate and mortgage the resources of posterity, rather than encounter the inconveniencies of a present increase of taxes. But this policy, when not dictated by very peculiar circumstances, is of the worst kind. Its obvious tendency is, by enhancing the permanent burthens of the people, to produce lasting distress, and its natural issue is in national bankruptcy. It will be happy, if the councils of this country, sanctioned by the voice of an enlightened community, shall be able to pursue a different course.

"Yielding to this impression, the secretary proceeds to state for the consideration of the house, the objects which have occurred to him as most proper to be resorted to, for raising the requisite sum by taxes.

"From the most careful view which he is able to take of all the circumstances, that at the present juncture naturally enter into consideration, he is led to conclude, that the most eligible mode, in which the necessary provision can at this time be made, is by some additional duties on imported articles. This conclusion is made with reluctance, for reasons which were noticed upon a former occasion, and from the reflection, that frequent and unexpected alterations in the rates of duties, on the objects of trade, by inducing uncertainty in mercantile speculations and calculations, are really injurious to commerce, and hurtful to the interests of those who carry it on. The stability of the duties to be paid by the merchants is in fact of more consequence to them than their quantum, if within reasonable bounds. It were therefore much to have been wished, that so early a resort to new demands on that class of citizens could have been avoided, and especially that they could have been deferred until a general tariff could have been maturely digested, upon principles, which might, with propriety, render it essentially stationary.

"But while there are these motives to regret, there are others of a consoling tendency, some of which indicate, that an augmentation of duties, at the present juncture, may have the effect of lessening some public evils, and producing some public benefits.

"It is a pleasing fact, if the information of the secretary be not very erroneous, that the improved state of the credit of this country enables our merchants to procure the supplies which they import from abroad upon much more cheap and advantageous terms than heretofore, a circumstance which must alleviate to them the pressure of somewhat higher rates of duty, and must contribute, at the same time, to reconcile them to burthens, which, being connected with an efficacious discharge of the duty of government, are of a nature to give solidity and permanency to the advantages they enjoy under it. It is certain also, that a spirit of manufacturing prevails at this time in a greater degree, than it has done at any antecedent period, and as far as an encrease of duties shall tend to second and aid this spirit, they will serve to promote essentially the industry, the wealth, the strength, the independence, and the substantial prosperity of the country.

"The returns for one year, ending the thirtieth of September last, evince a much increased importation, during that year, greater far than can be referred to a naturally increasing demand from the progress of population; and announce a probability of a more than a proportional increase of consumption; there being no appearance of an extraordinary abundance of goods in the market. If, happily, an extension of the duties shall operate as a restraint upon excessive consumption, it will be a salutary mean of preserving the community from future embarrassment, public and private. But if this should not be the case, it is at least prudent in the government, to extract from it the resources necessary for current exigencies, rather than postpone the burthen to a period, when that very circumstance may cause it to be more grievously felt.

"The different considerations unite with others, which will suggest themselves, to induce, in the present state of things, a preference of taxes on imported articles, to any other mode of raising the sum required."

These remarks were followed by an enumeration of the articles, on which he recommended the additional duties to be laid. He proposed that the existing duties on those articles should be repealed, and increased duties laid in their stead.

This report underwent a tedious discussion, first in a committee of the whole, and afterwards in the house. The proposal for laying additional duties on imposts was most strenuously opposed, on a variety of principles—It was said that the existing duties were sufficiently heavy, without imposing others still more burthensome and oppressive to commerce; that the proposed duties would, in all probability, tend to a diminution, instead of an augmentation of the revenue, by affording a strong temptation to smuggling; that our extended coast, abounding with harbours, was peculiarly favourable to such illicit practices, which could not be prevented by all the cutters government might employ; that it would be both impolitic and tyrannical to alienate the affections of a respectable part of the community, from the government, by first laying an oppressive tax, and afterwards harrassing them into submission, by a number of cutters, employed for that sole purpose, at an enormous expense; that the secretary himself, in his report of the 17th of December 1790, had entered into a lengthy train of arguments, to show that no additional duties on imports could with safety be laid, at that time; that there did not appear any reasons for changing his opinion, to suit the present occasion, unless his assertion, that "foreign commodities are imported on more advantageous terms than heretofore," and consequently that those commodities would bear an additional burthen, on their arrival here—but so far was this assertion from being verified by facts, that the reverse was more true, many imported articles having been lately raised to a higher price than they formerly bore, in foreign markets; that this hypothesis of a more advantageous importation than heretofore, was not more fallacious, than the visionary project of encouraging manufactures by an impolitic sacrifice of the interests of commerce; and indeed that every attempt to establish manufactures, by such partial measures, must be as unsuccessful as it was unjust, nothing being more evident, than that the advancement of manufactures, must be ultimately regulated by other circumstances.

The plan of ways and means proposed by the secretary was defended, chiefly on the grounds of there being a necessity to raise the money in some way, and of that recommended by the secretary being preferable to any other that had been mentioned. It was also said, that the gentlemen who displayed so much ability in objecting to this plan of ways and means, had not proposed any other in its stead.

The members who were against the secretary's plan, replied, that the *second* mode stated in the report had been mentioned by a member, before the secretary had reported on the subject, yet no further mention was now made of it, but the plan recommended by the secretary was embraced, without hesitation, as if it were because he said it was the best they could adopt. The second plan, viz. to borrow the money, was said to be greatly preferable, as, in this way, moderate taxes would answer the purposes of paying the interest, and of discharging the principal by instalments. At any rate, the mode of raising the acquired supply might, it was presumed, be advantageously varied. An additional duty on the tonnage of vessels belonging to nations not in alliance with us, while it contributed to the revenue, might induce those nations to seek commercial treaties with us; to this duty might be added, if necessary, the money arising from a sale of the western lands. But no part of the plan was more bitterly inveighed against than the establishment of a permanent revenue, when the ostensible and necessary object was, to raise money, for a temporary purpose. There was surely no just reason for repealing permanent duties, appropriated to a permanent object, for the purpose of laying heavier permanent duties to answer the purposes of a campaign. But advantage was artfully taken of a momentary necessity to establish revenues, that would continue to be raised, long after the object for which they had been established ceased to exist. It was therefore moved to amend the bill, by limiting the time for which the proposed duties were to continue; after which the duties heretofore established should again take place, and be appropriated in the same manner as they would have been, had the proposed act never been passed.—Against this amendment it was said, that it was impossible to say how long the war might continue; and that any or every future congress would be as good judges as the present, at what time the whole, or any part of the additional duties ought to be repealed, which they would not fail to do, as soon as such a measure appeared safe and necessary. On taking the question, there was a very remarkable division—there being in favour of the amend-

ment 32, and againſt it 31---the ſpeaker voted with the latter; ſo that the houſe was equally divided, and conſequently the amendment was loſt.

*Yeas.* Aſhe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heiſter, Jacobs, Lee, Macon, Madiſon, Mercer, Moore, Niles, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Seney, Sheredine, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sturges, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamſon, and Willis.

*Nays.* Trumbull, (ſpeaker) Ames, Barnwell, Benſon, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzſimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hartley, Hillhouſe, Huger, Key, Kitchell, Kittera, Laurance, Learned, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Murray, W. Smith, Sterret, Silveſter, Thatcher, Vining, Wadſworth, and Ward.

The bill was finally paſſed, by a large majority.——Yeas 37; Nays 20.

# POLITICAL REGISTER.

## SPEECH *of the* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES *to both* HOUSES *of* CONGRESS, *at the opening of the preſent Seſſion.*

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,*

IT is ſome abatement of the ſatisfaction, with which I meet you on the preſent occaſion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national proſperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hoſtilities, which have, for ſome time paſt, diſtreſſed our north-weſtern frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am perſuaded, learn, with no leſs concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours, towards effecting a pacification, have hitherto iſſued only in new and outrageous proofs of perſeveriug hoſtility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in conteſt. An earneſt deſire to procure tranquility to the frontier—to ſtop the further effuſion of blood---to arreſt the progreſs of expenſe---to forward the prevalent wiſh of the nation, for peace, has led to ſtrenuous efforts, through various channels, to accompliſh theſe deſirable purpoſes:---In making which efforts, I conſult leſs my own anticipations of the event, or the ſcruples which ſome conſiderations were calculated to inſpire, than the wiſh to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to aſcertain, unequivocally, that ſuch is the caſe.

A detail of the meaſures which have been purſued, and of their conſequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of ſucceſs, thus far, will, I truſt, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been deviſed, have been employed. The iſſue of ſome of them, indeed, is ſtill depending; but a favourable one, though not to be deſpaired of, is not promiſed by any thing that has yet happened.

In the courſe of the attempts which have been made, ſome valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public ſervice.---A ſanction commonly reſpected, even among ſavages, has been found, in this inſtance, inſufficient to protect from maſſacre, the emiſſaries of peace; it will, I preſume, be duly conſidered, whether the occaſion does not call for an exerciſe of liberality towards the families of the deceaſed.

It muſt add to your concern, to be informed, that beſides the continuation of hoſtile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, ſome threatening ſymptoms have of late been revived among ſome of thoſe ſouth of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tenneſſee river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring ſettlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of Holſton, made with the Cherokee nation, in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of ſuch depredations. But the event has not

answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the united states in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto defensive precautions, only, have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the united states, or their citizens, is even alleged, as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarrel.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised, have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete. And pains have been taken to discipline, and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations, and, among other things will enable congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be adviseable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenue for the present year, is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burthens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds from the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostilities.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier; and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which, all pacific plans must prove nugatory.—To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside amongst them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated—This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the united states. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening in local extent; and as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged special interposition on my part, proper and adviseable, and, under this impression, have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws.—In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniencies that are experienced, in the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which tending to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the

courts of the united ſtates, and a ſupplementary definition of offences againſt the conſtitution and laws of the union, and of the puniſhment for ſuch offences, will, it is preſumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Obſervations on the value of peace with other nations are unneceſſary. It would be wiſe, however, by timely proviſions, to guard againſt thoſe acts of our own citizens, which might tend to diſturb it, and to put ourſelves in a condition to give that ſatisfaction to foreign nations, which we may ſometime have occaſion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your conſideration the means of preventing thoſe aggreſſions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furniſhing juſt ſubject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourſe with foreign powers will be preſented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpoſe, which takes place, if not renewed, at the cloſe of the preſent ſeſſion.

In execution of the authority given by the legiſlature, meaſures have been taken for engaging ſome artiſts from abroad to aid in the eſtabliſhment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Proviſion has been made of the requiſite buildings, and theſe are now putting into proper condition for the purpoſes of the eſtabliſhment. There has alſo been a ſmall beginning in the coinage of half-diſmes; the want of ſmall coins in circulation calling the firſt attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correſpondency with the principles of our national coinage, as being eſſential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be reſumed and completed.

It is repreſented that ſome proviſions in the law which eſtabliſhes the poſt-office operate, in experiment, againſt the tranſmiſſion of newſpapers to diſtant parts of the country.—Should this, upon due enquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a conſtitution for the ſtate of Kentuckey has been notified to me.—The legiſlature will ſhare with me in the ſatisfaction which ariſes from an event intereſting to the happineſs of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewiſe to inform you, that ſince my laſt communication on the ſubject, and in further execution of the acts, ſeverally making proviſion for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins,—one at Antwerp, at the annual intereſt of four and one half per cent. with an allowance of four per cent in lieu of all charges, and the other two at Amſterdam, at the annual intereſt of four per centum, with an allowance of five and one-half per centum in one caſe, and of five per centum in the other, in lieu of all charges —The rates of theſe loans, and the circumſtances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high ſtate of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which theſe funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the proviſion made during the laſt ſeſſion, has been embraced.

*Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,*

I entertain a ſtrong hope, that the ſtate of the national finances is now ſufficiently matured, to enable you to enter upon a ſyſtematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and diſcharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reſerved to the government——no meaſure can be more deſirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinſic importance, or to the general ſentiment and wiſh of the nation.

Proviſion is likewiſe requiſite for the reimburſement of the loan which has been made of the bank of the united ſtates, purſuant to the eleventh ſection of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public ſtipulations, in this particular, it is expected a valuable ſaving will be made.

Appropriations for the current ſervice of the enſuing year, and for ſuch extraordinaries as may require proviſion, will demand, and, I doubt not, will engage your early attention.

*Gentlemen of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives,*

I content myſelf with recalling your attention, generally to ſuch objects, not particularized in my preſent, as have been ſuggeſted in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents—such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under divine providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States, November* 6. 1792.

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ADDRESS *from the* SENATE, *in answer to the* PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

ACCEPT, sir, our grateful acknowledgements for your address at the opening of the present session. We participate with you in the satisfaction arising from the continuance of the general prosperity of the nation; but it is not without the most sincere concern that we are informed, that the reiterated efforts which have been made to establish peace with the hostile Indians have hitherto failed to accomplish that desired object; hoping that the measures still depending may prove more successful than those which have preceded them, we shall nevertheless concur in every necessary preparation for the alternative; and should the Indians on either side of the Ohio persist in their hostilities, fidelity to the union, as well as affection for our fellow-citizens on the frontiers, will insure our decided co-operation in every measure, which shall be deemed requisite for their protection and safety.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the union—we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that even a small portion of our fellow-citizens in any quarter of it, should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the united states; a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it.—Should the means already adopted, fail in securing obedience to this law, such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the legislature, and the support of every patriotic citizen.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn that the productiveness of the revenue of the present year will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

The organization of the government of the state of Kentucky, being an event peculiarly interesting to a part of our fellow-citizens, and conducive to the general order, affords us particular satisfaction.

We are happy to learn that the high state of our credit abroad, has been evinced by the terms on which the new loans have been negociated.

In the course of the session we shall proceed to take into consideration the several objects which you have been pleased to recommend to our attention; and keeping in view the importance of union and stability in the public councils, we shall labour to render our decisions conducive to the safety and happiness of our country.

We repeat with pleasure our assurances of confidence in your administration, and our ardent wish that your unbated zeal for the public good, may be rewarded by the durable prosperity of the nation, and every ingredient of personal happiness.

JOHN LANGDON, President *pro temp.* of the senate.

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*The President's Reply.*

I DERIVE much pleasure, gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledge-

ments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call, I ſhall not ceaſe to count upon the firm, enlightened, and patriotic ſupport of the ſenate.

G. WASHINGTON.

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ADDRESS *from the* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *in Anſwer to the* PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

SIR,

THE houſe of repreſentatives, who always feel a ſatisfaction in meeting you, are much concerned, that the occaſion for mutual felicitation afforded by the circumſtances favourable to the national proſperity, ſhould be abated by a continuance of the hoſtile ſpirit of many of the Indian tribes; and particularly that the reiterated efforts for effecting a general pacification with them, ſhould have iſſued in new proofs of their perſevering enmity, and the barbarous ſacrifices of citizens, who, as the meſſengers of peace, were diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their zeal for the public ſervice. In our deliberations on this important department of our affairs, we ſhall be diſpoſed to purſue every meaſure that may be dictated by the ſincereſt deſire, on one hand, of cultivating peace, and manifeſting, by every practical regulation, our benevolent regard for the welfare of theſe miſguided people; and by the duty we feel, on the other, to provide effectually for the ſafety and protection of our fellow-citizens.

While with regret, we learn, that ſymptoms of oppoſition to the law impoſing duties on ſpirits diſtilled within the united ſtates, have manifeſted themſelves, we reflect with conſolation, that they are confined to a ſmall portion of our fellow-citizens. It is not more eſſential to the preſervation of true liberty, that a government ſhould be always ready to liſten to the repreſentations of its conſtituents, and to accommodate its meaſures to the ſentiments and wiſhes of every part of them as far as will conſiſt with the good of the whole, than it is, that the juſt diſtribution of the laws ſhould be ſtedfaſtly maintained.

Under this impreſſion, every department of government, and all good citizens muſt approve of the meaſures you have taken, and the purpoſe you have formed to execute this part of your truſt with firmneſs and energy: and be aſſured, ſir, of every conſtitutional aid and co-operation which may become requiſite on our part: and we hope, that while the progreſs of contentment, under the law in queſtion, is as obvious as it is rational, no particular part of the community may be permitted to withdraw from the general burthens of the country, by a conduct as irreconcileable with national juſtice, as it is inconſiſtent with public decency.

The productive ſtate of the public revenue and the confirmation of the credit of the united ſtates abroad, evinced by the loans at Antwerp and Amſterdam, are communications the more gratifying, as they enforce the obligation to enter on ſyſtematic and effectual arrangements for diſcharging the public debt, as faſt as the conditions of it will permit; and we take pleaſure in the opportunity to aſſure you of our entire concurrence in the opinion, that no meaſure can be more deſirable, whether viewed with an eye to the urgent wiſh of the community, or the intrinſic importance of promoting ſo happy a change in our ſituation.

The adoption of a conſtitution for the ſtate of Kentucky, is an event in which we join in all the ſatisfaction you have expreſſed; it may be conſidered as particularly intereſting, ſince, beſides the immediate buſineſs reſulting from it, it is another auſpicious demonſtration of the facility and ſucceſs, with which an enlightened people is capable of providing, by free and deliberate plans of government, for their own ſafety and happineſs.

The operation of the law eſtabliſhing the poſt-office, as it relates to the tranſmiſſion of newſpapers, will merit our particular inquiry and attention; the circulation of political intelligence through theſe vehicles, being juſtly reckoned among the ſureſt means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government, as well as of recommending every ſalutary public meaſure to the confidence and co-operation of all virtuous citizens.

The several other matters which you have communicated and recommended will in their order receive the attention due to them. And our discussions will, in all cases, we trust, be guided by a proper respect for harmony and stability in the public councils, and a desire to conciliate, more and more, the attachments of our constituents to the constitution, by measures accommodated to the true ends for which it was established.

By order of the house,

JONA. TRUMBULL, *Speaker.*

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*To the above the President returned the following reply.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me, as I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws—and the assurance which you at the same time give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation, that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the house of representatives:—a perseverance in which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

G. WASHINGTON.

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EXPOSITION *of the Motives on which the* FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY *have proclaimed the Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the Suspension of the Executive Power in the hands of the King.*

THE national assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France; they fancied they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The national assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the king employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction which the constitution granted him. In the mean time those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the king; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority, that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the king, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correspondence of these facts with the conduct of the king authorized, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be sus-

pended without being annihilated, ſhewed clearly how the veto, ſuſpenſive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the king the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the meaſures which the legiſlative body might think neceſſary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people ſhewed thoſe gloomy diſcontents that announced ſtorms, and the ſuſpicions which accuſed the executive powers diſplayed themſelves with energy.

The national aſſembly were not diſcouraged. Princes who profeſſed themſelves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants, not an aſylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themſelves into military bodies, of levying ſoldiers, of providing military ſtores; and the king was invited, by a ſolemn meſſage, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a ſilence that had been kept but too long. He ſeemed to yield to the national wiſh; preparations for war were ordered; but it was ſoon perceived, that the negociations conducted by a miniſtry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promiſes, which remained unexecuted, could not but be regarded as a ſnare or an inſult. The league of kings aſſumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league, appeared the emperor, brother-in-law to the king of the French, united to the nation by a treaty uſeful to him alone, which the conſtituting aſſembly, deceived by the miniſtry, had maintained by ſacrificing to preſerve the hope, at that time well founded, of an alliance with the houſe of Brandenburgh.

The national aſſembly thought that it was neceſſary for the ſafety of France, to oblige the emperor to declare, whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give ſuccours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of ſeparating the king from the nation, and of repreſenting a war againſt the French people, as ſuccours granted to his ally. The emperor's anſwer augmented the diſtruſt which this combination of circumſtances rendered ſo natural. In it he repeated the abſurd charges againſt the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the French people, againſt the popular ſocieties eſtabliſhed in our cities, with which the partizans of the French miniſtry had long wearied the counter-revolution preſſes. He made proteſtations of his deſire to continue the ally of the king, and he had juſt ſigned a new league againſt France, in favour of the authority of the king of the French.

Theſe leagues, theſe treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had ſolicited them in the name of the king, had been concealed by the miniſters from the repreſentatives of the people. No public diſavowal of theſe intrigues, no effort to prevent or diſſolve this conſpiracy of monarchs, had ſhewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the king had ſincerely united his own cauſe to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, ſtruck every mind; the national aſſembly thought it their duty to examine with vigor the conduct of the miniſter for foreign affairs; and a decree of accuſation was the reſult of this examination. His colleagues diſappeared with him, and the king's council was formed of patriot miniſters.

The ſucceſſor of Leopold followed the courſe of his father. He thought proper to require for the princes, formerly poſſeſſing feifs in Alſace, indemnifications incompatible with the French conſtitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other cauſes of complaint, which could not, he ſaid, be diſcuſſed, before having tried the force of arms.

The king ſeemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a ſhameful weakneſs; he ſeemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an intereſt in his fate, and to deſire his alliance, for no purpoſe but to ſow ſeeds of diſcord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to ſtop or diſconcert their motions, he propoſed war by the unanimous voice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the aſſemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by ſhewing troops in readineſs to ſecond them on the firſt ſucceſs, by preparing a retreat for them, by perſiſting in a threatening league, the king of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence ruinous in their expenſe, exhauſted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conſpirators diſperſed through the depar-

ments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

The national assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, on the secret councils of the king; but they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political divisions; discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintaining the national independence.

The machinations of the priests, become more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensible; one was passed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers, was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while at the same time it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their disquietudes might have produced; the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

The constitution had granted to the king a guard of 180 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the constitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

The assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of counter revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the king bestowed praises on those very men, whose dismission from his service he had just pronounced, on those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

The new ministers excited well-founded distrust, and as this distrust could not stop at them, it fell on the king himself.

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution.—The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition in it; they solicited the recal of the patriotic ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the national assembly; after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the king, and to present it under the forms established by law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism gave him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the king, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The king had mounted the ensigns of liberty, he had done justice to the citizens by declaring that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the twentieth of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments, between the people and the army, between the several portions of the national guard, between the citizens who remained at their homes and those who were flying to the defence of the

ſtate. The very next day the king changed his language, a proclamation, full of calumny, was profuſely diſtributed among the armies; one of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A conſiderable number of directors of department by unconſtitutional reſolutions, diſcloſed the plan they had long before formed, of raiſing themſelves into a ſort of intermediate power between the people and their repreſentatives; between the national aſſembly and the king. Juſtices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve thoſe of the patriots, whoſe vigilance and whoſe talents were the moſt dreaded. Already one of thoſe juſtices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the repreſentatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dextrouſly concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extenſion to the royal authority. Letters were found from the miniſter for the home department, directing the employing of force againſt the federates, who might wiſh to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the national aſſembly, all the patriotiſm of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of diſorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotiſm had extinguiſhed in fraternal union, the diviſions that had appeared but too often in the national aſſembly, and from this alſo the means of ſafety might have ſprung. The proſecutions commenced by the king's order, at the inſtance of the intendant of the civil liſt, might have been ſtopped: the virtuous Petition puniſhed by an unjuſt ſuſpenſion, for having ſpared the blood of the people, might have been reinſtated by the king; and it was poſſible, that this long ſeries of faults and treaſons, might have fallen again entirely upon thoſe perfidious counſellors, to whom a confiding people had long the habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The national aſſembly then ſaw, that the ſafety of the country required extraordinary meaſures.

They opened a diſcuſſion on the means of ſaving their country; they inſtituted a commiſſion charged to conſider of and prepare a plan of theſe means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all perſons in public truſt to their poſts, and yet in the midſt of complaints unceaſing repeatedly of the inaction of government, on the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, on the uſeleſs or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, miniſters unknown or ſuſpected, were ſeen to ſucceed one another rapidly, and to preſent, under new names, the ſame inactivity, and the ſame principles.

A declaration of the general of the army, which doomed to death all freemen, and promiſed to cowards and traitors his diſgraceful protection, could not but add to theſe ſuſpicions. In it the enemy of France ſeemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the king of the French. Twenty-ſix millions of men were nothing in his eſtimation, in compariſon of a privileged family; their blood muſt wet the earth to avenge the ſlighteſt inſult; and the king, inſtead of expreſſing his indignation againſt a manifeſto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, ſeemed to oppoſe to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid diſavowal.

Who then can be aſtoniſhed that diſtruſt in the ſupreme head of the executive power ſhould inſpire citizens with the deſire of no longer ſeeing the forces intended for the common defence at the diſpoſition of a king, in whoſe name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquility, confided to him, whoſe intereſts were the pretexts of all her troubles? To theſe motives, common to all France, were joined others, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They ſaw the families of the conſpirators at Coblentz, forming the habitual ſociety of the king and his family. Writers paid by the civil liſt, endeavoured, by baſe calumnies, to render the Pariſians odious or ſuſpected in the eyes of the reſt of France. Attempts were made to ſow diviſion between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it a party of royaliſts. In fine, the enemies of liberty ſeemed to be divided between Paris and Coblentz, and their audacity increaſed with their number.

The conſtitution enjoined the king to give notice of imminent hoſtilities to the national aſſembly; and long ſolicitations were neceſſary to obtain from the miniſtry the tardy information of the march of the Pruſſian troops. The conſtitution pronounced

abdication againſt the king if he did not, by ſome formal act, declare his oppoſition to enterprizes undertaken in his name againſt the nation, and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the king's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military houſehold for him out of France; and theſe facts were known for more than ſix months before the king, whoſe public declarations, whoſe remonſtrances with foreign powers might have hindered the ſucceſs of theſe meaſures had diſcharged the duties impoſed upon him by the conſtitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, ſent from a great number of the departments, the wiſh of the ſeveral ſections of Paris, followed by the general expreſſion of the wiſh of the whole commons, ſolicited the forfeiture of the king, or the ſuſpenſion of the royal power, and the national aſſembly could no longer ſhrink from the examination of this grand queſtion.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-conſidered examination, after a ſolemn diſcuſſion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhauſted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the ſame will; they marched towards the place of the king's reſidence, and the king came to ſeek an aſylum in the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people, whoſe ſeat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the departments, would always render an aſylum inviolable and ſacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the reſidence which the king had abandoned, but with them Swiſs ſoldiers were ſtationed. The people had long ſeen with painful ſurprize, Swiſs battalions ſharing the guard of the king, although the conſtitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been eaſy to foreſee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature conſtantly obtruded itſelf on every eye, would ſooner or later occaſion great misfortunes. The national aſſembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, diſcuſſions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had appriſed the king ſeveral months before of the neceſſity of diſmiſſing from about his perſon men, whom every where elſe the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not ſee retained about a conſtitutional king, in direct contradiction to the conſtitution, without ſuſpecting that they had become the inſtruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, ſupported by the miniſtry, demanded changes in the decree; the national aſſembly conſented to thoſe changes. A part of the ſoldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew diſquiets; and it was contrary to the ſenſe of the national aſſembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of Auguſt they were employed on a ſervice, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away, they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the inſtant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal ſigns of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the inſtant when a deputation of the national aſſembly was ſeen advancing in the midſt of arms, to ſpeed the words of peace and conciliation, and to prevent carnage. Then nothing could ſtop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of thoſe of which they had long been the victims.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the national aſſembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their poſt, they took the oath to ſave France, and they ſought for the means.

They ſaw but one, which was that of recurring to the will ſupreme of the people, and inviting them to exerciſe immediately their unalienable right of ſovereignty, which the conſtitution has recogniſed, and which it could not ſubject to any reſtitution. The public intereſt required that the people ſhould manifeſt their will by the ſenſe of a national convention, formed of repreſentatives inveſted by them with unlimited powers; it required no leſs than that the members of this convention ſhould be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the national aſſembly could not reſtrain the powers of the ſovereign people, from whom alone the members of that aſſembly hold all the powers they poſſeſs. They were bound to confine themſelves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the ſimple regulation traced out for them. In theſe, the forms inſtituted for elections were reſpected, becauſe the eſtabliſhment of new forms, even ſup-

posing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws; because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature had prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territority, for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the national assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of 40 days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the king had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people, the only means of saving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the king, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands, which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution, and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The constitution foresaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people, those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which is fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously prescribed.

The national assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious personal views; they decreed, that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attend their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our division. Woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself wholly to the common defence, who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices.

It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly, the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other interest, but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to the love of our country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wishes, in making a use of their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. For us, we have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty, that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, on quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our consciences; to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a conduct more weak would have made to flow: we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed) GUADET, President.

Goujon, G. Romme, Marans, Creitin, Arena Lecointre Puiravaux, Secretaries.

Paris, August 20, 1792.

# The CHRONICLE.

## FRANCE.

FROM the confused, contradictory, and evidently erroneous accounts, which have been received in the course of the present month, respecting the affairs of France, little can with certainty be collected. It does not appear, that the operations of the armies have been productive of any very important or decisive event. In a London paper of the 2d of October, there is an extract of a letter from Ostend, dated the 29th of September, in which it is said, that the duke of Brunswick took possession of Chalons on the 22nd, and of Rheims on the 24th of that month; and that his advanced guard was at Meaux, about twelve leagues from Paris—the letter-writer adds, that Dumourier's army, consisting of 25,000 men, had been surrounded by the Austrians, and obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion—This intelligence wears a very suspicious appearance; as Paris accounts, to the 30th of September, received at London, took no notice of any such events.—It is worthy of remark, that in the sitting of the 29th of September, a letter from the commissioners to the northern army, dated *Chalons, Sept. 27th*, was read in the national convention, in which they mention that "the situation of the enemy was such as to give them great hopes."—French accounts state that volunteers continue to flock to their armies, which however are not well supplied with military stores; that their enemies are reduced to the greatest straits, from a scarcity of provisions, and that numbers desert daily to the standard of liberty.—M. Montesquieu has over-run almost the whole duchy of Savoy, and taken possession of Chambery, the capital. He was every where well received by the inhabitants, who seem to have a relish for the principles of French liberty.

On the twenty-first of September the national assembly was dissolved, by the meeting of the convention on that day. The national convention, having chosen M. Petion president, immediately proceeded to business. The following decree was passed on the morning of their meeting, and received with loud and long-continued applauses —"The national convention decree, that royalty is abolished in France." A com-

mittee of twelve has been appointed to prepare the plan of a conſtitution; which is to be publiſhed "for the examination of all free and enlightened men in France and Europe," and is not to be diſcuſſed until two months ſhall have elapſed from the time of its being preſented. Mr. Paine and Dr. Prieſtly were elected members of the convention; the former took his ſeat, but the latter declined ſerving.

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PHILADELPHIA, *November* 10.

ACCORDING to a letter from Louiſville, in Kentucky, (dated October 14) "A treaty was opened on the 24th of Sept. at Poſt Vincennes, with ſeven nations of Indians, viz. The Eelrivers, Weachteon, Piankiſhaws, Potawathemas, Kickapoos, Kiſkaſkias, and Muſquetoes. The treaty was concluded on the 27th of the ſame month. Theſe nations have buried the hatchet, and are now entirely broke off from the league of the war nations." It is added, that the principal chiefs of theſe nations, ſixteen in number, are now on their way to this city.

The town of Fayetteville, in North-Carolina, ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs by fire, on the evening of the 23d of October. About forty tenantable dwelling houſes and ſtores were conſumed, in ſpite of every exertion, and twenty-eight buildings of other deſcriptions. The whole loſs in buildings is ſaid to amount to 30,000l.—no eſtimate is yet formed of the loſs in goods and houſhold furniture, but it is thought to be conſiderably leſs than that in buildings.

The troops at and about Pittſburgh are ſhortly to move into winter quarters. The place fixed on for this purpoſe is ſaid to be on the Ohio river near Log's-Town, where the ſoldies are to erect huts, to ſhelter themſelves during the enſuing winter.

*Extract of a letter from Holland.*

"You have already been informed that our government has prohibited the importation of tea, coming from your ports, and now has laid an additional duty of one per cent on all American imports, and an half per cent on exports for your continent. This meaſure has been taken to counterbalance the prohibition lately made on your ſide, of Holland gin in caſes; which article was one of the few we were able to furniſh you with, in return for your cargoes of tobacco, rice, &c. As, by this innovation, your trade is to ſuffer much more than ours, your rulers may, of courſe, be convinced of the truth of that French adage, "Qui trop embraſſe, mal etreint."

Learn this ſhort leſſon from the Dutch,
That "*they loſe all who graſp too much*".

17*th.* On the 30th of October laſt, a violent gale from the eaſtward did ſome damage to the ſhipping in the harbour of Charleſton, S.C. fortunately, it being low water on the bar, during the height of the gale, the ſhipping did not ſuffer ſo much as might have been otherwiſe expected. Some wooden buildings were blown down.

*Letter from* James Seagrove, *Eſq. (agent for Indian affairs in the ſouthern department of the united ſtates) to the citizens of the ſtate of Georgia.*

"It being (in my opinion) of ſome conſequence to the citizens of Georgia to know the diſpoſition of the Creek Indians towards them at this time, I have therefore taken this mode of aſſuring them, that, from the whole of my late communications, and the inveſtigation of matters, I do not find any diſpoſition in the chiefs of the Creek nation, to be unfriendly to any part of the united ſtates. On the contrary, I have reaſon to think it the wiſh of nine tenths of that nation, to be in ſtrict friendſhip with us.

Many and baſe have been the attempts of late to miſlead thoſe unfortunate people, notwithſtanding which, I will venture to aſſure the citizens of this country of a continuance of peace, and a friendly intercourſe between them and the Creek nation, unleſs the reſtleſs, vicious diſpoſition of ſome of the white people among us, ſhould oblige the Indians to adopt a different line of conduct.

All attempts from any foreign quarter to miſlead them, I conſider of little or no conſequence; much more miſchief is to be dreaded from the ill-diſpoſed among ourſelves. It therefore becomes incumbent on every good man in this country, as he values peace, and the proſperity of Georgia, to uſe every exertion to prevent any outrage or injury being committed on the Indians, or their property. Herewith I ſend, for immediate publication in the Gazette, three talks which I received a few days paſt from chiefs who are well known to be of the firſt conſequence in the nation. I am in poſſeſſion of many other ſtrong proofs that we ſtand well with the ſouthern tribes, but thoſe I now ſend will ſerve to convey the wiſhes of the Creeks."

# METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of OCTOBER, 1792.

| Days. | Barom. Eng. foot. In. | Therm. of Farenh. D. | Therm. of Reaum. D. | Anemometer Prevail. Wind | rain | thunder | tempest | WEATHER. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 29 9 11 | 54 5 | 10 0 | W | | | | Fair, |
| | 29 8 15 | 74 7 | 19 0 | N | 1 | | | Overcast, rain |
| 2 | 29 11 9 | 37 6 | 2 5 | N | 1 | | | Rainy |
| | 30 0 5 | 54 5 | 10 0 | N | | | | Cloudy |
| 3 | 30 1 0 | 32 0 | 0 0 | W | | | | Fair |
| | 29 11 11 | 60 1 | 12 5 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 4 | 29 10 0 | 43 2 | 5 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 29 11 2 | 68 0 | 16 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 5 | 30 2 0 | 41 0 | 4 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 2 8 | 65 7 | 15 0 | NW | | | | Idem |
| 6 | 30 4 0 | 37 2 | 2 3 | NW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 3 15 | 65 7 | 15 0 | NNW | | | | Idem |
| 7 | 30 4 0 | 40 5 | 3 8 | NNW | | | | Foggy, fair |
| | 30 2 15 | 68 0 | 16 0 | NNE | | | | Fair overcast |
| 8 | 30 2 6 | 39 9 | 3 5 | ENE | | | | Fair |
| | 30 1 15 | 68 0 | 16 0 | ENE | | | | Idem |
| 9 | 30 1 3 | 45 5 | 6 0 | NNE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 3 | 68 7 | 16 3 | NNE | | | | Idem |
| 10 | 29 11 2 | 41 0 | 4 0 | NNE | | | | Idem |
| | 29 10 11 | 78 1 | 20 5 | SW. | | | | Idem |
| 11 | 29 10 15 | 45 5 | 6 0 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 29 9 15 | 77 9 | 20 4 | SW | | | | Idem |
| 12 | 29 8 9 | 54 5 | 10 0 | S | | | | Overcast |
| | 29 4 8 | 68 0 | 16 0 | E | 1 | | 1 | Rain, high wind |
| 13 | 29 4 15 | 51 0 | 8 5 | WSW | 1 | | 1 | Idem, Idem |
| | 29 8 9 | 70 2 | 17 0 | W | | | | Cloudy |
| 14 | 29 10 11 | 47 7 | 7 0 | SW | | | | Fair |
| | 29 10 11 | 77 0 | 20 0 | SSW | | | | Idem |
| 15 | 29 8 15 | 61 2 | 13 0 | SSW | 1 | | | Rainy, cloudy |
| | 29 8 8 | 58 0 | 14 0 | SSW | | | | Small rain |
| 16 | 29 11 6 | 43 2 | 5 0 | W | | | | Fair |
| | 30 0 2 | 75 4 | 19 3 | WNW | | | | Idem |
| 17 | 30 0 6 | 38 71 | 3 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 0 15 | 64 61 | 14 51 | W | 1 | 1 | | Idem |
| 18 | 29 10 6 | 47 7 | 7 0 | W | | | | Foggy |
| | 29 10 6 | 46 6 | 6 5 | NW | 1 | | | Rainy, windy |
| 19 | 30 2 4 | 34 2 | 1 0 | E | | | | Fair |
| | 30 2 3 | 61 9 | 13 3 | E | | | | Idem |
| 20 | 30 1 11 | 39 2 | 3 2 | ESE | | | | Foggy |
| | 29 11 2 | 65 7 | 15 0 | ESE | | | | Cloudy |
| 21 | 29 8 12 | 52 2 | 9 0 | SSW | 1 | | | Cloudy, rain |
| | 29 9 15 | 56 7 | 11 0 | W | | | | Fair, windy |
| 22 | 30 3 6 | 32 4 | 0 2 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 4 6 | 50 7 | 8 3 | W | | | | Idem |
| 23 | 30 6 0 | 28 6 | 1 5 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 30 5 9 | 60 1 | 12 5 | E | | | | Idem |
| 24 | 30 5 6 | 34 2 | 1 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 30 3 4 | 65 3 | 14 8 | S | 1 | | | Idem, rain |
| 25 | 30 2 2 | 46 8 | 6 6 | SW | | | | Idem |
| | 30 2 1 | 72 5 | 18 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| 26 | 30 2 2 | 39 9 | 3 5 | W | | | | Idem |
| | 30 2 1 | 77 0 | 20 0 | W | | | | Idem |
| 27 | 30 4 0 | 40 1 | 3 6 | E | | | | Idem |
| | 30 3 0 | 72 5 | 18 0 | E | | | | Idem |
| 28 | 30 2 7 | 47 7 | 7 0 | SW | | | | Foggy |
| | 30 1 4 | 68 9 | 16 4 | SW | | | | Fair |
| 29 | 30 0 4 | 50 0 | 8 0 | SSW | | | | Foggy |
| | 30 0 11 | 68 0 | 16 0 | SSW | | | | Overcast |
| 30 | 30 2 5 | 51 1 | 8 5 | NE | | | | Idem |
| | 30 3 3 | 59 0 | 12 0 | NE | | | | Idem |
| 31 | 30 3 3 | 52 2 | 9 0 | ENE | | | | Idem, windy |
| | 30 0 9 | 58 5 | 11 8 | ENE | 1 | | | Rainy |

| RESULT. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 gr. elev. | | | 10th. gr. de. of heat | | | | 0 | W | 9 | 2 | Fair. | | | |
| 30 | 6 | 0 | 78 | 1 | 20 | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| 12th least el. | | | 23d least de. of heat | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 4 | 8 | 28 | 6 | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| Variation | | | Variation | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 8 | 49 | 5 | 22 | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean eleva. | | | Mean degree | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | | 9 | 54 | 9 | 10 | 2 | | | | | | | | |

THE

# UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

# Columbian Magazine,

FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG, BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

# TO THE PUBLIC.

SINCE the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine came into the hands of its present proprietors, their utmost endeavours have been exerted, to render it worthy of that liberal patronage, with which it has been honoured, in almost every part of the united states. But while they gratefully acknowledge, that public approbation has kept ample pace with their endeavours to deserve it, they are under the necessity of announcing the discontinuance of this publication. A brief statement of the motives which have led to this determination, is a tribute of respect, which the proprietors owe to the numerous and respectable patrons of their past labours.

The principal motive, then, is to be sought for in the present law respecting the establishment of the post-office, which totally *prohibits* the circulation of *monthly* publications, through that channel, on any other terms than that of paying the highest postage on private letters or packages; a prohibition as injurious in its consequences, as the principles on which it is founded are partial and oppressive.—In Great-Britain, custom immemoral has insured to *magazines, as well as newspapers*, a safe and cheap conveyance to country subscribers, through the medium of the post-office. While these states were colonies of Great-Britain, *the people* enjoyed that privilege in a still greater extent, by having both newspapers and magazines conveyed to them, without any charge whatever. For some years after the revolution, this privilege was continued to the citizens of these states; and its salutary effects were apparent, in the political, and other useful information which was thus diffused among the people, of every description, and in every part of our country.

That this ancient and inestimable privilege of American citizens, derived to them from their British ancestors, should be wrested from them, so soon after their struggle for liberty and *equal* rights, by the very men whom they had appointed to watch over the liberties and welfare of their country, is at once a subject of astonishment and regret.—Of *astonishment*, that a legislature, in a country calling itself *republican*, should arbitrarily abridge the people of a right, which is not only enjoyed by the domestic subjects of a European *monarchy*, but is also extended to Nova-Scotia, and other foreign dependencies of that monarchy—and of *regret*, that we should so soon lose sight of those republican principles, on which the American revolution was founded, as to adopt a measure calculated to destroy the means of political information, and to involve the people in *more than monarchical ignorance*.

The public will doubtless be astonished to hear, that, on a motion made, in the house of representatives of the united states, by Mr, Smith, of South-Carolina, to place *monthly* publications on the same footing as *daily*, *weekly*, or other newspapers, no more than *seventeen* members rose in favour of the motion!

The operation of this *unequal* and *oppressive* law having rendered it impossible for the proprietors to convey this miscellany to their numerous subscribers in the interior parts of the country, but at the expence of losing a great proportion of them through a bad conveyance, they have determined to relinquish their undertaking; and to employ their time and capital, in a way which may be more conducive to their private interest.

*** Should any person be disposed to continue this work, under the discouragement above stated, he may be informed of the present state of the subscription list, and of any other circumstance respecting it, by applying to William Young.

N. B. Subscribers that have not been supplied with numbers for those lost, will be supplied so long as the proprietors have any unappropriated.

☞ *THOSE who have accounts against the Asylum are desired to present them for immediate payment; and those in arrears are requested to make payment, to William Young, who will furnish receipts in behalf of the proprietors.*

# THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, AND Columbian Magazine,

## FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

### FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

### HONORIA: *Or the* MOURNER *comforted.*

MR. EDITOR,

HAVING perceived, that your compilation is truely miſcellaneous, and that you publiſh pieces, which you conceive may conduce to public utility, I flatter myſelf, that you will not reject the hiſtory of Honoria, although written by herſelf, and conſequently in a ſtyle far from being elegant. But the matter, I truſt, will atone for every other deficiency; and in that confidence I begin my narrative.

I was born in ——, in the year 1769. My parents poſſeſſed that reputation, which invariably reſults from induſtry and probity. He cultivated his farm with unceaſing aſſiduity, whilſt ſhe ſuperintended the internal concerns of the family with equal application. They were not rich, but they were poſſeſſed of competence; and I was their only child; the pleaſing ſource of their happineſs for ſome years; but afterwards, the bitter fountain of their ſorrows. At fifteen (ſuch had been the care and bounty of my parents) I was accounted the beſt inſtructed maiden in the county, and was indulged in ſuch apparel, as more frequently excites reprehenſible vanity, than laudable pride. No amuſement was denied me. The ſleigh in winter was ever at my call, and my excurſions during the reſt of the year were ſo frequent as to excite envy and provoke calumny. But I ſmiled at envy; and, as I was innocent, I deſpiſed calumny.

Hitherto I had been a ſtranger to love; for my mind had not been affected by novels. But the period approached, when I was doomed to experience that paſſion, attended with many of its horrors. Sylvanus, the ſon of a reſpected neighbour, frequented my father's houſe. His repeated viſits to the capital of the ſtate had given him an air, a manner, and a ſtyle of converſation, ſuperior to the youth of his age in the neighbourhood. He was at firſt diſtant and polite. With my father he converſed on politics, agriculture, commerce, &c. but his

eyes declared, that I was the object of his visits. So acceptable was his company to all the family, that, on the appearance of bad weather in the evening, he was as sure of a bed at our house as at his own abode. Sylvanus, however, was absent about a week. This circumstance excited our wonder; but how extreme was our sorrow, when we were informed, that a fever had hurried him from this vale of woe! Mild youth! the comfort of your parents! and honoured by your acquaintance! surely virtue will excuse the sensibility of Honoria, as she silently drops the tear, sacred to the memory of thy virtues.

And now, sir, my sufferings commenced. His frequent visits had been remarked; and I was too artless to disguise my sorrow. Reports injurious to my reputation, prevailed. When they were communicated to me, I fainted; and this proof of mental delicacy was misconstrued into guilt. A fever ensued, which supplied malevolence with a new topic for scandal. But youth, temperance, and a good constitution preserved me from the grave, that I might encounter still greater misfortunes. The calumny, which I had survived, proved fatal to my parents. They knew my innocence; but, unable to stem the torrent of obloquy, yielded to its violence. I shed the tears of filial piety over their graves; and, after a few weeks, confiding my small inheritance to the care of a worthy magistrate, quitted the scene of misery, and repaired to Philadelphia, with all my clothes, and a small supply of money. On my arrival, I met with Cleander, an old neighbour, at the house where I lodged. He had heard of the aspersions thrown on my character, and delicately hinted his conviction, that they had originated in malice. He even proceeded so far as to propose marriage to me. "No! Cleander! said I, although you are assured of my unjust sufferings, others ought to be equally convinced. It does not become a youth of character to marry a suspected woman." The tears trickled down his cheeks, and in silent agony he departed, after having deposited on the table a sum of money, which I caused to be carefully returned to him. This circumstance infused some consolation into my bosom. A man of merit had acknowledged my virtue, and had even offered me his hand in marriage.

The mistress of the boarding-house, whose temper was truly amiable, after many expressions of sympathy (for she often found me in tears) inquired into the nature of my situation. I freely communicated it to her with every material circumstance of my life. "Stay with me," she said, whilst the tears of pity trickled down her cheeks, "stay with me, till you can be better provided. You shall want for nothing, which you can in reason require. Your assistance will be of service to me; and your labour shall be light." What must have been my feelings, Mr. Editor, when I thus found at once compassion and a home! I was happy to find, that her husband was equally well-disposed towards me; and, discharging the duties of a house-keeper, I conciliated the regard of both family and customers. Yet I must confess, that some transient visitors were too often troublesome. My delicacy was frequently hurt; but my resolution to continue in the paths of industry and virtue continued firm and unshaken.

After remaining in this truly hospitable abode about six months, I received a visit from Cleander. His appearance renewed my former feelings, and the blushes of shame were diffused over my cheeks. "Innocence is at length made manifest, exclaimed the youth, and the tongue of malevolence is silenced. Thou much injured woman! peruse this note; and let peace be no longer a stranger to thy bosom." I sighed, and opened it, with trembling hands; but, on perceiving the name of Sylvanus subscribed to it, I dropped it with trepidation and horror. He took it up, and read it. It was replete with every respectful sentiment, which virtuous love and esteem could dictate; mentioned his intention of proposing marriage to me, and enjoined his heir at Law to pay me, should his disorder prove mortal, the sum of five hundred pounds. This paper, written during the remission of his fever, was carelessly thrown amongst other writings: but discovered by Cleander, whom Sylvanus had appointed his executor.

Ye, who have endured the malice of calumny, reflect on my feelings at this juncture. Although in the presence of Cleander, with streaming eyes I blessed my creator, and expressed my gratitude, almost prostrate on the floor. He raised me in the most affectionate manner; and retired, in order to summon the landlady to my assistance. I was conveyed to bed, and tenderly attended. After a few days my agitation of mind subsided; and I paid due attention to the addresses of Cleander. We were married, sir, under the roof of my once master and mistress. Every day increases my love for my husband, who evinced his regard for me, when misery seemed to be my lasting portion.

Let those, who peruse my history, console themselves with reflecting, that injured virtue is often triumphant even in this world; but at all events will find its due reward in heaven.

Yours, &c. HONORIA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *On* MODERN EDUCATION.

*Multa tulit, fecitque puer.*—

HORACE.

SO much has been written on education, that I almost despair of being capable of throwing any new light on the subject. It is certain, that instruction was intended for our improvement; but how has it been abused? From the nursery to the senate of a nation, each disciple has been taught to err; and, what is worse, to err systematically. Paying due deference to the authority of antiquity (liable, however, to many exceptions) I mean to enter upon a liberal discussion of what I have advanced.

The right of exposing children to death by cold, famine, or the fury of wild beasts, was frequently practised by the Grecians, and

other people. With respect to "passing through the fire to Molach," I shall only say, that, if it was not attended with death, it must have been a severe law in the code of institution. The rites of public initiation, which maidens sustained in honour of a certain reputed goddess, must have been terrible in the opinion of some, altho' to others it might have appeared by no means repugnant to reason. By moderns, however, it universally reprobated, the *polished* natives of Otaheite excepted. The Orgies of Bacchus, although not unknown at present, are certainly not practised from religious motives; and the disciples of the huntress Diana, would meet with but little applause in these days.

Not adverting to Roman education, and passing over the middle ages, as we would traverse a torrent, let us advert to times (not far remote from the present æra) acknowledged by some to have been enlightened by true reason. And here, sir, be it recollected, that children then were educated nearly as parrots are now. They were stunned into a partial knowledge of dead languages; and consequently understood them like parrots. Which of mature age they were taught to heap syllogism on syllogism, like Pelion on Assa. Metaphysics supplied mountains, by which they hoped to ascend the summit of knowledge; but, like their prototypes, the fabled giants, they were overpowered by the thunder of truth, and sunk into the abyss of contempt. It is acknowledged, that too much of this system still continues. Ancient languages are still too highly valued, and the precepts of Aristotle are not as yet consigned to oblivion, with the other rubbish of the pagan schools.

But it is evident, that education begins to assume a more pleasing demeanour, and to exhibit rules tending to more general utility. Science, untrammelled by the restraints of logic, pursues her course with bolder steps. The natural and moral world are submitted to her inspection. Lightning has been brought from the clouds by the art of man. Manufactures have been advanced, and the general good of the species promoted.

Yet, we cannot but grieve at finding, that too much of the old Leaven of education still continues. Of what avail is it to the cause of science, that boys should be flagellated into a knowledge of dead languages, which, since translations of all the useful authors can be obtained with ease, are become altogether useless. Is language principally our object? or is science ultimately our end? If the former, with respect to education, claims the preference, *words* will be chiefly attended to, not things. The reverse will be the consequence, if science be duly attended to.

In every country an adequate knowledge of the force, elegance and perspicuity of the language, generally spoken in it, will be sufficient for the reception and conveyance of ideas, whether originating in nature, or communicated by art. To the cultivation of that language therefore, due attention should be paid; and since commerce, as well as true learning, demands a knowledge of some foreign tongues, the acquisition of such knowledge ought not to be neglected. But it must be insisted on, that if the present track of instruction is

blindly followed, the meaning of my motto will be, viz.——Much has the boy endured, and much performed——And let me add,—Frequently to no good purpose whatever.

H. F. W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *An* ACCOUNT *of the late* DR. GEORGE GLENTWORTH.

THE profession of medicine embraces so many objects and duties, and unfolds such a variety in the human character, that the lives of eminent physicians have ever been considered as a very interesting branch of biography. There appears to be a peculiar latitude of merit in the gentlemen who have been distinguished in this profession, above all others. While some of its members—such as Boerhave, Haller, and Cullen are born to dazzle and enlighten the world by the splendor of their talents, there are others such as Rutherford, Plummer, and Hope, who seem destined to adorn it by the solidity of their judgements and the amiableness of their virtues; Both are equally necessary to the advancement and reputation of medicine. Of the latter class of physicians was the late Dr. *George Glentworth.*

He was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 22nd of July 1735, and after passing through a course of academical education he served a regular apprenticeship to the late Dr. Peter Solamans who was at that time in very extensive business as a physician and surgeon in the city of Philadelphia.

After the expiration of his apprenticeship he entered the British army as a junior surgeon where he not only acquired a large stock of practical knowledge in his profession, but such a knowledge of men and things as afterwards furnished him with many of those useful and pleasant anecdotes with which he often rendered his conversation both instructive and agreeable.

In the year 1755 he went to Europe where he spent three years in attending publick lectures on medicine, and in visiting different hospitals. He received the degree of Doctor of medicine in the year 1758, after having first composed and defended a thesis on the pulmonary consumption. He was a cotemporary as a student in Edinburgh with the present illustrious professor of anatomy Dr. Monroe, with whom he contracted such an intimacy that the doctor continued for many years afterwards to speak of him with great kindness and respect.

Upon his return to his native country, his old preceptor in medicine took him into partnership with him, by which means he was suddenly introduced into extensive and profitable business.

In the year 1760 Dr. Stork, a celebrated oculist visited this city. Dr. Glentworth attached himself to him in such a manner as to be

preſent at all his operations, and by which means he become ever afterwards eminent for his knowledge of the diſeaſes of the eyes, and was oftner conſulted in them than any of his brethren in the city.

In the great ſtruggle for American liberty and independence he took a decided part.—He was a genuine whig, and in 1777, he evinced the ſincerity of his principles by turning his back upon his buſineſs in the city, and accepting of an apointment, firſt of a regimental ſurgeon, and afterwards as a ſenior ſurgeon in the military hoſpitals of the American army in which capacity he remained until 1780.—His experience acquired in the Britiſh hoſpitals during the laſt French war in America qualified him to be eminently uſeful in the hoſpitals of the united ſtates. He was ſyſtematic and faithful in every thing he did. The ſoldiers loved him like a father; and it was in conſequence of his uncommon attention to them that he caught the hoſpital fever which had nearly coſt him his life.

After the year 1780, he returned to private life and reſumed his former buſineſs in Philadelphia.

It might afford ſome inſtruction to ſtudents of medicine to point out the circumſtances which create and ſupport a reputation in medicine. In the preſent inſtance it will be ſufficient to obſerve that the buſineſs and reputation of the late Dr. Glentworth were derived in the *firſt* place from his regular education in medicine, and his great familiarity with diſeaſes in the early part of his life. *Secondly*, from his fondneſs for reading new publications of every kind of medicine. *Thirdly*, from his great humanity to his poor, and his diſintereſtedneſs in his attendance upon his rich patients, and *Laſtly*, from his uncommon good temper which in no one inſtance perhaps, in the courſe of his life was ever ruffled in a ſick room. This laſt circumſtance does equal honour to the good ſenſe and ſpirit of a phyſician, for none but a coward could reſent that petulance which ſickneſs and pain ſometimes produce even in the beſt of men.

The diſeaſe which put an end to the inoffenſive and uſeful life of Dr. Glentworth was ſuppoſed to be a miſplaced gout. He died without a ſigh or groan on the 4th of Nov. 1792.

The following tribute was paid to his memory from the pulpit the Sunday following his interment by the rev. Dr. Magaw. "Thy fellow-citizens, thy neighbourhood, thy family, thy church, miſs thee, venerable man! *Glentworth!* the faithful, experienced, able, ſucceſsful, phyſician, whoſe pleaſing, unwearied taſk it was, by day and night, to ſoften and relieve the ills of ſickly human nature! *Glentworth!* the mild, the ſociable, the friendly, the intelligent, the patriotic citizen! *Glentworth!* the amiable pattern of ſweet domeſtic attention, worth, and reſpectability! The *teſtimony* to thy virtues, given in this ſolemn place, is *ſhort:* not ſo ſhall be the remembrance of them.

## RULES *for forming a* JUST *and* ELEGANT STYLE.

*(Continued from our laſt—page* 296.)

THERE is another extreme in obſcure writers, not much taken notice of, which ſome empty conceited heads are apt to run into, out of a prodigality of words, and a want of ſenſe. This is the extravagance of your copious writers, who loſe their meaning in the multitude of words, and bury their ſenſe under heaps of phraſes. Their underſtanding is rather rarified than condenſed: their meaning, we cannot ſay, is dark and thick; it is too light and ſubtle to be diſcerned; it is ſpread ſo thin, and diffuſed ſo wide, that it is hard to be collected. Two lines would expreſs all they ſay in two pages: it is nothing but whipt ſyllabub and froth, a little varniſh and gilding, without any ſolidity or ſubſtance.

The deepeſt rivers have the plaineſt ſurface, and the pureſt waters are always cleareſt. Cryſtal is not the leſs ſolid for being tranſparent; the value of a ſtyle riſes like the value of precious ſtones. If it be dark and cloudy, it is in vain to poliſh it; it bears its worth in its native looks, and the ſame art which enhances its price when it is clear, only debaſes it if it be dull.

You ſee I have borrowed ſome metaphors to explain my thoughts; and it is, I believe, impoſſible to deſcribe the plainneſs and clearneſs of ſtyle, without ſome expreſſion clearer than the terms I am otherwiſe bound up to uſe.

You muſt give me leave to go on with you to the decorations and ornaments of ſtyle: there is no inconſiſtency between the plainneſs and perſpicuity, and the ornament of writing. A ſtyle reſembleth beauty, where the face is clear and plain, as to ſymmetry and proportion, but is capable of wonderful improvements, as to features and complexion. If I may tranſgreſs in too frequent alluſions, becauſe I would make every thing plain to you, I would paſs on from painters to ſtatuaries, whoſe excellence it is at firſt to form true and juſt proportions, and afterwards to give them that ſoftneſs, that expreſſion, that ſtrength and delicacy, which make them almoſt breathe and live.

The decorations of ſtyle are formed out of thoſe ſeveral ſchemes and figures, which are contrived to expreſs the paſſions and motions of our minds in our ſpeech; to give life and ornament, grace and beauty, to our expreſſions. I ſhall not undertake the rhetorician's province, in giving you an account of all the figures they have invented, and thoſe ſeveral ornaments of writing, whoſe grace and commendation lie in being uſed with judgment and propriety. It were endleſs to purſue this ſubject through all the ſchemes and illuſtrations of ſpeech: but there are ſome common forms, which every writer upon every ſubject may uſe, to enliven and adorn his work.

Theſe are metaphor and ſimilitude; and thoſe images and repreſentations that are drawn in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively colours, to imprint what the writer would have his readers conceive, more deeply on their minds. In the choice, and in the uſe of theſe, your

ordinary writers are most apt to offend. Images are very sparingly to be introduced: their proper place is in poems and orations; and their use is to move pity or terror, admiration, compassion, anger, and resentment, by representing something very affectionate, or very dreadful, very astonishing, very miserable, or very provoking, to our thoughts. They give a wonderful force and beauty to the subject, where they are painted by a masterly hand; but if they are either weakly drawn, or unskilfully placed, they raise no passion but indignation in the reader.

The most common ornaments are metaphor and similitude. One is an allusion to words, the other to things; and both have their beauties, if properly applied.

Similitudes ought to be drawn from the most familiar and best known particulars in the world: if any thing is dark and obscure in them, the purpose of using them is defeated; and that which is not clear itself, can never give light to any thing that wants it. It is the idle fancy of some poor brains, to run out perpetually into a course of similitudes, confounding their subject by the multitudes of likenesses; and making it like so many things, that it is like nothing at all. This trifling humour is good for nothing, but to convince us, that the author is in the dark himself; and, while he is likening his subject to every thing, he knoweth not what it is like.

There is another tedious fault in some simile men; which is, drawing their comparisons into a great length and minute particulars, where it is of no importance whether the resemblance holds or not. But the true art of illustrating any subject by similitude, is, first to pitch on such a resemblance as all the world will agree in: and then, without being careful to have it run on all fours, to touch it only in the strongest lines, and the nearest likeness. And this will secure us from all stiffness and formality in similitude, and deliver us from the nauseous repetition of *as* and *so*, which some so so writers, if I may beg leave to call them so, are continually sounding in our ears.

I have nothing to say to those gentlemen who bring similitudes and forget the resemblance. All the pleasure we can take, when we meet these promising sparks, is in the disappointment, where we find their fancy is so like their subject, that it is not like it at all.

Metaphors require great judgment and consideration in the use of them. They are a shorter similitude, where the likeness is rather implied than expressed. The signification of one word, in metaphors, is transferred to another, and we talk of one thing in the terms and propriety of another. But there must be a common resemblance, some original likeness in nature, some correspondence and easy transition, or metaphors are shocking and confused.

The beauty of them displays itself in their easiness and propriety, where they are naturally introduced: but where they are forced and crowded, too frequent and various, and do not raise out of the course of thought, but are constrained and pressed into the service, instead of making the discourse more lively and cheerful, they make it sullen, dull, and gloomy.

You must form your judgment upon the best models and the most celebrated pens, where you will find the metaphor in all its grace and

ſtrength, ſhedding a luſtre and beauty on the work. For it ought never to be uſed but when it gives greater force to the ſentence, an illuſtration to the thought, and inſinuates a ſilent argument in the alluſion. The uſe of metaphors is not only to convey the thought in a more pleaſing manner, but to give it a ſtronger impreſſion, and enforce it on the mind. Where this is not regarded, they are vain and trifling trash; and in a due obſervance of this, in a pure, chaſte, natural expreſſion, conſiſt the juſtneſs, beauty and delicacy of ſtyle.

I have ſaid nothing of epithets. Their buſineſs is to expreſs the nature of the things they are applied to; and the choice of them depends upon a good judgment, to diſtinguiſh what are the moſt proper titles to be given on all occaſions, and a complete knowledge in the accidents, qualities, and affections of every thing in the world. They are of moſt ornament when they are of uſe: they are to determine the character of every perſon, and decide the merits of every caſe; conſcience and juſtice are to be regarded, and great ſkill and exactneſs are required in the uſe of them. For it is of great importance to call things by their right names: the points of ſatire, and ſtrains of compliment, depend upon it; otherways we may make an aſs of a lion, commend a man in ſatire, and lampoon him in panegyric. Here alſo there is room for genius: common juſtice and judgment ſhould direct us to ſay what is proper at leaſt; but it is parts and fire that will prompt us to the moſt lively and moſt forcible epithets that can be applied: and it is in their energy and propriety their beauty lies.

Allegories I need not mention, becauſe they are not ſo much an ornament of ſtyle, as an artful way of recommending truth to the world in a borrowed ſhape, and a dreſs more agreeably to the fancy, than naked truth herſelf can be. Truth is ever moſt beautiful and evident in her native dreſs: and the arts that are uſed to convey her to our minds, are no argument that ſhe is deficient, but ſo many teſtimonies of the corruption of our nature, when truth of all things the plaineſt and ſincereſt, is forced to gain admittance to us in diſguiſe, and court us in maſquerade.

There is one ingredient more required to the perfection of ſtyle, which I have partly mentioned already, in ſpeaking of the ſuitableneſs of the thoughts to the ſubject, and of the words to the thoughts; but you will give me leave to conſider it in another light, with regard to the majeſty and dignity of the ſubject.

It is fit, as we have ſaid already, that the thoughts and expreſſions ſhould be ſuited to the matter on all occaſions; but in nobler and greater ſubjects, eſpecially where the theme is ſacred and divine, it muſt be our care to think and write up to the dignity and majeſty of the things we preſume to treat of: nothing little, mean, or low, no childiſh thoughts, or boyiſh expreſſions, will be endured: all muſt be awful and grave, and great and ſolemn. The nobleſt ſentiments muſt be conveyed in the weightieſt words: all ornaments and illuſtrations muſt be borrowed from the richeſt parts of univerſal nature; and in divine ſubjects, eſpecially when we attempt to ſpeak of God, of his wiſdom, goodneſs, and power, of his mercy and juſtice, of his diſpenſations and providence, (by all which he is pleaſed to manifeſt himſelf to the ſons of men) we muſt raiſe our thoughts, and enlarge our minds,

and ſearch all the treaſures of knowledge for every thing that is great, wonderful, and magnificent: we can only expreſs our thoughts of the Creator in the works of his creation; and the brighteſt of theſe can only give us ſome faint ſhadows of his greatneſs and his glory. The ſtrongeſt figures are too weak, the moſt exalted language too low, to expreſs his ineffable excellence. No hyperbole can be brought to heighten our thoughts; for in ſo ſublime a theme, nothing can be hyperbolical. The riches of imagination are poor, and all the rivers of eloquence are dry, in ſupplying thought on an infinite ſubject. How poor and mean, how baſe and grovelling, are the heathen conceptions of the Deity! ſomething ſublime and noble muſt needs be ſaid on ſo great an occaſion; but in this great article, the moſt celebrated of the heathen pens ſeem to flag and ſink; they bear up in no proportion to the dignity of the theme, as if they were depreſſed by the weight, and dazzled with the ſplendour of the ſubject.

We have no inſtances, to produce of any writers that riſe at all to the majeſty and dignity of the Divine Attributes except the ſacred penmen. No leſs than Divine inſpiration could enable men to write worthily of God, and none but the ſpirit of God knew how to expreſs his greatneſs, and diſplay his glory: in compariſon of theſe divine writers, the greateſt geniuſes, the nobleſt wits of the heathen world, are low and dull. The ſublime majeſty and royal magnificence of the ſcripture poems are above the reach, and beyond the power of all mortal wit. Take the beſt and livelieſt poems of antiquity, and read them as we do the ſcriptures, in a proſe tranſlation, and they are flat and poor. Horace, and Virgil, and Homer, loſe their ſpirits and their ſtrength in the transfuſion, to that degree, that we have hardly patience to read them. But the ſacred writings, even in our tranſlation, preſerve their majeſty and their glory, and very far ſurpaſs the brighteſt and nobleſt compoſitions of Greece and Rome. And this is not owing to the richneſs and ſolemnity of the eaſtern eloquence (for it holds in no other inſtance) but to the divine direction and aſſiſtance of the holy writers. For, let me only make this remark, that the moſt literal tranſlation of the ſcriptures, in the moſt natural ſignification of the words, is generally the beſt; and the ſame punctuality, which debaſes other writings, preſerves the ſpirit and majeſty of the ſacred text: it can ſuffer no improvement from human wit; and we may obſerve, that thoſe who have preſumed to heighten the expreſſions by a poetical tranſlation or paraphraſe, have ſunk in the attempt; and all the decorations of their verſe, whether Greek or Latin, have not been able to reach the dignity, the majeſty, and ſolemnity of our proſe; ſo that the proſe of ſcripture cannot be improved by verſe, and even the divine poetry is moſt like itſelf in proſe. One obſervation more I would leave with you: Milton himſelf, as great a genius as he was, owes his ſuperiority over Homer and Virgil, in majeſty of thought and ſplendour of expreſſion, to the ſcriptures: they are the fountain from which he derived his light; the ſacred treaſure that enriched his fancy, and furniſhed him with all the truth and wonders of God and his creation, of angels and men, which no mortal brain was able either to diſcover or conceive: and in him, of

all human writers, you will meet all his ſentiments and words raiſed and ſuited to the greatneſs and dignity of the ſubject.

I have detained you the longer on this majeſty of ſtyle, being perhaps myſelf carried away with the greatneſs and pleaſure of the contemplation. What I have dwelt ſo much on with reſpect to divine ſubjects, is more eaſily to be obſerved with reference to human: for in all things below divinity, we are rather able to exceed than fall ſhort; and in adorning all other ſubjects, our words and ſentiments may riſe in a juſt proportion to them: nothing is above the reach of man, but heaven; and the ſame wit can raiſe a human ſubject, that only debaſes a divine.

After all theſe excellencies of ſtyle, in purity, in plainneſs and perſpicuity, in ornament and majeſty, are conſidered, a finiſhed piece of what kind ſoever muſt ſhine in the order and proportion of the whole; for light riſes out of order, and beauty from proportion. In architecture and painting, theſe fill and relieve the eye. A juſt diſpoſition gives us a clear view of the whole at once; and the due ſymmetry and proportion of every part in itſelf, and of all together, leave no vacancy in our thoughts or eyes: nothing is wanting, every thing is complete, and we are ſatisfied in beholding.

But when I ſpeak of order and proportion, I do not intend any ſtiff and formal method, but only a proper diſtribution of the parts in general, where they follow in a natural courſe, and are not confounded with one another. Laying down a ſcheme, and marking out the diviſions and ſub-diviſions of a diſcourſe, are only neceſſary in ſyſtems, and ſome pieces of controverſy and argumentation: you ſee, however, that I have ventured to write without any declared order; and this is allowable, where the method opens as you read, and the order diſcovers itſelf in the progreſs of the ſubject: but certainly, of all pieces that were ever written in a profeſſed and ſtated method, and diſtinguiſhed by the number and ſucceſſion of their parts, our Engliſh ſermons are the completeſt in order and proportion; the method is ſo eaſy and natural, the parts bear ſo juſt a proportion to one another, that among many others, this may paſs for a peculiar commendation of them: for thoſe diviſions and particulars which obſcure and perplex other writings, give a clearer light to ours. All that I would inſinuate, therefore, is only this, that it is not neceſſary to lay the method we uſe before the reader, only to write, and then he will read, in order.

But it requires a full command of the ſubject, a diſtinct view, to keep it always in ſight, or elſe, without ſome method firſt deſigned, we ſhould be in danger of loſing it, and wandering after it, till we have loſt ourſelves, and bewildered the reader.

A preſcribed method is neceſſary for weaker heads, but the beauty of order is its freedom and unconſtraint: it muſt be diſperſed and ſhine in all the parts through the whole performance; but there is no neceſſity of writing in trammels, when we can move more at eaſe without them: neither is the proportion of writing to be meaſured out like the proportions of a horſe, where every part muſt be drawn in the minuteſt reſpect to the ſize and bigneſs of the reſt; but it is to be taken by the mind, and formed upon a general view and conſider-

ation of the whole. The ſtatuary that carves Hercules in ſtone, or caſts him in braſs, may be obliged to take his dimenſions from his foot; but the poet that deſcribes him is not bound up to the geometer's rule: nor is an author under any obligation to write by the ſcale.

Theſe hints will ſerve to give you ſome notion of order and proportion; and I muſt not dwell too long upon them, leſt I tranſgreſs the rules I am laying down.

A perfect maſtery and elegance of ſtyle is to be learned from the common rules, but muſt be improved by reading the orators and poets, and the celebrated maſters in every kind; this will give you a right taſte, and a true reliſh; and when you can diſtinguiſh the beauties of every finiſhed piece, you will write yourſelf with equal commendation.

I do not aſſert that every good writer muſt have a genius for poetry; I know Tully is an undeniable exception: but I will venture to affirm, that a ſoul that is not moved with poetry, and has no taſte that way, is too dull and lumpiſh ever to write with any proſpect of being read. It is a fatal miſtake, and ſimple ſuperſtition, to diſcourage youth from poetry, and endeavour to prejudice them againſt it; if they are of a poetical genius, there is no reſtraining them: Ovid, you know, was deaf to his father's frequent admonitions. But if they are not quite ſmitten and bewitched with love of verſe, they ſhould be trained to it, to make them maſters of every kind of poetry, that by learning to imitate the originals, they may arrive at a right conception, and a true taſte of their authors: and being able to write in verſe upon occaſion, I can aſſure you is no diſadvantage to proſe; for without reliſhing the one, a man muſt never pretend to any taſte of the other.

Taſte is a metaphor, borrowed from the palate, by which we approve or diſlike what we eat and drink, from the agreeableneſs or diſagreeableneſs of the reliſh in our mouth. Nature directs us in the common uſe, and every body can tell ſweet from bitter, what is ſharp or ſour, or vapid, or naſeous; but it requires ſenſes more refined and exerciſed, to diſcover every taſte that is moſt perfect in its kind; every palate is not a judge of that, and yet drinking is more uſed than reading. All that I pretend to know of the matter, is, that wine ſhould be, like a ſtyle, clear, deep, bright, and ſtrong, ſincere and pure, ſound and dry (as our advertiſements do well expreſs it) which laſt is a commendable term, that contains the juice of the richeſt ſpirits, and only keeps out all cold and dampneſs.

It is common to commend a man for an ear to muſic, and a taſte of painting; which are nothing but a juſt diſcernment of what is excellent and moſt perfect in them. The firſt depends entirely on the ear; a man can never expect to be a maſter, that has not an ear tuned and ſet to muſic; and you can no more ſing an ode without an ear, than without a genius you can write one. Painting, we ſhould think, requires ſome underſtanding in the art, and exact knowledge of the beſt maſters' manner, to be a judge of it; but this faculty, like the reſt, is founded in nature: knowledge in the art, and frequent converſations with the beſt originals, will certainly perfect a man's judgment; but if there is not a natural ſagacity and aptneſs, experience will be of no

great ſervice. A good taſte is an argument of a great ſoul, as well as a lively wit. It is the infirmity of poor ſpirits to be taken with every appearance, and dazzled by every thing that ſparkles: but to paſs by what the generality of the world admires, and to be detained with nothing but what is moſt perfect and excellent in its kind, ſpeaks a ſuperior genius, and a true diſcernment; a new picture by ſome meaner hand, where the colours are freſh and lively, will engage the eye, but the pleaſure goes off with looking, and what we ran to at firſt with eagerneſs, we preſently leave with indifference: but the old pieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Tintoret, and Titian, though not ſo inviting as firſt, open to the eye by degrees: and and the longer and oftener we look, we ſtill diſcover new beauties find new pleaſure. I am not a man of ſo much ſeverity in my temper as to allow you to be pleaſed with nothing but what is in the laſt perfection; for then, poſſibly, ſo many are the infirmities of writing, beyond other arts, you could never be pleaſed. There is a wide difference in being nice to judge of every degree of perfection, and rigid in refuſing whatever is deficient in any point. This would only be weakneſs of ſtomach, not any commendation of a good palate; a true taſte judges of defects as well as perfections, and the beſt judges are always the perſons of the greateſt candour. They will find none but real faults, and whatever they commend, the praiſe is juſtly due.

I have intimated already, that a good taſte is to be formed by reading the beſt authors; and when you ſhall be able to point out their beauties, to diſcern the brighteſt paſſages, the ſtrength and elegance of their language, you will always write yourſelf, and read others by that ſtandard, and muſt therefore neceſſarily excel.

I ſhall make no formal recapitulation of what I have delivered. Out of all theſe rules together, riſe a juſt ſtyle, and a perfect compoſition. All the latitude that can be admitted, is in the ornament of writing; we do not require every author to ſhine in gold and jewels: there is a moderation to be uſed in the pomp and trappings of a diſcourſe: it is not neceſſary that every part ſhould be embelliſhed and adorned; but the decoration ſhould be ſkilfully diſtributed through the whole: too full and glaring a light is offenſive, and confounds the eyes: in heaven itſelf there are vacancies and ſpaces between the ſtars; and the day is not leſs beautiful for being interſperſed with clouds; they only moderate the brightneſs of the ſun, and, without diminiſhing from his ſplendour, gild and adorn themſelves with his rays. But to deſcend from the ſkies: It is in writing as in dreſs; the richeſt habits are not always the completeſt, and a gentleman may make a better figure in a plain ſuit than in an embroidered coat: the dreſs depends upon the imagination, but muſt be adjuſted by the judgment, contrary to the opinion of the ladies, who value nothing but a good fancy in the choice of their clothes. The firſt excellence is to write in purity, plainly, and clearly; there is no diſpenſation from theſe: but afterwards you have your choice of colours, and may enliven, adorn, and paint your ſubject as you pleaſe.

In writing, the rules have a relation and dependence on one another. They are held in one ſocial bond, and joined, like the moral virtues, and liberal arts, in a ſort of harmony and concord. He

that cannot write pure, plain English, must never pretend to write at all; it is in vain for him to dress and adorn his discourse; the finer he endeavours to make it, he makes it only the more ridiculous. And on the other side, let a man write in the exactest purity and propriety of language, if he has not life and fire, to give his work some force and spirit, it is nothing but a mere corpse, and a lumpish, unwieldy mass of matter. But every true genius, who is perfect master of the language he writes in, will let no fitting ornaments and decorations be wanting. His fancy flows in the richest vein, and gives his pieces such lively colours, and so beautiful a complexion, that you would almost say his own blood and spirits were transfused into the work.

## BENEVOLENCE *not to be* DISCOURAGED.

NOTHING more benumbs the exertions of ardent youthful virtue, than the cruel sneer which worldly prudence bestows on active goodness; and the cool derision it expresses at the defeat of a benevolent scheme, of which malice, rather then penetration, had foreseen the failure. Alas! there is little need of any such discouragements. The world is a climate which too naturally chills a glowing generosity, and contracts an expanded heart. The zeal of the most sanguine is but too apt to cool, and the activity of the most diligent, to slacken of itself: and the disappointments which benevolence encounters in the failure of her best-concerted projects, and the frequent depravity of the most chosen objects of her bounty, would soon dry up the amplest streams of charity, were they not fed by the living fountain of religious principle.

I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without animadverting on the too prompt alacrity, even of worthy people, to disseminate, in public and general conversation, instances of their unsuccessful attempts to do good. I never hear a charity story begun to be related in mixed company, that I do not tremble for the catastrophe, lest it should exhibit some mortifying disappointment, which may deter the inexperienced from running any generous hazards, and excite harsh suspicions, at an age, when it is less dishonourable to meet with a few casual hurts, and transient injuries, than to go cased in the cumbersome and impenetrable armour of distrust. The liberal should be particularly cautious how they furnish the avaricious with credible pretences for saving their money, as all the instances of the mortification of the humane are added to the armoury of the covetous man's arguments, and produced, as defensive weapons, upon every fresh attack on his heart or his purse.

He who is once convinced that he is to assist his fellow creatures, because it is the will of God, and one of the conditions of obtaining his favour, will soon get above all uneasiness when the consequence does not answer his expectation. He will soon become only anxious to do his duty, humbly committing events to higher hands. Disappointments will then only serve to refine his motives, and purify his virtue. His charity will then become a sacrifice less unworthy of the

altar on which it is offered. His affections will be more ſpiritualized, and his devotions more intenſe. Nothing ſhort of ſuch a courageous piety can preſerve a heart hackneyed in the world from relaxed diligence, or criminal deſpair.

## OBSERVATIONS *made in a* JOURNEY *through* SPAIN.

I SHALL devote the firſt part of this letter to the deſign of entertaining you with a conciſe account of the principal diverſions at Madrid. One of them is as remarkably ſingular, as another is common to all the nations of Europe. The peculiar amuſement I mean is their bull-feaſt; the univerſal one, card-playing or gaming. I have lately aſſiſted at both, and ſhall in the firſt place give you the particulars of the bull-feaſts, which are regular combats, or duels, if you pleaſe, between men and bulls. The ceremonial of opening a bull-feaſt at Madrid is much more ſolemn and important than that of declaring war againſt France or England.

A vaſt theatre is prepared upon the Place Major, or grand ſquare, for the accommodation of all perſons of rank of both ſexes. The royal family are always preſent, the king and queen arriving moſt pompouſly attended in grand proceſſion, and all the grandees have ſeats near the throne, according to their quality and ſtate offices. The firſt animal, whoſe death is to commence the diverſion, cannot periſh but by a royal decree; the king ſigns an act to ſlaughter him. The butchers for the day are all knights, or gentlemen of illuſtrious families. Some are on foot, and others on horſe-back, and they paſs for men of approved valour, when they have plunged their ſpears into the bodies of a number of theſe animals, though there is not the leaſt peril in theſe rencounters, nor the ſmalleſt degree of perſonal courage. They rehearſe their bloody performances for a long time before they execute them in public, and they will not enter the liſts till they are ſure of acquiring Spaniſh glory, which conſiſts in the applauſes of the ladies. On the defeat of each animal, the loudeſt acclamations are heard from all the ſpectators, ſo that a ſtranger muſt naturally conclude, that the death of each bull augments the renown and ſtrength of this ancient kingdom. Nothing more need be ſaid on this ſavage entertainment, which has filled ſo many pages to little purpoſe in many books of travels, for it is the ſame dull ſcene it ever was, without variation, and will ſo continue till it is aboliſhed; and of this there is a faint rumour, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent king, who is more of the Frenchman than the Spaniard.

After the bull-feaſt, I was invited to paſs the evening at the hotel of a lady, who had a public card aſſembly. This recreation, innocent and trifling when firſt invented, is become a regular profeſſion in France and Spain. This vile method of ſubſiſting on the folly of mankind, is confined in Spain to the nobility; none but women of quality are permitted to hold banks, and there are many whoſe Pharoah banks bring them in a clear income of one thouſand guineas per

annum. The lady to whom I was introduced is an old countess, who has lived near thirty years on the profits of the card tables in her house. They are frequented every day, and though both natives and foreigners are duped of large sums by her and her cabinet junto, yet it is the greatest house of resort in all Madrid: she goes to court, visits people of the first fashion, and is received with as much respect and veneration, as if she exercised the most sacred functions of a divine profession. Almost all the widows of great men keep gaming-houses, and live splendidly on the vices of mankind. If you are not disposed to be either a sharper or a dupe, you cannot be admitted a second time to these assemblies. I was no sooner presented to the lady before-mentioned, than she offered me cards; and on my excusing myself, because I really could not play, having never been able to reconcile myself to the needless study of learning any one game on the cards, she made a wry face, turned from me, and said to another lady in my hearing, she wondered any foreigner should have the impudence to come to her house, for no other purpose but to make an apology for not playing. My Spanish conductor, unfortunately for him, had not the same apology; he played and lost his money, two circumstances which constantly follow one another in these houses.

While my friend was thus playing the fool, I attentively watched the countenance and motions of the lady of the house. Her anxiety, address, and assiduity, was equal to that of some skilful female shopkeeper, who has a certain attraction to engage all to buy, and a diligence to take care that none shall escape the net. I found out all her privy counsellors, by the arrangement of her parties at the different tables; and wherever she shewed an extraordinary eagerness to fix one particular person with a stranger, the game was always decided the same way, and her good friend was sure to win the money. In short, it is hardly possible to see good company at Madrid, without you resolve to leave a purse of gold at the card assemblies of their nobility. I have therefore taken the pains to write to you express on this subject, that when you arrive here on your proposed tour of Europe, you may be apprised of the custom, which, if I am rightly informed, begins to take place at London.

It has always been my custom, when I saw any fashionable vice predominant with people of high rank in any country, to endeavour to counterbalance it by some favourite virtue equally in vogue. Thus in England you may balance scandal or defamation, a reigning vice, by charity, which is in no country so much in fashion as it is among the British people of quality, who are all patrons of some charitable institution or other, for the relief of the indigent, the sick, the lame, and the insane; but at Madrid the most fashionable article, next to gaming, is religion; it is however very far from counterpoising the evil of card-playing, for I cannot find that the morals of these people are in the least affected by it.

You may think it a paradox, but I assure you the devotions of these people borders upon irreligion, for they believe in every thing but God. A revolution must take place in heaven to rectify religion in Spain. There are too many saints in the Spanish paradise. The prayers they address to the celestial throne are intercepted half way

by a cloud of supposed delegates of the Supreme Being. No terms can be sufficiently ridiculous to express the contemptible ideas of the Spaniards in their devotions. The Holy Virgin, as she is stiled here, is the principal object of divine worship, because she gave birth to Christ; and if it were not for the mother, the son would not be held in any degree of veneration.

Religion, which should enlighten the understanding, and render men happy, serves here only to obscure their genius, and distract their imaginations. Superstition, the daughter of despotism and ignorance, keeps their senses enslaved. Before the common people will labour for their own subsistence, or the good of the community, they must observe the festival of their saints. Above one hundred and fifty days are employed in invoking the aid of their idols, for success to their industry the remainder of the year: during all these holidays the state languishes, and the government is inactive. What shall we say of a people, over whom false devotion has such an influence, that it impoverishes the commonwealth, and cuts the nerves of political power?

I have said there are other causes of their decline besides superstition, and I shall now recite them.

There are no laws in Spain to prevent idleness. The employment of its citizens does not enter into the plan of government. Individuals may be lost, dead to the community, forty years before they are buried, because a man may be a subject of Spain, without exercising any profession or trade whatever. Inaction is not reckoned a vice in this country: on the contrary, it is a virtue, or at least a title to honours and high offices in the state. When a man can prove six hundred years of idleness in his family, descending from father to son, he acquires nobility, with all the privileges annexed to it. A poor man of quality, who should take it in his head to leave the path of his ancestors, and employ himself in some work of industry or ingenuity, would be immediately degraded in the eyes of his countrymen: it would be stiled a degeneracy; and though he should acquire an immense fortune by his industry, neither himself nor his children could recover the rank of his forefathers; and this is the true reason why the Spanish nobility will prefer begging or starving to trade or commerce.

The king of Spain has three hundred thousand subjects shut up in cloisters; fifty thousand who have nothing to do but to ground their firelocks, then shoulder them, and finally to repose themselves and their arms, daily, after an hour's parade; and twenty thousand idle nobility and gentry, who retain forty thousand domestics to support their laziness.

As soon as a citizen of Madrid has gained a yearly income of one hundred ounces of silver (under thirty pounds sterling) by his industry, he quits his vocation to be a gentleman, and to have the privilege of being idle from morning to night.

A people, my dear friend, who are industrious, because it is one principle of the government they live under to promote and reward it, must be a great and flourishing nation; while such as Spain gradually falls into contempt and indigence. The contrast between Hol-

land (which country I propose very soon to visit, and on which you shall have my free thoughts) and Spain, is a full proof of what I have asserted.

I shall now recapitulate, in a few words, all the grievances of this government, which is the most feeble and languishing of any in Europe.

An iniquitous tribunal, misnamed the holy office, or inquisition, under the veil of religion, destroys the civil virtues of social life, and fills the state with cowardly, superstitious souls. An innumerable host of lazy bigots, living in a state of celibacy, continually diminishes population. Fictitious riches prevent real opulence. A vast accessary dominion, separated by immense oceans, absorbs the principal. Agriculture abandoned, traffic destroyed, idleness established, manufactures discouraged, and gaming pursued eagerly, must in time produce a dissolution of the Spanish government.

To you, however, I will communicate the means of rendering this monarchy flourishing and powerful; my maxims may serve you for political reflections on this country, but you need not apprehend they will be put in practice here, for there are too many people interested in the present system of administration.

1. Abolish the inquisition.
2. Diminish the priests, friars, and nuns, two thirds at least.
3. Shut up the gold and silver mines.
4. Desert America.
5. Cultivate the lands in Old Spain.
6. Encourage industry,
7. Revive the polite and liberal arts.
8. Augment manufactures.
9. Ennoble commerce, in imitation of the Chinese, by making merchants grandees of Spain.

## ENQUIRY *into the* CHARACTER *of* COLUMBUS.

THE character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance as no impediments, dangers, or sufferings could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for his severity toward the natives, on account of the distressful state into which the colony was brought: The change of climate, and the indispensable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivers were declining daily; whilst such was the irreconcileable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted; for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendation, unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted me-

rit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions can only originate in weak minds, and can only be countenanced by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny into facts can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character.—That Columbus had formed a design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and, consequently, before he was apprized of the destruction of the people whom he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his providing himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs. Having found the inhabitants peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities: The cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony; for, as the grand incentive to undertake these distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize. The Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives; and those were so constitutionally indolent, that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labour.—To rescue himself, therefore, from disgrace, and secure future support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter or slavery. Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountainous and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them, which was most rigorously exacted. These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity, compelled to labour for the support of life, a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered insupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice. Such are the facts which have ever been admitted; yet, strange contradiction! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness: But should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler, professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion? and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity, when they stopped the career of his ambition? Ferdinand Columbus, his son and Biographer, has with great address covered the blame of his father; whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

[*Pownall's Geography.*

## *The* LIFE *of* CERVANTES*.

MICHAEL de Cervantes Saavedra, whoſe writings have given celebrity to Spain, amuſed all Europe, and improved the age in which he lived.—himſelf dragged on a miſerable exiſtence,—and died ſcarcely regretted.

It is but very lately that the place of his birth has been aſcertained. Madrid, Seville, Luchen, and Alcala, have ſeverally laid claim to him. Cervantes, (as well as Homer, Camoens, and other illuſtrious men) has, ſince his death, been held in the higheſt eſtimation, though he lived almoſt in want of common neceſſaries.

The Spaniſh academy, under the patronage of the king, has at length thought proper to pay—to the memory of Cervantes—thoſe honours which were ſo juſtly his due. An edition of 'Don Quixote,' of unparalleled typographical ſplendour, has been newly publiſhed. The editors, having their national honour at heart, ſeem, by the extraordinary care and expence beſtowed upon the work, deſirous to atone for the ſtupid, and almoſt criminal neglect of the author.

Materials for Cervantes's life have been very ſedulouſly collected, and wrought up by a diſtinguiſhed member of the academy: from which it appears he was of a gentleman's family; being ſon of Roderick de Cervantes and Leonora de Cortinas. He was born at Alcala de Henares, a town in New-Caſtle, the 9th day of October, 1547, in the reign of Charles V.

From his earlieſt infancy he was fond of books. He ſtudied at Madrid under a very eminent profeſſor; and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt of his ſchool-fellows by his ſuperior genius.

A proficiency in the Latin language, and an inſight into theology, made up the learning of thoſe days. His parents intended him either for phyſic or the church; thoſe two being the only lucrative profeſſions then followed in Spain: But, Cervantes had this in common with many celebrated poets—he made verſes in ſpite of his parents.

An elegy on the death of queen Iſabella of Valois,—ſeveral ſonnets —and a poem entitled *Filena*, were his firſt productions. The indifferent reception, theſe met with, ſeemed to our young author ſuch flagrant injuſtice, that he thereupon took the reſolution of quitting his native country, and went to ſettle at Rome. There penury conſtrained him to enter into the ſervice of Cardinal Aquaviva, in the humble capacity of valet de chambre.

Diſguſted very ſoon with an employ ſo little ſuited to the ardor of his diſpoſition, he quitted it to inliſt for a ſoldier: and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his bravery at the famed battle of Lepanto, won by Don Juan of Auſtria. It was there he received a muſket-ſhot in his left hand, which deprived him for ever of the uſe of it. The only recompence he got for his maimed limb, and the diſplay of extraordinary perſonal valour, was that of being ſent, along with his wounded comnions, to the hoſpital at Meſſina.

* Prefixed to a late ſplendid edition of Don Quixote, publiſhed by the Spaniſh Academy.

Little as he had reaped by his first campaign, the trade of a soldier, with all its ills, seemed to Cervantes preferable to that of a neglected poet. As soon as he was cured of his wounds, he enlisted anew, and served three years in garrison at Naples.

As he was returning, after that, to his own country, aboard a vessel belonging to his sovereign, Philip II. he was captured by Mami, the most formidable pirate of those times, and was carried to Algiers.

Though fortune seemed to persecute Cervantes with her utmost malice, she could not break his enterprising spirit. Become a slave,—and that to a cruel master;—almost certain of being put to the torture,—and not improbably—to death,—if he made any attempt to gain his liberty;—he had the hardiness to concert, with fourteen other captive Spaniards, upon the means of escape.

The plan agreed upon was this. One of them was to be redeemed at their general expence; was to go straight to Spain, and procure a vessel, to return in as soon as possible to Algiers; and carry off, under favour of night, his captive countrymen.

To put such a scheme in execution was no very easy matter. In the first place, they had to scrape together a sum of money sufficient to ransom the adventurer; and then they had to effect their escape from their respective masters; and to find out a convenient place for a rendezvous, where they could remain concealed until the day of their liberated fellow's return: nor was it to be supposed but he would have many difficulties to encounter on his part.

In short, the obstacles were so many and great, that it was next to an impossibility to effect their purpose. But,—what will not the love of liberty incite us to?

One of the Spaniards happening to serve in the capacity of a gardener, was of most essential use; for, having to cultivate a very extensive piece of ground which lay along the sea-shore, he undertook to dig, in a part of it little frequented, a cavern large enough to contain them all. As he could only work at it by stealth, it took him up no less than two years to complete it.

In the mean time, what with the money collected by alms, and what they earned by dint of labour, they had amassed a sum sufficient to ransom one Viano, a Majorcan; whom they pitched upon for the arduous undertaking, as well on account of his intimate knowledge of the coast of barbary, as for the implicit confidence which they all reposed in him.

Although the redemption-money was ready, and the cavern completed, six other months elapsed before all the captives found means to effect their escape. At length, however, they were assembled: Viona was ransomed, and parted; first solemnly pledging himself to use all possible dispatch in procuring a vessel, and to return and liberate his countrymen.

As Cervantes had all along been the soul of the undertaking, his ardor is no wise abated now. He took upon himself the greatest trouble, and ran the greatest risk. Every night, as soon as it was dark, he ventured out to purchase provisions; taking care always to be back before break of day.

The gardener was the only one of the confederated ſlaves that had not eſoped; and for the very obvious reaſon, that he could beſt ſerve the common intereſt by remaining as he was. The appointment of any other to his place would, in all probability, have led to a diſcovery of the cave. So long as he continued in place, he might be conſidered as a centinel on duty in a watch-tower, from whence to give alarm to the little garriſon in caſe of any enemy's approach; or, which was of equal importance, to appriſe them of the coming of auxiliary troops. In other words, from the nature of his employ and his ſituation, he was beſt enabled to regulate their movements; and at the ſame time he could keep a conſtant look out for the anxiouſly expected Majorcan.

Viano kept his word. He had no ſooner arrived at Majorca, than he waited on the viceroy; made him acquainted with his countrymen's ſituation; and demanded (as it was a national concern) his aſſiſtance. The Viceroy forthwith furniſhed him with a ſloop; and Viano joyfully ſet ſail for the coaſt of Barbary.

He arrived at Algiers on the 28th day of September, 1577; exactly one month from the day he quitted it. He had taken ſuch very accurate note of the quarter where the garden was ſituated, that he contrived, as had been concerted, to ſtand in for it at the cloſe of day.

The gardener, who had ſome time perceived the veſſel making for land, flattered himſelf that it might poſſibly be Viano's. He kept his eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon it; his mind, the while, ſuſpended betwixt anxious hope and fearful diſappointment. But when the veſſel drew in ſo near that he could deſcry the agreed-on ſignal flying at the maſt-head, how extravagant was his joy! He haſtened to his fellows to communicate the felicitous tidings.

Delicious moment! What a tranſition from deſpondency to joy! The care-worn wretches have already forgot their ſufferings. They congratulate, they embrace each other; they ſhed even tears of joy; and in wild tumultuous ecſtaſy hurry headlong out of their cavern.

It is even ſo;—the gardener has not deceived them:—It is; it can be no other than Viano's bark. And, look! the very ſignal. Nearer,—and yet a little nearer,—and they deſcry Viona himſelf ſtanding at the helm. With what emotion they beheld him! they uplift their hands, and with one general voice, hail him their 'deliverer.'

Now the veſſel's keel is ploughing up the ſhore, and the mariners are letting down a ladder to facilitate their embarkation;—when,—ah! ſad chance! a party of moors at the very inſtant appear, and ſeeing ſo many chriſtians aſſembled about a bark, give the alarm, ſhouting, 'To arms!—to arms!' Viona put to ſea again; and his miſerable compatriots fled back with precipitation to their hiding place: there to bewail their cruel diſappointment.

Cervantes did every thing in his power to cheer his drooping companions. He bade them hope Viona would return; for ſo he either really thought or affected to think.—But Viano was never more heard of.

As their minds grew more and more deſpondent, their bodies kept pace in ſufferance. From the dampneſs of their ſubterraneous habitation, and for want of air and exerciſe, the major part of them fell

dangerously ill. So long as Cervantes had strength sufficient left, he ministered to their wants; procured them proper aliment; tended upon, and comforted them; but at length falling sick himself, he was obliged to have recourse to others. He instructed one of his companions, who was yet well, where he was to go, and how he was to conduct himself, in order to procure provisions.

As if the measure of their griefs was not yet full, this man, on whom their security and very existence depended, proved a traitor. He went straight to Azan the king, and made discovery of the whole—and having, the better to secure his pardon, turned Mahometan, the infamous wretch unhesitatingly conducted a party of soldiers to the spot where his countrymen lay concealed.

The wretched Spaniards were immediately seized and put in irons; and carried to the palace to receive sentence. When they came into the king's presence, he promised them pardon, if they would discover their ringleader.—'That am I,' (exclaimed Cervantes;)—save my innocent companions, and lead me to death.'—The king, struck with his magnanimity, remitted him his crime, and delivered him to his master Mami, with strict injunctions not to inflict punishment on so brave a fellow. The rest too were pardoned, except the poor gardener, who was executed upon the spot.

Cervantes, hardly dealt with by fortune,—betrayed by a countryman, his friend too and companion,—one like himself, in misery, and reduced again to the condition of a slave,—instead of giving way to despondency, did but so much the more impatiently strive to regain his liberty. Four several times he attempted it, but still without success. His last scheme was worthy of a daring mind: it was no less than to cause a general revolt of the slaves of whatsoever nation—to overpower the barbarians, and make himself master of the city.

The conspiracy was discovered; and Cervantes, though known to be the author of it, again escaped punishment. So true is it, that undaunted courage forces respect even from our enemies.

It is probable Cervantes meant to speak of himself, when, in the story of 'The Slave,' (one of the most interesting episodes in 'Don Quixote,') he says,—'The cruel Azan king of Algiers, never showed any mercy, except to one Saavedra, a Spanish soldier; who often times, at hazard of his life, formed enterprises of so daring a nature, that the infidels are not likely soon to forget them.'

Though Azan spared Cervantes's life, he did not choose to trust so formidable a captive in other hands than his own; and therefore purchased him of his master Mami, and caused him to be watched very narrowly.

Not long after he was in his possession, the king was obliged to go to Constantinople, but was willing to be rid first of a person whom he considered in so dangerous a light: he therefore gave intimation to Cervantes's relations of his captive state; in order that they might, if they thought proper, redeem him.

Cervantes's mother, who was still living, a widow, and very poor, disposed of what few valuables she had; and hastened with the product, about three hundred ducats of silver, to the Trinity fathers at

Madrid; whose particular business it was to negotiate for the ransom of Spanish captives. This sum, though the widow's all, was not deemed adequate. The king insisted upon five hundred golden crowns. The holy fathers,—for such, in this instance, they may be truly called,—compassionating the widow's distress, made up, with their own money, the sums required; and Cervantes was redeemed on the 19th of September, 1580, after a captivity of five years.

Upon his return to his native land, Cervantes, out of love with a military life, resolved to devote himself to letters. He settled in lodgings with his mother; and indulged the pleasing hope, that by his labours he should be able to procure her a comfortable subsistence.

He was then three and thirty years of age. His first publication was 'Galatea:' of which he gave only six books; but never finished it, although it met with a tolerable reception.

This same year Cervantes married Donna Catharina de Pelacios: a lady of good family, and doubtless of great personal merit,—for he had no fortune with her. To support his family, he took to writing for the stage; and he assures us, with very good success. Nevertheless, he soon quitted his theatrical concerns for an employ obtained at Seville, where he went to reside. It was there he wrote his 'Novels,' in which he has so well pourtrayed the manners and vices of that great city.

Cervantes was in his fiftieth year, when business called him to La Mancha. The inhabitants of an inconsiderable village, called *Argamazilla*, upon some frivolous pretext quarrelled with him, and dragged him to prison; where he was a considerable time confined. It was in that very prison he began his incomparable 'Don Quixote.' He thought to revenge himself for the ill treatment he met with, by laying the first scenes of this hero's extravagancies in that neighbourhood; though he forebore mentioning the name of that particular village throughout the whole romance.

He began with publishing only the 'First Part of Don Quixote;' which not meeting with its deserved success, Cervantes, who knew thoroughly the disposition of mankind, immediately wrote a little piece, which he entitled 'The Serpent.' This pamphlet, which is no where to be met with now, (not even in Spain) seemed, on the face of it, to be a criticism on 'Don Quixote;' but was in effect a cutting satire upon the blockheads who detracted from the merit of that excellent work. Every body read the satire; and 'Don Quixote' thereby gained a reputation which its own intrinsick merit ought rather to have procured it.

Hereupon all the witlings in Spain combined against the author. Tho' living themselves in a state of warfare and hatred one of another, they were not so occupied but they could observe the hasty strides which our literary giant was making towards the temple of Fame; and they were sensible that, he having once gained admission, the doors would be shut against them forever. For this reason, they agreed for the present to lay aside their animosities; and not only patched up a truce amongst themselves, but entered into a league against their formidable rival. Against him they drew up all their forces; against him pointed their envenomed shafts, and directed all

their artillery: but not in the way of honeſt open enemies; not by boldly facing him in the field, but by harraſſing him on his march. They attacked him, not as grammarians and philologiſts, but as quibblers, cavillers; not with arguments, but inſults: nor bluſhed they even to add the groſſeſt calumny to the moſt malicious criticiſm. In fine, Cervantes's growing fame proved more fatal to him than the neglect he formerly experienced.

Whether from the tyranny of the kings of Spain, or her ſub-tyrants the prieſts (be it remembered that it is ſtill an abſolute monarchy, and the inquiſition ſubſiſts in full force)—that nation has been juſtly reproached with being very far behind the reſt of Europe in learning. At the time, in particular, in which Cervantes lived, men of real knowledge and ſound judgment were very rare. So few indeed were they who had taſte enough to reliſh the humour, or diſcern the beauties of his writing, that, overawed by the hoſt of ſcribblers in combination againſt him, he durſt not for many years put any thing to preſs. His means of ſupport thus cut off, he fell into extreme indigence.

Happily for him, the Count de Lemos and the Cardinal of Toledo were not inſenſible of his worth, and occaſionally relieved him. Their patronage and bounty, which Cervantes's grateful nature infinitely magnified, were continued to him to his death; but were neither proportioned to their rank and ability, nor to his penury and merit.

Cervantes eagerly embraced the firſt occaſion which preſented of teſtifying his ſenſe of the Count's favours, by dedicating to him his 'Novels;' a work which made its appearance about eight years after the 'Firſt Part of Don Quixote.' The year following he publiſhed his 'Journey to Parnaſſus.' Neither of theſe productions turned to much profit: and the Count's pecuniary aſſiſtance was ſo very trifling, that to keep his family from ſtarving, he was conſtrained to publiſh 'Eight Plays' which had been refuſed at the theatre.

It was Cervantes's hard lot to ſuffer great humiliation as well as great miſery. An Arragonian, who called himſelf *Avellaneda*, had the impudence to publiſh, during our author's life, 'A Continuation of Don Quixote.' A moſt wretched performance it was ſaid to be; wholly devoid of wit, ſpirit, or taſte: but it abounded in ſcurrility and perſonal abuſe of poor Cervantes. This circumſtance alone, which ought to have rendered Avellaneda and his work together odious, brought them both into repute.

Our author anſwered this unmerited abuſe, as all abuſe is beſt anſwered, by taking no manner of notice of it; but contented himſelf with publiſhing 'A Second Part of Don Quixote,' more excellent, if poſſible, than the 'Firſt.'

Every one was now convinced of Cervantes's ſuperior talents; and yet,—(how unjuſt mankind are!)—the more reaſon they had to be ſatisfied with our author's worth, the leſs they ſeemed diſpoſed to paſs cenſure on his execrable rival. Spain is not the only country in the world where malice is let looſe to hunt down real merit, and detraction is taken into favour. As long as Cervantes lived, Avellaneda was talked of: as ſoon as he was dead, Avellaneda was forgotten.

The 'Second Part of Dox Quixote' was the last of our author's writings published in his life-time. He was at work upon his 'Persiles and Sigismunda,' when he was attacked by a dropsy, of which he died. As he was sensible how small was his chance of cure, he grew very anxious to complete the work; and by too constant application, aggravated his disorder, and thereby accelerated his death.

As Cervantes, his whole life thro', had borne up manfully against the heaviest pressure of misfortunes, his fortitude did not at the last forsake him. Four days only before he died, he ordered his romance, 'Persiles,' to be brought him; and in his then weak state, and with a feeble hand, traced out the Epistle dedicatory to the Count de Lemos. This Dedication is too remarkable to stand in need of apology for inserting it here.

*To Don* PEDRO FERNANDES DE CASTRO, *Count of* LEMOS, *&c. &c.*

"We have an old Spanish Romance, the beginning of which is but too applicable to my present condition:—

*Death has fast hold of me, yet I*
*Would write to you before I die.*

This is exactly my case. Yesterday I received extreme unction; to day I am at the point of death; and am sorry that I cannot therefore properly express to you my congratulations upon your safe return to Spain. The pleasure that it gives me might one would think, be the means of saving my life; but—God's will be done.

"Your excellency will know at least that my gratitude has lasted as long as has my life.

"I regret that it is not in my power to finish certain of my works which were to be dedicated to your Lordship, viz. 'The Garden Calender;—'The Great Bernard;'—and the 'Last Part of Galatea,' for which I know you have a sort of partiality. But, to accomplish all this, I had need beg of the Almighty to work a miracle in my favour; whereas my most earnest prayer is,—that He will keep your Excellency in his special care.

MICHAEL DE CERVANTES."

*Madrid, April* 19, 1616.

The twenty-third of the same month he died, aged sixty-eight years six months and some days.

He who could manifest upon so many trying occasions such spirit and intrepidity—could compose himself, when a captive, as Cervantes did—could write such a book as 'Don Quixote,' and in a prison too—and could pen such a Dedication on his death bed,—was certainly a man above the ordinary stamp.

## *On* Epigrammatick Compoſition.

SCALIGER obſerves that an epigram in its original ſtate was nothing more than an *inſcription*, which the etemology of the word ſufficiently proves. When the memory of an hero was immortalized by a ſtatue or trophy, it was uſual to prefix a ſhort poem, as an illuſtration of the honour: Hence a ſudden turn and quickneſs of thought neceſſarily aroſe from the narrowneſs of its extent, which was not improperly named the ſting; though the generality of Greek epigrams are not ſo remarkable for the acuteneſs of their cloſe, as a continued train of ſublime thought.

This ſpecies of compoſition has long laboured under the contempt of moderd criticks, and Addiſon, in his Allegory on True and Falſe Wit, repreſents it ſtationed in the rear of the former, to prevent a deſertion to the latter, as it was ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection. To diſſent from an opinion eſtabliſhed by ſuch formidable authorities would almoſt ſeem preſumption; yet though an epigram does not claim the moſt eminent part of Parnaſſus, it is difficult to ſay why it ſhould be degraded to the loweſt, unleſs the fondneſs, which juvenile writers betray for this line of poetry, may have drawn into diſgrace: Yet a genius, when matured by age and experience, ſhould not look back on its firſt eſſays as trifling, without reflecting how few excel in theſe trifles. The nicety attending its accompliſhment evinces its ingenuity. Some ſpecies of falſe wit may be attained by intenſe application; ſuch as that of including a poem within the exact ſymmetry of any particular form—

> Where thou may'ſt wings diſplay and altars raiſe,
> And torture one poor word a thouſand ways. *Dryden.*

But an epigram muſt flow with all the lightneſs of poetick fancy—a laboured thought or ſtyle deſtroys its fire, and the vivacity of an author is in nothing more conſpicuous than in this lively production of unfettered genius. As it is not well adapted to the deſcriptive or pathetic, ſatire or panegyric ſeem beſt ſuited to its airy meaſures, which the writer may vary as his fancy prompts him; though there are numerous examples of good epigrams on more ſerious ſubjects. With reſpect to its extent, the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid to brevity, as far as is allowable, without obſcurity; for as it ought to have only one thought in view, it ſhould not be ſtretched, at fartheſt, beyond the length of eight or ten lines.—On reading an epigram, the mind is led, from the nature of the compoſition, to expect conciſeneſs, which if prolixity ſuperſedes, it is too much fatigued by expectation to reliſh the ſharpneſs of the cloſe, which ſhould be poliſhed to the fineſt point of wit, and not inſerted in a ſeparate clauſe, but drawn out imperceptibly from the preceding lines.

In an intereſting novel, when the contents of a chapter are prefixed at the beginning, the pleaſing gratification of curioſity is deſtroyed; ſo if an introduction is required more copious than the epigram, anticipation robs us of its greateſt beauty, viz. an expected turn of wit;

and it seems a paltry resource to tell the reader what a perusal would not discover. The following, though an epigram according to the strictest rules, lies under this predicament.

*On a spacious* Bridge *built by the D—ke of M—lb—gh over a contemptible stream at B—nh—m.*

The lofty arch his high ambition shews,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.

Though it may be justly alledged in excuse for this example, that being originally written on the bridge, it did not require the explanation, and lost its beauty only by being translated into a book.

Puns have been long reprobated as mere *nugæ canoræ*, and it must be confessed that they do not heighten their dignity much by the ornamental dress of poetry: But such is the fluctuation of taste in literature, that Quintillian greatly commends a punning epigram of Cicero, *(Fundum Verro vocat, quod possum mittere funda, &c.)* which according to modern judgment would disgrace a much inferior genius.—Addison recommends the translation of a piece of wit into a different language, which, like an essaying oven, would prove its purity, or baseness. This is an infallible method to detect a pun, and ancient as well as modern epigrams must sometimes feel its effects. Much cannot be advanced in the justification of a pun, though it does not wholly deserve the most abject contempt.—When a pun is introduced, the object of its aim is delight, and not defiance to the severe rules of criticism; and its design, if well conducted, is confessedly crowned with success.

The brevity, stile, and lightness of an epigram recommends it to judgment as a proper field for the first exercise of genius, and not feeling, or not acquainted with the severe beauties of criticism, a pun by almost the same qualifications appears to them in full brilliancy of wit, and is often immoderately indulged. But though the epigram, which bears Mr. Addison's test of truth, is considerably more deserving of praise, yet a pun ought not to be totally consigned over to contempt, since it requires some ingenuity to introduce it with ease, and without stretching its allusions too remotely: for as it requires delicate treatment, no species of false wit is more abject than a far fetched pun; like a dangerous medicine, which with skilful management may be used as a safe and infallible remedy, but if its qualities are mistaken, is attended with the most pernicious consequences.

## Memoirs *of* Linnæus.

[*By Mr.* Coxe.]

CARL. Von Linné, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldest son of Nils Linnæus, a Swedish divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Rashult, in the province of Smoland.

His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its riſe from the following circumſtance:—His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this entertainment; and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when he was permitted to accompany his father into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained, for his own uſe, a ſmall portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He ſoon learnt to diſtinguiſh the different flowers; and, before he attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Raſhult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himſelf acquainted with their names and qualities. He was ſo abſorbed in this favourite purſuit, as totally to diſregard his other ſtudies; and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the Gymnaſium in the ſame town, his new maſter repeatedly complained of his idleneſs.

Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature, and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker. This deſtination would have taken place, if a neighbouring phyſician, whoſe name was Rothman, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he ſeemed naturally inclined.

This ſagacious obſerver, having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe, ſupplied him with botanical books, and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he had deſigned him for the church; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree, that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in that profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunies of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, buds, and plants.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala, where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not, however, obſtruct his uſual exertions. About this period he began to arrange his Bibliotheca Botanica, his Claſſes, and Genera Plantarum; from whence we may collect, how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciencies at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region. But as he received only a gratuity of about eight

pounds towards defraying this expence, he was obliged to travel almoſt the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and ſpirit.

He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; ſtayed ſome time at the mines of Fahlain; viſited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardſhips; eſcaped imminent perils: and returned to Upſala in the month of October of the following year, after having traverſed near four thouſand miles.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmeſt ambition, the profeſſorſhip of botany in the univerſity of Upſala. He turned his principal attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden, which, at the time of his appointment to the profeſſorſhip, ſcarcely contained forty exotics: but produced, in 1748. notwithſtanding the obſtructions ariſing from the ſeverity of the climate, eleven hundred ſpecies excluſive of indigenous plants and varieties.

By his incomparable lectures he raiſed the univerſity to the higheſt repute, and induced many foreigners to reſort to Upſala. He was always attended by a numerous audience, and his great art was not only in ſatisfying the curioſity, but in gaining the affection and eſteem of the ſtudents. His lectures were diſtinguiſhed by the conciſeneſs and preciſion ſo conſpicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a ſpirit and animation, which irreſiſtibly caught the attention of the hearers; for he ſpoke with a perſuaſion, which was inſpired by his deep inſight, his juſt conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature. He diffuſed a ſudden ſpirit of enquiry, and kindled among his ſtudents—a new zeal for the ſtudy of natural hiſtory.

During the firſt years of his reſidence at Upſala, he gave public herboriſing lectures in the ſpring and ſummer. In theſe botanical excurſions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French horns, and ſallied out at the head of two or three hundred ſtudents, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or inſect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the ſtudents, the ſtragglers were called together by the ſound of muſic, and, crowding round their maſter, liſtened in reſpectful ſilence, while he offered his obſervations.

His reputation was now ſo widely ſpread in foreign countries, that he received the moſt flattering invitations to Peterſburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered, by the king of Spain, a very conſiderable ſtipend, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the proſpect even of the moſt ſplendid advantages could not ſeduce him from his native country, where he had acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, and the general reſpect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His ſervices, in promoting every branch of natural hiſtory, were acknowledged in the fulleſt manner, and every aſſiſtance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuſe his favourite ſcience. A new houſe was raiſed for him at the public expence, cloſe to the phyſic-garden. He was occaſionally deputed by the ſtates to make excurſions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement

of natural history. For this purpose, he, at different times, visited the islands of Gothland and Oeland; the provinces of Skone and West Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the itineraries of his travels, which are said to be replete with curious and philosophical observations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural history to economical uses.

Many of his scholars were also, under his auspices, dispatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular societies; and they all seem to have caught from their beloved master a spirit of emulation and zeal for science. The communications, which he received from their unremitted labours, furnished him with such information, as enabled his comprehensive mind to appropriate, as it were, their discoveries, and to "exemplify in a more perfect and detailed manner his system of nature." Thus his genius may be said to have diffused itself through the most distant regions of the globe; and his spirit still continues to animate the zealous disciples of the Linnæan school.

In the year 1776, a paralytic stroke deprived Linnæus of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed. His strength gradually forsook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropsy, brought on a tranquil dissolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the seventy-first year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upsala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and respect could inspire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be struck, expressive of the dejection of Science upon the death of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his ashes. His majesty also attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration speech was delivered; and, as a still higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a speech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loss which Sweden had suffered from his death.

To the honour of his country and the present age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his superior genius, by the unsolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the polar star, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconsiderable emolument; while his salary as professor, his practice as a physician, and the presents which he occasionally received from his scholars, rendered him easy and independent. He purchased, in the neighbourhood of Upsala, two estates, at Hanmarby and at Sæfja; at the former of which he built a villa; and at his decease bequeathed an ample provision to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November, 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion. He always testified in his conversation, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his library, *Innocui vivite, numen adest.*

## OBSERVATIONS *on* EXALTED *and* HUMBLE FORTUNE.

[*Translated from the Spaniſh of Feyjoo.*]

THOSE were blind themſelves who feigned Fortune to be blind; and they were unjuſt who accuſed her of partiality. This error is corrected by religion, when it teaches us, that what is meant by the word fortune is nothing elſe but the Divine Providence, which is all eyes, and proceeds in every thing from the juſteſt motives: But, although the error is corrected in the eſſential, the deception is not ſo effectually diſpelled, but there is ſtill left remaining a faint appearance of the principle. The complainers of fortune compute the inequality of men's lots according to the greater or leſs parade and figure which they make among their fellow-creatures; and ſeeing that, in a great meaſure, this inequality is not proportioned to men's merits, the wicked attribute it to the chimerical force of accident, the idolaters to the caprice of a blind deity, and the true believers to the diſpoſing will of a Supreme Providence.

Theſe laſt conclude well, but they ſuppoſe ill; for thus it is: the circling wheel of fortune, and all its movements, are directed by a divine hand; and the raiſing up ſome, and caſting down others, is ſo ordered and regulated with the moſt wiſe deſign. It is alſo certain (and this reflection is of infinite importance) that, with reſpect to many, we ſee but one half of the wheels turning, the remainder of its circuit being reſerved for completion in the other world. We obſerve that fortune raiſes ſome, and never lowers them; and that it caſts down others, without ever raiſing them. What is this? Nothing more than that Providence, in this mortal life, gives the wheel but half a turn; the round is concluded in the other hemiſphere; ſo that thoſe who riſe here go down there, and thoſe who deſcend here are there mounted up. This is the moſt ordinary courſe, although there is no rule without an exception.

But, ſuppoſing what I have juſt premiſed is admitted, notwithſtanding all the ſolutions and precautions we can advert to, a ſerious and pernicious deceit continues to impoſe on, and in ſome ſort govern the world, which is derived, as I have already obſerved, from thoſe who conclude well, but ſuppoſe badly. In the diſtribution they make of happy and unhappy people, they ſuppoſe an inequality, which in reality does not exiſt; nor is it to be found in the fortunes of men. He who occupies poſts of dignity; he who inhabits a magnificent palace; he who poſſeſſes great riches; and much more, he whoſe temples are adorned with a crown, is reputed the happieſt of men. On the contrary, he who, beneath an humble roof, is ſcarce known to the world; who to ſubſiſt, and enable him to live, has no more than is abſolutely neceſſary, is conſidered as unhappy. At leaſt the fortune of this laſt is judged to be as much inferior to that of the other, as a little fountain is to the whole ſtock of waters confined in the Nile.

Very different was the ſentiment of the oracle of Delphi, who, when he was aſked by Gyges, king of Lydia, who was the happieſt man in the world? replied, "Agalus Pſophidius, the poſſeſſor of a

little eſtate in a confined corner of Arcadia, is the moſt happy man who inhabits the globe." The king, who expected to be told that himſelf was the happieſt man, remained equally confounded and ſurpriſed.

Agathocles was a monſter of fortune: From being the ſon of a poor potter of the city of Regio, he roſe to the ſoverign of Sicily; with all which, I believe, that, by comparing his fortune with that of his father Carcinus, we ſhall find that the father was the more happy man of the two. It is certain he did not live in that continual uneaſineſs which agitated the whole life of Agathocles; nor did he ſuffer any grief ſo intenſe, or of ſo long duration, as that of Agathocles, which was occaſioned by the death of his ſons, who were barbarouſly beheaded by his own ſoldiers.

Pliny, in his ſeventh book, ſpeaking of thoſe Romans, who, in ſome inſtances, were the moſt remarkable favourites of fortune, ſuch as the dictator Sylla, the two Metulluſes, and Octavius Auguſtus, points out, at the ſame time, ſo many counterpoiſes to their good luck, as to leave it doubtful whether the ſcale of their adverſity or of their proſperity preponderated.

The labour would be infinite, if, by turning over hiſtory, you were to inſtance all thoſe to whom the hand of fortune has alternately dealt the moſt cruel blows, and adminiſtered the moſt tender gratifications; nor would ſuch an inquiry be of any avail to our purpoſe, becauſe every one will readily grant there is no aſylum in this world to protect us from the rigours of fate; nor is there any privilege annexed to high dignity, which exempts it from the juriſdiction of misfortune. The beſt method then is, to weigh the one and the other fortune, the exalted and the humble, and eſtimate them according to what, in their common and ordinary ſtate, they are found to contain in themſelves, abſtracted from any extraordinary accidents, either favourable or adverſe.

I ſay, then, that humble fortune, according to its intrinſic value, if it does not exceed, is at leaſt equal to the exalted. In order to give at once a clear and ſolid proof of this fact, which may ſeem a myſtery, it ſhould be underſtood as a certain truth, that riches do not conſtitute happineſs in men in proportion to their material magnitude, but in proportion to what is enjoyed of them, either with reſpect to convenience, or the pleaſure they occaſion. What is a rich man the better for having his table covered with a variety of delicate eatables, if he has loſt his appetite? With all his dainties, he cannot be ſaid to regale himſelf; and it fares much better, in point of gratification, with a poor man who eats of a coarſe diſh, if his palate embraces it with earneſtneſs.

The compariſon of reliſh with reſpect to food, may be applied to all other ſenſes and faculties with reſpect to their objects; for, let theſe be gratified and delighted to whatever degree you can ſuppoſe, the pleaſure produced in every individual will tally with the diſpoſition of the organ; and therefore the greater or leſſer degree of felicity of the ſubject, in the uſe of thoſe objects, ſhould be meaſured, not by the intrative magnitude which is contained in them, but by the delight they afford. This being the caſe, you will find that vaſt riches do not furniſh to an opulent man greater enjoyments, nor turn aſide

from him more vexations, than is afforded to, and diverted from, a poor man with his scanty means; and you will conclude those are not more happy than these, and that consequently the fortunes of both are equal.

To estimate the felicity of any man, you should not consider the good he possesses, but the enjoyment he receives from the possession of them. Although the rich man always sits down to a splendid banquet, a poor man regales himself better than he, if, as is most commonly the case, he knows better what he eats. No man will say that the existence of riches without their use is of any value. It is necessary, in order to relish their sweets, that you should expend them. They are a good of such a nature, that they can only be enjoyed when you part with them. He who keeps his gold in a chest may receive some satisfaction in contemplating that he has it at his command; but that is much inferior to the inevitable chagrin which attends his continual care and anxiety. Horace chanted wisely, who held that convenience consisted more in the want than in the possession of such goods, which, through concern for their preservation, kept people in constant alarms and terrors night and day, lest a thief should break in and steal them, an unfaithful servant purloin them, or a fire consume them.

Quicksilver occasions continual tremors to him who works it in the mines—gold and silver to him who keeps and turns them over in a chest. There is no doubt but the pleasure of finding himself rich is greatest in a covetous man, but his care and anxiety exceed also in proportion to it. Besides this, he is not so much gratified by the goods he enjoys, as he is made uneasy by the desire of possessing those he is not master of. There is always in his heart an immense *vacuum*, as obnoxious to his avarice as a *vacuum* in all bodies is to nature; and his thirst is of the dropsical kind, so that the more he drinks, the more he craves.

Upon a supposition then, that, instead of convenience, there is evil and vexation in the mere possession of riches, let us proceed to take a view of the benefits that may result from their use. And, first, riches to a very large amount are exceedingly superfluous for furnishing the accommodations of life. If a man, possessed of a few thousand crowns, can find sufficient to purchase all that can be reasonably desired, of what use are the millions? To what purpose should he, who finds water sufficient for all his occasions in a little fountain, bring a river into his house. He would acquire nothing by such an act but the hatred and indignation of those who see that, without utility to himself, a man monopolizes a stock of water sufficient to accommodate a whole town, by doing which he exposes himself to the malicious designs that a wicked and perverse person may form to take away his life, in hopes that, by perpetrating the fatal deed, he might become master of his property; and it is certain that many persons, from such a motive only, have fallen victims to the knife or to poison; so that an excess of doubloons to the owner, are rather things of weight than things of worth. I mean that, instead of a convenience, they are dangerous, and an evil of life.

## *A* CURIOUS DISSERTATION *on the* TONGUE.

THE Tongue, by Anatomiſts, is defined to be the inſtrument of taſting, ſpeaking, and ſwallowing, made up of a fleſhy and ſpongy ſubſtance, compaſſed about with a thin membrane, and is placed in the mouth and throat, a very convenient ſituation to diſcover the diſeaſes that lie hid in the interiour parts of the body. It appears to be not the only part ſuſceptible of taſte, as ſome who are poſſeſſed of it have none; inſtances of which there are many, in coughs, colds, &c. and ſome who have loſt it by accident, or otherwiſe, have declared themſelves not at all deficient in that ſenſe.

The word tongue is often underſtood for its action; ſpeech, or language, one of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, being the channel or communication by which we convey our ſentiments; which when guided by reaſon, the moſt apparent diſtinction placed by the Deity to ſhew his excellent maſter piece Man from the brute creation: The benefits that we derive from it are innumerable; all the ſmaller diviſions of trade would in a great meaſure be loſt, if a ſtop was put to ſpeech. And here it may not be amiſs to obſerve how far nature exceeds art, by endeavouring to point out in what manner a deficiency of ſpeech may be atoned for by the latter.—Writing, although it poſſeſſes the peculiar excellency of conveying thoughts to a diſtance, yet is far beneath ſpeech; it may be miſunderſtood; and perhaps, by the caſual omiſſion of a ſtop, letter or word, convey a contrary meaning to what was intended: Beſides, it takes up more time, as the ſame thing may be done by ſpeech in a much ſhorter ſpace, without the leaſt poſſibility of miſconſtruction.—Chiromania, or the art of converſing by the hands, has been by many juſtly applauded, and numbers of dumb perſons at this day make themſelves underſtood by that means; yet I do believe if ſpeech had not exiſted prior, Chiromania never would have had being: And ſuppoſe it poſſible, the difficulty of affixing an alphabet, and the time required to complete a language, would ſo retard the progreſs of learning, that in regard to the conveniences of life we ſhould have been by far worſe off than the inhabitants of Otaheite or New Zealand.

The action of the tongue is diviſible into many parts, as lying, flattery, oratory, grammar, and ſcolding; the firſt two of which I ſtyle common, becauſe they are frequently uſed; the third a refinement of the tongue; the fourth contains certain rules for the better regulation of words; and the fifth, although a ſcience practiſed by the paſſionate, ignorant, and women only, has been proved to equal, if not excel, the other four. Lying is a very ancient ſcience, and was practiſed by the ſerpent on Eve, as is recorded in ſcripture: The ſucceſs was great; ſhe practiſed it in her turn upon Adam; and ſome contend even now, that the ſame chain of government exiſts.

"When Beelzebub firſt to make miſchief began,
He the woman attack'd, and ſhe gull'd the poor man.
This Moſes has told us, and hence we infer,
That Woman rules man, and the Devil rules her."

Notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid againſt this action of the Tongue, yet lying is in its place very neceſſary for the livlihood of thouſands of all deſcriptions; in ſhort, it is the vital part of trade. Flattery is but a part of lying, and is called the ſcience of courtiers; many by their excellency in this alone have been fortunate enough to ennoble and enrich themſelves; but when made uſe of for ſuch ends is, in my opinion, a moſt dangerous thing. It was the obſervation of a wiſe perſon, "That the tongue of man was made for the praiſe of God."—Oratory, the next part for conſideration, well deſerves the appellation given it, "the refinement of the tongue." Of oratory there are various kinds. A late wit declared it was divided into three parts, "that of the bar, the pulpit, and the gallows;" but I can bring no greater proof of the force of eloquence than our preſent miniſters of the church of England; the converts they make for religion are permanent proofs of the ſolid learning and force of argument they poſſeſs; and I will be bold enough to ſay, that no age ever produced better or abler Orators than the preſent. The ancients boaſt of their Cicero, Demoſthenes, Tully, and others; but our preſent divines as far exceed the ancients, as the cauſe they promote; and happy am I to affirm, that if vice gains ground, it is in no wiſe owing to the inability of the clergy. But to return to the ſubject: nothing has a greater effect on the mind of man, than a well timed oration gracefully delivered.

Grammar is the ſtandard by which the degree of civilization of a country may be judged, and a perſon who is ignorant of its rules, is comparable to a labourer in a lead mine; whilſt a grammarian is to be conſidered in the degree of an ingenious artificer and mathematician who knows its defects, excellencies, and the principles on which it operates.

Scolding, the laſt point to be conſidered, is ſuppoſed by the ancients to be a peculiar excellency of the goddeſs Juno; and it is affirmed that ſhe once had a trial of ſkill with Jupiter, and, notwithſtanding the noiſe and effect of his thunder, had nearly driven him out of heaven; and they generally upon that account, wrote on the front of her temple, "Juno has her thunder too." Nevertheleſs, this praiſe, in my opinion, is falſely attributed to her; and I am perſuaded, if a third part of the huſbands in this metropolis were aſſembled together, they could in one day produce five hundred Junos, far ſuperior in this action of the tongue. To conclude: The tongue is by no means culpable; it is but a ſervant to the will; and if the will is ſubject to the paſſions, the tongue will, by flattery, lying, cenſure, and diſſimulation, not only work woe and miſery to others, but total deſtruction to the poſſeſſor. [*European Mag.*]

## *On* GAMING: *A* FRAGMENT.

IT is ſomewhere recorded, that Cobilon the Lacedemonian, being ſent to Corinth with a commiſſion to conclude a treaty of friendſhip and alliance, when he ſaw the captains and ſenators of that city

playing at dice, returned home without doing any thing, saying, "That he would not so much sully the glory of the Spartans, as that it should be said they had made a *league* with *gamesters*." Hence it should seem that this honest heathen took every man addicted to gaming for a fool or a knave, and therefore resolved not to have any dealings with such, as neither of those characters could be depended on.

The perniciousness of *gaming* was so well understood by the grand impostor Mahomet, that he thought it necessary to prohibit it expressly in the Alcoran, not as a thing in itself *naturally* evil, but only *morally* so, as it is a step to the greatest vices; for, whilst we captivate ourselves to chance, we lose our authority over our passions, being excited to immoderate desire, excessive hope, joy, and grief; we stand or fall at the uncertain cast of the dice, or the turning up of a card; we are slaves to the feeblest wishes, which if they succeed not, we grow furious, profligate, and impious; banishing all prudence, temperance, and justice, we become impudent, and fit for the blackest crimes. Hence the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blasphemies amongst the men and amongst the women, the neglect of household affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion, and lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when, after an ill run, the fair one must answer the defects of the purse; the rule on such occasions holding true in play as it does in law.—*Qui non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

If christians have not humility enough to conform to the rule of life laid down in holy writ, let them at least have pride enough to be shamed out of this detestable vice by the example of Pagans and Mahometans.

## *On the* PATHOS *of* HOMER, *and the* CHARACTERS *of the* ILIAD.

IT is generally allowed, I believe, that in true pathos, Homer, where he admits it, is superior to all uninspired writers. Some inquiry into the causes of this excellence, such at least as have escaped the notice of other writers, may not be unacceptable.

1. Homer's Pathos, always lies chiefly in the idea, or sentiment itself. It has seldom, or never, any artificial preparation, or affected language, which in general tend to defeat the purpose they are meant to serve. It will generally be found to consist of the most natural and affecting circumstances that the poet can supply; frequently familiar, which imparts a simplicity of the most becoming kind; and is always of a sort nicely adapted to the character of the speaker. "You could not," says Andromache, when dying, "stretch forth to us your hand from your couch, nor utter any advice or consolation that we might have repeated in remembrance of you, during the remainder of our sorrowful days and nights." This is at once a simple, natural, and highly affecting circumstance; and, like those of the best scenes of

our own admired dramatiſt, excites at one ſtroke an irreſiſtible ſympathy with the ſufferer, and affords a memorable example of the triumph of nature over the frigidity of art.

The pathos of Priam is of a different kind, but equally in character. He is repreſented ſtruggling with the Trojans, and with difficulty prevented from encountering all the horrors of war without the walls, in order to redeem the body of his ſon, whom he ſees dragged in the duſt by the ſavage Achilles.—"Let me go, my friends," ſaid he; "let me go among the Greeks, and entreat this outrageous and violent man. Peradventure he may reverence my years, and pity my misfortunes. For he has himſelf a father, old like me, who brought him up to be a peſt to this country, and the whole Trojan race." Here we may obſerve equal nature and ſimplicy, but ſomewhat more vehemence and manly dignity. Still more of both theſe latter requiſites are conſpicuous in the noble apoſtrophe of Agamemnon; who, after reproaching the Greeks for their former boaſtings, and their preſent cowardice, thus breaks forth:—"O Jupiter! what monarch didſt thou ever thus ſuddenly deprive of all his hard earned glory, and ſubject to ſuch ruin and ſlaughter! But, O Jupiter! at leaſt fulfil this my humble vow. Suffer us now merely to eſcape; nor permit the whole Grecian people thus to be exterminated by their enemies." The well known apoſtrophe of Ajax, ſo celebrated by Longinus, and admired by every reader, may ſerve as the apex of this ſcale of pathetic exclamation.

But, the great ſuperiority of Homer over all other poets, in the genuine pathetic, ſhines no where brighter than in the ſo much celebrated interview of Hector and his wife, in the fifth book of the Iliad. The very powerful effect of which ariſes chiefly from what I deem a ſecond cauſe of Homer's excellence in this ſpecies of writing; his occaſionally putting the tendereſt ſentiments in the mouths of perſons of heroic dignity and fierce demeanour. The wonderful heightening this imparts to the pathetic is no where better exemplified than in the Othello of Shakſpeare; except it be in this beautiful incident of Homer. The tenderneſs the fierce warrior diſplays towards his little Aſtyanax:—his putting off his helmet on obſerving the child's alarm at the nodding plumes it was ornamented with; his ſpeech to Andromache, full of a ſad, yet reſolutely-expreſſed preſentiment of his own approaching fate, and the deſtruction of his native country; his ſolicitude for his wife's welfare, after his death; and, laſtly, his prayer for that of his hapleſs infant, are all circumſtances highly affecting, and, as yet, unequalled and unimitated by other poets.

A third cauſe of this pre-eminence in the pathos of Homer ſeems nearly allied to the laſt: the contraſt theſe tender ſcenes receive from the ſurrounding horrors of pitileſs war and continual ſlaughter. On this, as it every where occurs, and muſt ſufficiently ſtrike every attentive reader, it would be uſeleſs to dilate.

Virgil has alſo theſe opportunities; but ſeldom makes the like powerful uſe of them. His pathos is very much the effect of art, and is greatly enforced, if not often entirely created, by the ſweet flowing pathetic caſt of his general diction. It will ſeem no ſmall preſumption to cenſure a poet of ſuch celebrity without ſome proof of this defect.

Let me venture to give one, which may ſerve for all;—where Anna in the very extremity of her grief, on beholding her ſiſter in her laſt agonies, is made to exclaim, with the air of an orator who is looking around him for ſomething to excite the commiſeration of his audience, "Quid primum, deſerta querat?"—What, ſhall I thus deſerted firſt begin to lament? How different this from the unaffected effuſions in Homer; and how well will it confirm the truth of the above remark, to thoſe who can diſtinguiſh well-concealed art from undiſguiſed nature!

With reſpect to Homer's characters, they have a vivid force that none of his ſucceſſors have been at all able to emulate. Our Milton, evidently, from the nature of his plan, and the very ſmall number of human characters it would admit; and Virgil, I ſuppoſe, from as evident an inferiority of genius, which would be ſtill more conſpicuous, were it not for his beautifully finiſhed and nicely-adapted language. The characters of the former, have, however, been ſometimes injudiciouſly compared with thoſe of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. But, for ſuch, Milton had no exemplar in writing. Of courſe all their ſentiments, except the few that could be gleaned from holy writ, are new, and invented ſolely for them. To compare them with Homer's deities, who mix in battle with more than human animoſity, and rail at each other with more than vulgar vehemence, were a waſte of time. In reading the poems of Homer and Virgil, we are frequently obliged to put on a temporary compliance with the prejudices of the poet, and of the age in which he lived. It is neceſſary to follow them to their wars, with all the intereſt we can excite in ourſelves for their little contentions of a day. We muſt exult with them over a fallen enemy, and continually allow an importance to events which it is difficult for a philoſophick mind to admire. In Milton no ſuch compliance is neceſſary. The principal characters in him are of a kind that all muſt venerate. The incidents are ſuch as muſt equally intereſt the chriſtian, the philoſopher and the man. The very human perſonages are of a ſuperior claſs: They have, as yet, imbibed none of the little prejudices that have ſince adhered to their deſcendants. Their ideas are general, and of a dignified ſimplicity: ſuch as beſt become the progenitors of mankind, while in a ſtate of innocence, and purity.

Reading Homer with theſe reaſonable allowances, we ſhall find he made human characters above all competition, and above all praiſe. They ſeem frequently to break through the calm inſpiration of the poet, into all the pathos and vehemence of the moſt impaſſioned drama. "Others ſtill are ſuffered to retain their ſpoils, cries the enraged Achilles; from me only has he raviſhed the reward of all my toils; the beloved maid in whom I found ſuch delight.—Why have the Greeks attacked this city? Wherefore has Atrides collected ſo immenſe a force? Is it not for the ſake of Helen? Do then the ſons of Atreus alone, of all men, love their wives?" By ſtrokes of nature like this, which are ſparingly admitted by other poets, but copiouſly by Homer, the epic adds to its dignity, the excellencies of the drama. His characters ſeem every where naturally to develope themſelves

almoſt without the aſſiſtance of the poet, and harrangue, not like orators, but real perſonages. Even their wanderings and abruptneſs, which Pope has ſometimes (perhaps judiciouſly enough) connected and ſmoothed down, have their effect on a lover of ſimplicity; and on one who willingly contemplates the remote unpoliſhed age in which the poet wrote. No ſucceeding author ſeems to have poſſeſſed any comparable ſhare of that vehemence of mind, and fervour of affections, which enabled Homer to mix with ſuch peculiar warmth in all the actions, paſſions, and ſentiments of his heroes.

## *An* ESSAY *on the* ASCENT *of* VAPOUR.

[*From the Memoirs of the Literary and Philoſophical Society at Mancheſter.*]

THERE are few phenomena in nature, which have puzzled philoſophers more, than the aſcent of vapour: and the different theories laid down by Doctors Halley and Deſaguliers, have been rejected, while another, not leſs liable to objections, has been almoſt univerſally received.

This theory, which I ſhall preſently mention, was at firſt invented by a French gentleman, Monſieur le Roi, and afterwards revived by lord Kaimes, and doctor Hugh Hamilton. It is this—that the air diſſolves water, as water does ſaline ſubſtances; the ſolution being perfect, the air will become tranſparent.

Objections. 1. Were this theory true, evaporation could not be performed without air; but Mr. Watt, contrary to the theory ſupported by lord Kaimes and Dr. Hamilton, has proved, that when water in vacuo was boiled with a degree of heat very little greater than that of the human body, the ſteam came over, and was condenſed in the refrigeratory. But he relates, that the evaporation was not quicker than in the open air.

2. Were the doctrine of ſolution true, the air would be heavier, the more water it contained; and, as clouds contain a great portion of water, they ought to float on the ſurface of the earth, and not in the higher regions, as we daily obſerve.

3. We never could expect any rain, unleſs the air was ſuperſaturated with water, and it would only yield to us, what it could not retain in ſolution.

4. It is univerſally allowed, that heat contributes, very much, towards converting water into vapour, which is again condenſed by cold. In what manner will the doctrine of ſolution account for the ſpontaneous evaporation of water, and its being ſuſpended in air, in the coldeſt weather, even when the thermometer is below the freezing point? Though I cannot allow of ſuch a ſolution as above-mentioned, I can, however, readily admit of a ſtrong attraction betwixt air and water; for no air is found without water, and no water without air.

Water, which is eight hundred times heavier than air, by a very ſmall degree of heat, may be converted into vapour, which vapour is one thouſand eight hundred times lighter than air, according to Mr. Watt. It conſequently follows, that vapour will riſe up in the atmoſphere, to the height of its own ſpecific gravity; but, long before it could reach to ſo high a region, it would be condenſed by cold, and return to the earth in rain, were it not for the latent heat it contains, and the electric matter in the air.

Whatever I mention concerning electricity, is from facts, and not from any theory, written about it, which is above my comprehenſion. But as the terms now in uſe, viz. poſitive and negative, or plus and minus, are generally beſt underſtood, I ſhall expreſs myſelf by them. The Abbe Nollet has proved, that water electrified, will evaporate faſter, than water which is not electrified. Does it not follow, that the more electric matter is in the air, the quicker the evaporation of water will be? And Mr. Cavallo has proved, that at all times the atmoſphere is electrified, but much ſtronger in froſty, than in warm weather; and by no means leſs in the night than in the day: it is likewiſe ſtronger in elevated, than in low places. From theſe facts we may be enabled to account, why evaporation is carried on during very cold weather. All the heat contained in water, above what is ſufficient to keep it in a fluid ſtate, will convert it into vapour; which, in a north or north-eaſt wind, when the electric matter greatly abounds, will be carried off with much rapidity; and, by the power of electricity, will be rendered ſtill lighter, the higher it aſcends: each particle repelling each other, and preventing the cold from condenſing the vapour, in its aſcent through the cold regions of the atmoſphere. The higher it riſes, the more ſpace there is for expanſion; and the more it is expanded, the clearer will the atmoſphere appear, and probably, the higher the mercury will riſe in the barometer.

It likewiſe appears, that the electric matter is more ſenſible near the ſurface of the earth, in cold northern countries, than in warm ſouthern places. Mr. Volta, with a very ſimple apparatus, on the upper gallery of St. Paul's, produced an electric ſpark, which, he told me, in Italy could not be done, but on a very high mountain, or in a ſituation greatly elevated. This ſeems a wiſe proviſion in nature, that the electric matter ſhould appear near the ſurface of the earth in cold climates, to raiſe up and ſuſpend the vapour in the air, which otherwiſe, would be condenſed by the cold: whereas, in warm countries, the heat of the earth will be ſufficient to raiſe vapours to a great height, which are afterwards carried ſtill higher, by the electric matter in the upper regions. This, perhaps, is the cauſe, why the air is ſo clear and tranſparent in warm climates. By making ſome obſervations on the falling of rain, we ſhall have other proofs, that the electric matter is the great cauſe, by which vapour is ſupported in the atmoſphere.

Here I muſt obſerve a fact, well known, that bodies electrified, by the ſame electric power (no matter whether poſitive or negative) repel each other; and when electrified by the different powers, that is, the one plus and the other minus, attract each other: on coming

into contact, an equilibrium is reſtored, and neither of them will ſhew any ſigns of electricity.

From this it follows: If two clouds are electrified by the ſame power, they will repel each other, and the vapour be ſuſpended in both; but when one is poſitive and the other negative, they will attract each other, and reſtore an equilibrium. The electric power, by which the vapour was ſuſpended, being now deſtroyed by the mutual action of the clouds on each other, the particles of water will have an opportunitity of running together into each other, and, as they augment in ſize, will gain a greater degree of gravity, deſcending in ſmall rain, or a heavy ſhower, according to circumſtances.

A cloud, highly electrified, paſſing over a high building or mountain, may be attracted by, and be deprived of its electricity, without or with a violent exploſion of thunder. If the cloud is electrified plus, the fire will deſcend from the cloud to the mountain; but, if it be electrified minus, the fire will aſcend from the mountain to the cloud.

In both caſes, the effect is the ſame, and generally, heavy rain, immediately, or ſoon after follows; this is well known to the inhabitants of, and travellers among, mountains.

From this, we can eaſily account, why thunder-ſhowers are often partial, falling near, or among mountains, and the rain in ſuch quantities, as to occaſion rivers to be overflowed; whilſt, at the diſtance of a few miles, the ground continues parched up with drought, and the roads covered with duſt.

It often happens, that one clap of thunder is not ſufficient to produce rain from a cloud, nor even a ſecond: in ſhort, the claps muſt be repeated, till an equilibrium is reſtored, and then the rain muſt, of conſequence, fall. Sometimes we may have violent thunder and lightning without rain, and the black appearance of the heavens may be changed to a clear tranſparent ſky, eſpecially in warm weather. To account for this, it muſt be remembered, as I lately ſaid, that one or more claps of thunder are not always ſufficient to produce rain from the clouds: ſo, if an equilibrium be not reſtored, little or no rain will fall, and in a ſhort time, the electric matter, paſſing from the earth to the clouds, or the ſuperabundant quantity in the air, will electrify thoſe black clouds by which means the particles of vapour will be expanded, raiſed higher, and the air become clear. Clouds may be melted away; even when we are looking at them, by another cauſe, this is, by the heat of the ſun. We know, that tranſparent bodies are not heated by the ſun, but opaque ones are; the clouds being opaque bodies, are warmed by the rays of the ſun ſhining on them, and any additional quantity of heat will rarify the vapour, and occaſion its expanding in the air, which will ſoon become tranſparent. When vapour is made to expand, more than it would otherwiſe do, a certain quantity of abſolute heat is neceſſary to keep it in the form of vapour; therefore, when the receiver of an air-pump is exhauſting, it appears muddy, and a number of drops are found within it; the moiſture contained in the air, in the form of

vapour, being made to occupy a greater ſpace than what is natural to it, and receiving no addition of heat, a part of it is condenſed*.

If therefore, the air is ſuddenly rarified, a few drops of rain will deſcend, as may often be obſerved in the ſummer ſeaſon.

I have repeatedly obſerved, eſpecially during the ſummer, when the wind is at north-eaſt, that the weather is, in general, cold and dry, with a clear atmoſphere. Should the wind ſuddenly change to ſouth-weſt, in a few hours, black clouds begin to gather, vegetables look ſickly, and droop their leaves: and, ſoon after, comes on a violent ſtorm of thunder, with heavy rain.

This change, I imagine, is not ſo much owing to the ſouth-weſt wind bringing rain, as to the atmoſphere's being changed from an electric ſtate, capable of ſuſpending vapour, to a ſtate of parting with its moiſture.

As ſoon as the ſtorm is going off, vegetables revive from their languid ſtate, and the air recovers its uſual aſpect. From this we may conclude, that no inſtrument can be made to aſcertain the quantity of moiſture in the air: all that is, or ought to be expected from a hygrometer, is to ſhew, whether the air be in a ſtate to retain, or part with its moiſture. In apparent dry weather it may point to rain; and when it rains, it may point to fair. For this reaſon, the ſtones of halls, and ſmooth ſubſtances, are often bedewed with wet, in dry warm weather, (that is, the air is in a ſtate to part with its moiſture) and, vice verſa, they will dry in the time of rain.

I ſhall paſs over thoſe obſervations, which might be made on fogs or miſts; a few excepted, which I ſhall ſubjoin in a note†. I ſhall, therefore, conclude with a ſhort ſummary of the whole.

1. That, heat is the great cauſe, by which water is converted into vapour, which is condenſed by cold.

2. That, electricity renders vapour ſpecifically lighter, and adds to its abſolute heat, repelling its particles; which particles would be condenſed by cold; and that, electricity is the great agent by which vapour aſcends to the upper regions.

* On this principle, we can readily account for the miſt, which appears, on diſcharging an air-gun: the condenſed air in the chamber of the barrel, on being ſet free, will expand ſuddenly, occupying a larger ſpace, and no additional heat being acquired, the vapours muſt neceſſarily be condenſed in the form of miſt.

† Fogs are produced by two cauſes as different as their effects are oppoſite. A fog may be produced by a precipitation of rain, in very ſmall particles, like a cloud floating on the ſurface of the earth. In this caſe the air is moiſt and damp, and never fails to wet a traveller's cloths; the ſtones of the ſtreet, painted doors, and hard, cool, ſmooth bodies are generally covered with moiſture, which often runs in large drops; this, I dare ſay, has been obſerved by every perſon. Secondly, a fog may be produced by the abſorption of moiſture, when the air is too dry, and differs from the other juſt deſcribed; for it will not impart any of its moiſture even to dry bodies, no damp is to be met with on ſtones, poliſhed marble, &c. This fact is well known to the inhabitants on the ſea coaſt of Fifeſhire, who during their ſummer months, have frequent opportunities of obſerving a fog in the afternoon, driving up the firth of Forth, with a drying eaſt wind, which often blaſts the trees and young vegetables, and therefore, in a ſmall degree, reſembles the Harmattan in drying up the ground, and robbing vegetables of their moiſture.

3. That, when the electric power, by which vapour is suspended in the atmosphere, is destroyed, a heavy mist, small rain or thunder-showers, will be the consequence. Had the advocates for the doctrine of solution, made heat and electricity, the solvents, their theory would have been less exceptionable.

## *The* FOLLY *of* SELF-TORMENTING.

MR. Addison says, that when people complain of weariness or indisposition in good company, they should immediately be presented with a night-cap, as a hint that it would be best for them to retire. I own, I am one of those that have no idea of carrying either my cares, or my infirmities out of my own habitation, except in such instances as I am sensible they can receive relief, or mitigation: Why should I unnecessarily wound the good nature of my friend, or make myself contemptible to my enemies?—if the communication of my grievances really interrupts the satisfaction of those amongst whom I am cast, I have hurt them without benefitting myself; and, on the contrary, if they only dissemble with me, it is a species of ridicule which my mind is not calculated to sustain—but you will allow me to observe, that I confine myself on this occasion to the valetudinarian, and the magnifier of trifles into calamities—for to deny the severely attacked, whether mentally or corporally, the relief of complaining, would be to strike at the root of humanity, and forfeit the characteristics of our nature.

To come, however, more immediately to the point, I must tell you, that I have perhaps the most curious set of relations you ever heard of.—My mother, poor woman, her afflictions are sanctified by their poignancy and sincerity—the loss of the man she loved, and a consequential decay of constitution—but then I have an aunt that is evermore upon the rack of her own imagination; not a change of weather, or a change of situation, that does not produce some present or prospective agony.—If the day is fine, her corns inform her that we shall have rain to-morrow—if the sun is tolerably powerful, she expires with heat, or, if temperate, she anticipates the inconveniencies of an approaching winter—if she perceives a cloud, she is for running into an obscure corner to preserve her eyes from lightning—and when she beholds a clear horizon, trembles for the consequences of a drought. Not a melancholy intimation is dropped in her hearing, but she instantly recollects a thousand dreadful disasters she has either experienced or escaped; and when she is told of any extraordinary piece of good fortune's reaching people unexpectedly, she repines at the ungraciousness of her stars, that withholds every such blessing from falling to her share.

A brother of this lady's, consequently an uncle of mine, who had met with a cruel disappointment in love, at a very early period of his life, was so morose as to insist upon it, that women are universally unworthy, and universally unfaithful.—Tell a story to their advantage, and he is petulant; mention them with severity, and you apparently

tear open his old wounds—if he was treated reſpectfully by them, they were deceitful, and if they behaved coolly, he complained of being deſpiſed—when the younger part of his relations were diſpoſed to be merry, his head ached, and when they were ſerious, they treated him as if he was a bug-bear—when he was conſulted what he would chuſe for dinner, he was teazed, and when unconſulted, he was neglected.—But to ſum up all—after years of aſſiduity and attention, on the part of all his relations, excepting your humble ſervant, whoſe independent ſpirit frequently incited him to raillery, he died, and left me every ſhilling of his fortune as a reward for my ſincerity.

A young fellow, who ſtands in the relationſhip of couſin-german to me, is what may juſtly be entitled a conſtitutional ſelf-tormentor—for he was ſo from his infancy. When a ſchool-boy, whatever was in another's poſſeſſion, was always conſidered by him as much better than his own—his top never ſpun ſo well, nor his marbles rolled ſo dexterouſly as thoſe of his companions—his taſk was always harder than any body's elſe, and his repetition of it liſtened to with prejudiced ears by our maſter.

On entering into life, this ſtrange humour increaſed upon him; he conceived every dinner he was not a partaker of, much more excellent than the one he participated—Every tailor, if he changed a dozen times in a month, was ſmarter than thoſe he employed, and every eſtate he heard of, happier ſituated, and better improved than his own, though the rents were abſolutely inferior to what he was in the receipt of. He attached himſelf to a fine accompliſhed girl, but ſoon found out that her ſiſter was much more charming. The ſiſter had a young friend who had as much the advantage of her, and that friend a relation that ſurpaſſed them all. His ſtrange humour and inconſiſtency ſoon marked him for an object of contempt; and however, out of reſpect to his family, he is to this day received in ſome few houſes; he is tolerated, not approved; pitied, not honoured, notwithſtanding his birth, education, and eſtate.

I have a ſiſter, which is the laſt oddity I introduce to you at this period, that is evermore labouring under ſome imaginary diſeaſe—She ſits down to table without an appetite, it is true—but then ſhe has been eating all the morning—her complexion is extremely fine—but the bloom of nature is called a hectic—her voice, that is naturally ſweet, is changed into an affected whine, and her nerves are ſo delicate, that one of my honeſt laughs are ſufficient to throw her into hyſterics—I have taken great pains to convince her of her folly, but if I attempt to rally, ſhe burſts into tears, and I am hurried out of the room as the greateſt of all barbarians. I make daily reſolutions to renounce all connection with ſo ridiculous a groupe of wretches; my reſolutions, nevertheleſs, (barbarian as I am) are diſſolved by their applications to return to them, though the infallible conſequence of our re-union is an abrupt ſeparation.

Is it not aſtoniſhing, that people in no degree deficient in underſtanding, and bleſſed with affluence, ſhould be ſuch enemies to their repoſe, that inſtead of attending to the diſtreſſes of others, which they have the power ſo amply to relieve, they thus defeat all the gracious

purpoſes of Providence, where their own happineſs is concerned, and neglect all the opportunities of doing good, that lie before them?

GEORGE GOOD-FELLOW.

## *A* PLAN *for the general* REFORMATION *of* MANNERS.

IN the few nations that ſerve as examples, we find government with puniſhment in one hand, and rewards in the other, always attentive to, and operating upon, every claſs of the community. On one ſide are ſeen deprivations, degradations, diſgrace, and chaſtiſements of every kind; and, on the other, pecuniary gifts, public diſtinctions, precedency, titles, ſtatutes, and crowns: vices fly at the approach of correction, and virtues aſſemble at the proſpect of gratification.

Puniſhment and recompence muſt therefore be continually in ſearch of vice and virtue, in order to do juſtice to both; the great difficulty lies in carrying on this inquiry with equity, conſtancy and perſeverance. If the matter in queſtion concerned only a little republic, where every thing is brought into a narrow compaſs, the regulation would be almoſt as eaſy as in a private family; but when it relates to an empire of vaſt extent, what is the plan to attain it?

This plan muſt be ſought for in hiſtory; for by adhering to facts we run no riſk of roving into ſyſtems. Had Deſcartes, in his attempt to diſcover the laws of the phyſical world, taken experiments for his guide, he would have been the Newton of France, and of all other nations. But to reduce the moral world to order by a conſiſtent plan, is a work of much greater importance; and ſuch as has not been attempted by any moraliſt. They all cry out, make the people virtuous, if you wiſh they ſhould be happy and reſpected; nay, if you mean they ſhould be triumphant and illuſtrious. Government is perfectly ſenſible of this: but the more a remedy is thought of, the more they deſpair of ſucceſs, from the difficulties that preſent themſelves. We are not unacquainted, ſay they, with the force of rewards and puniſhments; but there are ſo many vices to be rooted out, and ſo many virtues to be planted, that the cleareſt ſight is confound and loſt in the chaos. But the light of hiſtory has diſſipated much obſcurity.

In theſe virtuous nations I have mentioned, while government is inceſſantly occupied in rewarding and puniſhing, its attention is, at the ſame time, employed in facilitating the execution and diſtribution of both. By dividing and ſubdividing large ſocieties into ſmall bodies, a ſuperintendant may be appointed to each.

We learn from Diodorus, that in Egypt, all the citizens being regiſtered, ſerved as a guard upon each other; and that the whole body of the ſtate was, by a judicious diſtinction, united againſt the profligate. The Perſians, under Cambyſes, were divided into tribes; each tribe had its preſident, and every ſubdiviſion its overſeer; and when Cyrus, the ſon of Cambyſes, by enlarging his father's plan, had

re-united the empires of Babylon, and of the Medes, in the Perſian, he was able to ſupport theſe virtuous inſtitutions through a widely extended monarchy.

Athens, before the time of Solon, had no regulation of public manners; by diſtributing the citizens into as many claſſes as was requiſite to enable the Areopagites and Archons to adminiſter a good police, univerſal order was eſtabliſhed. The prophecy of Anacharſis to Solon, that his laws reſembled cobwebs, wherein the weak would be entangled, but which the rich and powerful would break through, was not fulfilled till the ſprings of government were relaxed, and the legiſlator's plan forſaken.

The Roman nation was ſubdivided into wards, or hundreds; ſo that every hundred men, notwithſtanding the amazing increaſe of people in the flouriſhing times of the republic, had a centurion over them, who could eaſily diſcover thoſe that merited puniſhment or reward.—Charlemagne, who collected together the corrupted remnant of the Roman empire, felt the neceſſity of dividing ſuch a multitude of people into many diſtricts, which he increaſed in a ſuitable proportion to the wholeſome regulations he deſigned to eſtabliſh. Before his time, theſe diſtricts were intruſted to the management of one duke only; but he foreſaw, that one magiſtrate alone, at the head of each province, would either neglect his duty, or abuſe his power; and, therefore, divided the adminiſtration among ſeveral earls, in order to render it more eaſy and exact. He went farther; officers, ſelected out of the order of prelates, and nobility, called Royal Envoys, were directed to viſit each diſtrict every three months, and give an account of their inquiries to the prince. In ſuch a conſtitution, the manners of individuals could hardly eſcape the notice of the magiſtrates; and the magiſtrates themſelves were narrowly watched. If Charlemagne did not fully ſucceed in his deſign, it was owing to his proſecuting only one part of his plan.

Alfred carried the diviſion of his ſubjects farther, for the benefit of regulation. The whole nation was diſtributed into counties, the counties into hundreds; and every head of a family was made anſwerable for the conduct of his children, his ſervants, and even his gueſts. The ten heads that lived neareſt together, formed a ſort of community, and were reſponſible for one another; by which means every individual found his own ſecurity in watching over the behaviour of his neighbour; and in ſome meaſure guaranteed the probity of his own claſs. It is thus that, in an army of one or two hundred thouſand men, by dividing them at firſt into brigades, brigades into regiments, regiments into battalions, battalions into companies, and by placing vigilant officers at the head of each grand or leſſer diviſion, in ſubordination to each other, military licentiouſneſs is repreſſed, and a diſcipline eſtabliſhed, which, in the opinion of competent judges, confers more honour on a general than a victory; becauſe it is, in itſelf, the foundation of victory.

It is with the eſtabliſhment of manners as with the culture of the earth; grant large tracts of land to one man, and he will cultivate only ſuch a portion as produces moſt profit with the leaſt expence;

divide this territory among a thouſand huſbandmen, every part will be cultivated and produce ſomething. In like manner, large political ſocieties muſt be divided into ſuch ſmall bodies, that each may feel the hand of government by means of their immediate director; and this will form a ſet of moral people. Our diviſions into provinces, generalities, and governments, have relation only to geography, revenue, and military diſpoſition, but are not in the leaſt relative to manners. Even thoſe juriſdictions that ſeem to aim at this point, what effect do they produce? Without taking cognizance of merit, crimes are puniſhed, and yet vices ſtill ſubſiſt.

FOF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *A* PROJECT *for* UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

THE principles of freedom are as extenſive as animal exiſtence, this general principle, renders it a ſubject worthy of examination and attention; ſuch is the importance of the ſubject, that the moſt able pens have been employed in its ſervice, and the fineſt pencil to preſent its native beauty to an intereſted world.

The braveſt minds have engaged to procure and defend it, at the expence of life and property; death brandiſhes its ſword with a feeble arm when compared with ſlavery——freedom has inſpired her offſpring with ſuch courage that they oppoſe any enemy, hazard any experiment, and brave any danger in defence thereof—If at any time overpowered, they are at no time conquered—To die in the defence, or live the poſſeſſion of freedom—is their motto.

The united ſtates were early honoured, with thoſe ſparks of liberty which have been ſo accumulated, as not only to illuminate this continent, and the contiguous iſlands, but the brightneſs thereof has diſpelled the clouds in the eaſtern world, and its power has diſmounted kings from their thrones, their armies have been put to flight before the ſtandard of liberty.

Something ſtill remains to be done, to render freedom univerſal, ſhall we ſit at eaſe and behold ſo many of the ſame ſpecies in chains of ſlavery in the united ſtates? what may the tyrants of the eaſt ſay: may they not ſay to us, that we are guilty of the ſame or worſe crimes than they are, while we profeſs to be the friends of freedom, we retain in ſlavery all in our power, as much as they do—is your land free, where three-fifths of the black inhabitants of ſome ſtates are held in perpetual ſervitude; when America ſhall emancipate her negroes, than ſhe may become arbitreſs between us and our ſubjects, but until that is done we ſtand on equal ground. If our ſubjects are in ſubjection, they are not conſigned to perpepetual ignorance like the ſlaves in the united ſtates. Let Americans not only profeſs but ſhew themſelves the friends of liberty—let an unhappy race be free, let them be educated, let us ſhew liberty in practice as well as in theory, let us ſet a fair copy before the admiring world, at this important hour, when thrones of kings, and the bulwarks of ſlavery, are no longer an aſylum to the tyrant. Many powerful objections may be

offered against the general emancipation of the negroes. Many have their whole property in slaves, if they are set at liberty, such families are ruined—unaccustomed to labour themselves, and their families depending on the labour of the slaves, they would at once be deprived of that subsistence and comfort they were born to enjoy; this would render them and their families miserable. It may be observed, that no man in his senses would have his property solely of this sort, unless he deemed himself of no other use in the world, but to hold others in slavery; and if they are only a part of his property, the remainder of it may be otherwise improved, if not to render his interest so great, it would at least be more honourable.

Were objections of this sort admissible, they are more applicable to kings and tyrants, who hold themselves born to power, and who require pomp and equipage to prevent the eye from beholding the monster in full view.

But why emancipate negroes, say some, they are more happy than if they were free: every thing is provided for them: how this may be in fact with some, I cannot say; but if I rob a man of all his property, and that he shall spend his life more happy without it, than I should in the use of it, will that justify robbery? it may well show him to be a better man than I, but it will never, with regard to me, obliterate the crime.

We are told that they have not that love of liberty that would justify their emancipation and that they could not govern themselves or enjoy it with prudence. The first part of this objection contradicts a principle common to mankind; and examples are are at hand to shew that some of them, after paying for their own freedom, have purchased it for their children at the expence of every thing comfortable and dear to them, and often at the highest price; the question is, whether the seller or the buyer was most possessed of the love of liberty and humanity? If we consider the last part of the objection, it is the language of the duke of Brunswick to the freemen of France, or rather the whole is the language of tyrants and kings to those under their yokes, the brave king of Poland excepted.

Others have recourse to the sacred book, and produce examples of slavery mentioned therein, they may as well vindicate murder because we have many examples recorded therein; these examples of the vices of mankind shew the ancient and universal depravity of our nature, to which the precepts of the sacred volume are every where opposed. Not so in this case, say some, the Mosaic dispensation required the Children of Israel to take slaves from the nations around them. These objectors do not consider that the divine command was to punish those nations, and at the same time afforded them the knowledge of the truth as amongst the Jews, and at the end of every seven years give them liberty to return into their own nation, by which means they might promulgate the true religion among the nations around them. If slaves are taken from among the Indian tribes around us, on the same terms and for the same purposes, then perpetual slavery is no more.

But for what purpose is complaint raised without a project for removal of the causes?—The following is humbly offered to pave the way for a better.

Let a general tax be laid for the immediate purchaſe of a certain number of ſlaves; as the ſales are general, it is not probable that more will be wanted than ſhall be offered. This annual ſum appropriated, will accumulate by adding to the number of freemen, the objects of taxation, and diminiſhing the number of ſlaves. Or if practicable, to borrow a ſum ſufficient to emancipate the whole in a ſhort time, would be more deſirable. No freemen deſerves the name, who would not chearfully contribute his ſhare, to render the bleſſing of natural liberty univerſal in the united ſtates. Such noble exertions and diſintereſted benevolence, would be an example ſufficient to inſpire the whole world with the love of freedom.

Surely it would be an inſult to the good underſtanding of Americans to ſuppoſe that any perſon would refuſe his ſhare for the payment of this debt, a debt which we owe to nature; natures laws requires it. Have we bought liberty to ourſelves, ſhall we not ſhow the invaluable eſtimate we put upon it, in conſtant endeavours to cauſe its ſweets to be known and enjoyed by thoſe who have an equal claim to it.

The poſſible amount would be ſmall, compared with the object to be obtained. If we regard the law of nature, the principles of freedom, or the liberty of our children, we will be zealous in this buſineſs. Can the cauſe of liberty flouriſh in the midſt of ſlavery? will our children grow up with ſentiments favourable to liberty, while ſurrounded with ſlaves?

Let us dread ſlavery as a Canker-worm that will finally blaſt the fruit of liberty, and penetrate into the vitals of freedom.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## *The* PREMATURE ADVISER.

MR. EDITOR,

TO give ſuch advice, as may ſuit the temper, views, and intereſts of the perſon adviſed, is a taſk replete with delicacy and difficulty. Yet we daily find, that what might puzzle a ſage is undertaken without haſitation by every pretender to prudence, and every dabbler in maxims. Alphonzo, who was gilted in his youth, inſtead of apathy in age has recourſe to invectives againſt courtſhip and matrimony; and, in the true ſtyle of exaſperated diſappointment, exclaims, that none but a fool or a knave would marry. A young man applies to him for advice on this momentous ſubject; he ſeems to liſten with due attention; then ſhakes his head in diſguſt, and ſummons every common-place argument againſt this (generally) delightful union. Silk, laces, and ribbons; the abuſed economy of the kitchin, and unſeaſonable viſits, whether received or paid, are objects of his cynical animadverſions.

"If you marry, ſays this Pſeudo-philoſopher, one who is inferior to you in circumſtances, you will experience the levity of upſtart conſequence; if you marry an equal with reſpect to property, ſhe will

undoubtedly conteſt with you the palm of ſuperiority; but ſhould you unfortunately eſpouſe a woman ſuperior to yourſelf in wealth, and connexions, you will, after a very ſhort ſpace, be compelled to bid adieu to earthly happineſs, at leaſt during her exiſtence." As a man, who is a candidate for matrimony, muſt infallibly wed either an inferior, an equal or a ſuperior in property, it inevitably follows from the arguments of this adviſer, that matrimony ought to be annihilated. The young man however marries, and is competently happy.

Hilarius, poſſeſſed of an active mind and a decent capital, applies to this monitor for counſel with reſpect to that route of commerce, which he might purſue with the greateſt probability of advantage. The countenance of the cynic aſſumes on this occaſion a double portion of auſterity; and, diſplaying all his importance, he thus delivers his ſentiments in a tone of voice now deep, now querulous; expreſſive of the growl of the maſtiff and the yelping of the cur. "Young man! you tell me that you are poſſeſſed of three thouſand pounds. Is not the intereſt, which will ariſe from this capital, ſufficient to ſupport you in eaſe? It certainly is; and what more can you, conſiſtently with reaſon, require? Should you be ſucceſsful in trade, you will be expoſed to the wiles of flattery and deceit, againſt which even men of experience are not always on their guard. But ſhould you prove unſucceſsful, think but for a moment on the condition of the unfortunate man. Although he has approved his integrity and induſtry, obloquy will be his bitter portion, Talk not to me of thoſe benefits, which by your commercial exertions you may confer on your country. Your country may ultimately enroll you amongſt the denizans of an alms-houſe, unleſs private charity ſhould prevent you from being a charge to the public."

Such is the advice of this ſplenetic man! were it generally followed, emulation in trade, manufactures, arts and ſciencies would languiſh, and at length be totally ſuppreſſed. The candidate for wealth, diſregarding, however, the opinions of Alphonſo, is now an ornament to the commercial part of the world.

It muſt be acknowledged, that in the inſtances, which I have adduced, Alphonſo is not altogether worthy of cenſure, inaſmuch as his counſel was applied for. But his obtruded advice is highly reprehenſible; and let me tell him, that he has never derived eſteem or reſpect from it; but on the contrary, diſregard and even contempt.

Yours, &c. W.

## *To make a* SHORT SWORD LONG ENOUGH.

A King of Arabia ſhewing his courtiers a Damaſcus ſword that had been preſented to him, it was the opinion of them all, that the only fault it had was its being too ſhort. The king's ſon, who was preſent, obſerved, that there was no weapon too ſhort for a brave man, as there needed no more but to advance one ſtep to make it long enough.—The ſufficiency of the heart ſupplies whatever is wanting.

# THE Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

## A BURLESQUE PASTORAL.

OVIS *and* HIRCA; *or the* CONTENDING LOVERS.

THE Arcadian shepherd dropt his beams from high,
Now the fervid zenith of the sky:
O'er the parch'd fields, no lowing oxen strayed,
No sheep were bleating, and no zephyrs played;
Its lay, no more the feather'd songster weaves,
But silent droops beneath the placid leaves.

'Twas now that OVIS o'er a fountain stood,
Her beauteous phiz admiring in the flood;
*Hirca*—the fairest of the goaty kind,
Upon the bank, thro' indolence reclined;
While in her eyes, love's gentle powers shone,
She thus to *Ovis* spoke in charming tone.

"Ovis! you love; I too a flame confess
For one, whose beauties are than thine not less;
Therefore I dare you to yon grateful shade,
Form'd by the branches of the rising glade;
Thy lover's charms I dare thee there to sing,
The praise of mine shall make the meadow ring.

OVIS.

Nor dar'st in vain: with pleasure I assume,
To sing the charms, which round my lover bloom,
I,ll bet the wool, that o'er my bosom flows,
More soft than down, more white than driven snows,
That brighter charms around my *Ramus* rove,
Than deck the proudest monarch of your love.

HIRCA.

I'll stake the graceful beard upon my chin.
My lover's worth from thine the palm will win.
*Gruntus*, who now in yonder mire lies,
To judge the contest, at our wish, will rise.

Now with judge *Gruntus*, to the shade they mov'd,
To sing the lustre of the swains, they lov'd.

GRUNTUS.

*Ovis!* 'tis your's the contest to commence:
And mine the prize with justice to dispense.

OVIS.

Had I the voice of oxen—all around
Should with thy charms, oh *Romus!* loud resound:
Thy martial forehead and thy winning eyes,
I'll bellow forth, and echo thro' the skies.

HIRCA.

Could I as loud as regal lions roar,
The hills should catch thy beauties, o'er and o'er—
Dear *Friscus!* then those charms should be expresst,
Which play such havoc in my tender breast.

OVIS.

Beside my love—o'er all the flock supreme,
Niggard and mean his statelieſt subjects seem.
'Twas when against a huge rebellious foe,
With iron head, he aim'd a fatal blow,
I saw—admiring saw the grand affray:
But ah! the conqueror stole my heart away.

HIRCA.

O'er all the herd, my *Friſcus* alſo reigns—
Supreme o'er hills; ſupreme o'er all the plains.
'Twas when the herd together met to try,
What one could leap moſt actively on high,
Them all my capering lover far outſhone,
Ah! could I ſee; and call my heart my own.

OVIS.

Soft is the down, which flows upon my love;
Grand are his horns, and tower far above;
Sweet is his voice—far ſweeter to my ear;
Than to my eye, the vernal flowers appear.

HIRCA.

Sleek is the hair, which o'er my lover glides;
Soft is his ſkin, his hair ſmooth-gliding hides;
Burniſh'd the horns, which on his brow appear,
Sweeter his fragrance than the vernal air.

OVIS.

When I appear among the fleecy throng,
My *Ramus* hails me with his ſweeteſt ſong:
Stately he moves, till I aſſume my ſeat;
Then, proudly humble, crouches at my feet.

HIRCA.

Whene'er I move and frolicſome appear,
My lover ſkips and prances thro' the air;
But when ſedately I my footſteps guide,
He capers not, but muſes by my ſide.

OVIS.

For me alone, he every danger braves,—
Brouſes the graſs, and in the wild brook laves;
For me alone he ſnuffs the fragrant gales,
And ſpurns the fair, who rove amid the vales.
If any beauties on the plain reſide,—
Theſe he deſerts to gambol by my ſide.

HIRCA.

*Friſcus*, my love that he alone may ſhare,
Mounts the wild rocks, and wanton's thro' the air;
O'er craggy ſteeps he leaps, from brow to brow,
Capers aloft, and ſpurns the void below.
No charms in any other he eſpies,
But views all beauties, center'd in my eyes.

GRUNTUS.

Ceaſe---ceaſe your prating: by my ſnout I ſware,
You nought but groſſeſt falſities declare:
Begone! nor dare ſuch themes to ſing again;
Such themes are phantoms of a madden'd brain.

Now *Ovis* bleated; *Hirca* friſked with ire;
And *Gruntus* waddled to his bed of mire.

BELCOUR.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* REVOLUTIONS *of* FASHION.

THE *zone* of *beauty* long has been renown'd;
The graces poets gloried to reſound.
*This* Venus lent to Jove's imperious wife,
The ills to ſoften of connubial life.
It turn'd the tide of paſſion in the dame;
Anger it baniſh'd, and reviv'd love's flame;
It gave the brighteſt luſtre to her eyes;
It added ſoothing ſoftneſs to her ſighs;
It harmoniz'd the temper of her mind;
And Jupiter grew fond---for ſhe was kind.

Thoſe married dames, Diſcretion's rules who own,
Admire the magic charms of *Beauty's zone.*

Old Homer—ladies! venerate the ſage—
By fable wiſh'd to huſh connubial rage;
And taught theſe morals to each thinking mate:
" Mildneſs alone can bleſs the married ſtate,
" Shape, air, and features ſome attention claim;
" But ſoftneſs only can preſerve love's flame."

Faſhion, intent our wonder to excite,
Seems nature for the marvellous to ſlight,
Now on the head the bonnet ſoars, deſign'd
To ſhow a towering, bold, ambition mind.
Now ſwells the petticoat, a ſpacious round,
And now in length three yards, or more, is found.

Tow'r, like the Titans, heaven appear to scale,
As Fashion's arbitrary laws prevail;
The stays' shark peak with star-like lustre glows,
And the paste-buckle glitters on the toes.

These wanderings of taste we may excuse;
Assisting by Politeness Beauty's views.
Powder! bestow thy cleanly, cheering aid!
Be Nature's tresses amiably displayed!
But may no curling-tongs heat that brain,
Where cool discretion should in triumph reign.
Still will those follies! frame tyrannic laws!
Now dealing in cork-hips, and now in *craws*?
Must delicacy to thy power submit?
Wilt thou yield ample scope for sneering wit?
The fair shall never suffer in my verse;
And simply thus a cynic's thoughts rehearse.
"There was a time (perhaps that time remains)
"When feathers gave the ton to female brains.
"Each whim the fair with readiness embrac'd;
"Since to be flighty was a proof of taste.
"There was a time, attach'd to liberal arts,
"When ladies sooth's our minds, and cheer'd our hearts.
"By moderate art, ye fair! preserve your reign;
"Prudence alone your empire can maintain.
"From delicacy hope sincere applause;
"Your *hearts* men wish to gain, but slight your *craws*.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

LINES *addressed to a* LARK.

CHILD of nature! freely fly;
Skim the earth, or mount the sky.
Shelter'd listen to the gale,
Roaring over hill and vale;
And at times, in pensive mood,
Hear the rushing of the flood.

In the grove, or cultur'd bower,
Taste the fragrance of each flower.
True to Nature ever sound,
Let the woods thy thanks resound;
Thanks, which instinct still inspires,
Glowing with celestial fires.

Man, of passion oft the slave:
Dares forbidden dangers brave.
With some rays of reason blest,
More his follies shine confess'd,
Than to instinct if allied,
He had! Reason! scorn'd thy pride.

See him over ocean roll,
And despise the freezing pole!
See him, fond of useless ore,
Earth! thy hidden depths explore!
And, for follies to atone,
See him weep, and hear him groan!

Now he bids, in fancy wise,
Lofty roofs ascend the skies.
But, too often weak, the base
Sinks the owner in disgrace,
Or the roof, by tempests torn,
Leave the haughty wretch to mourn.

Does he at Ambition's fane
Hope reward and fame to gain?
E'er the summit he ascends,
Scornful foes and envious friends—
On his conduct shall reflect;
These condemn, and these suspect.

Does he glow with love's true flame,
And expect a parent's name?
Wife and children often prove
False to duty, false to love.
Lark! since blest in Nature's plan,
Weep the woes of reasoning man.

Yet thy sorrows, Lark! repress;
Suffering man still heaven shall bless.
Thou wert form'd to mount the skies;
Man on bolder wings shall rise;
And, whilst cherubims applaud,
Shine before the throne of GOD.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* DISTRESSED MAIDEN.

BRIGHT were the prospects of my earlier days—
My parents' comfort, and the theme of praise.
Taught admiration, as a right, to claim,
Say, who my youthful levity could blame?

I danced, the envy of the maiden throng,
And sweetest music warbled from my tongue.
Willing the old and young at once to please,
With grace I rallied, or I spoke with ease.
At once I chanced, in converse formed to shine,
The ready lawyer and the grave divine.

O happy state of youth! were youth but wise,
And would the snares of vanity despise!

The unworthy flattered—one at length stood forth,
Praised for his genius, honoured for his worth,
Formed to delight, by nature and by art,
He charmed my fancy, and he won my heart.
Soothed by his tongue, which promised faithful love,
With him I trod the lawn, or pierced the grove:
He wished to see me in each circle shine;
And at the ball his ready hand was mine.
The day was fixed, when Hymen should unite
Hearts, formed each other fully to delight——
The day was fixed—but horror interposed,
And my bright scenes of bliss for ever closed.

Ah! who on Hope's gay vision can depend!—
Death snatched away my lover and my friend!—
In vain from books my mind some comfort sought;
For calumny was now my hapless lot.
Envy, her rage by Innocence unquelled,
Had long our happy intercourse beheld;
And guilt imputed to this hapless breast,
Solely by virtue, honour, love possessed.

Since converse can no longer ease supply,
Far from the cheerful haunts of men I fly—
My wish to live unknown—in peace to die.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

*On* DELIA.

AN epigram brisk Delia doth prefer;
And why?---'Tis very short and smart; like her.

*December*, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*On the* GOUT.

BEGONE! approach not! (thus to Gout I spoke)
Haste to the men who revelry invoke;
Seek the vile scenes which passions oft disclose,
Or in the lap of luxury repose.—
Wilt thou not quit me?---still I feel thy rage—
Dar'st thou with moderation to engage?
Ever obedient, Temperance! to thy power,
Calm was my morn, my noon, my midnight-hour.

Tell me---a parent's legacy art thou?
Or must I to my own sad follies bow?
Prompted to act by reason on life's scene,
Mild were their days; their nights alike serene:
Of vice unconscious, all their lives applaud;
They bowed to reason, and to reason's God.
*Gout!* tell me then (in fury thus I cried)
Whence can proceed thy pains?---Thus Gout replied—

Shun idleness, thou wretch! plant, plough, or sow,
Level the harvest, and the meadow mow;
Walk, ride, run, labour—Nature gave for use.
Talents, to gen'ral good which must conduce.
Scorn in excess your fellows to surpass;
Tom bears his bottle, William scarce his glass.
If single, of intemperance be afraid;
If married---but I think enough is said.

Thus spoke the power of Gout——my nerves confessed
How much my mind by horror was oppressed,
And, though to temperance bowing, yet my toes,
In fancy oft th' approaching ill disclose.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HYPOCRISY UNIVERSAL.

HYPOCRISY in all things may be seen;
Hence oft the zeal; is beheld serene;

The miser seems to sympathize with woe,
Statesmen, at times, some moderation show;
Beauties no admiration wish to raise,
And modest author's shun the voice of praise.
Religion! then, no longer bear the blame;
Since all are hypocrites---tho' not in *name*.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HYMN.

SING Jehovah's praise aloud;
Bend to him, ye strong and proud!
Bow to him, ye learned and wise,
Ruler of earth, seas and skies!

Hear his voice the world alarm;
See his bare and outstreched arm!
Rage o'er Europe's wretched coasts
Shows the offended LORD of HOSTS.

Ah! be war by all abhorred,
Nations! drop the cruel sword:
Bid the cannon cease to roar;
Stain the fields with blood no more.

Far as earth's remotest bound
Be each milder virtue found---
When, dire rage and faction cease,
All shall hail the GOD of PEACE!

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES *for the* CLOSE *of the* YEAR 1792.

RASH is the bard who dares to praise
That land,
Which e'en from envy must applause command:
Yet custom orders (custom all revere)
To hail with genial strains the coming year.

Hushed are the trumpet's notes; and, Peace, thy strain
Sounds in each grove, and echoes o'er each plain,
Where once the sword with cruel lustre shone,
The plough-share shines, with lustre all its own.

Where late the cannon threatened earth and skies,
The maiden listens, as her lover sighs.
Wisdom her happy, favoured sons calls forth,
And education forms each mind to worth.
(Ah! could the muse but cast Oblivion's veil
O'er Indian wrath, and all their wrongs repeal;
Then should her verse with tenfold rapture rise,
And paint our land an emblem of the skies.
Oh! may the approaching year bid slaughter cease,
And western plains exult in heaven-born peace!)

Blest be that era, when the world was taught
That freedom never can be dearly bought.
Tho' in the conflict many a patriot died,
Others survive, a nation's steps to guide;
Ambitious of true fame, the world they tell,
Those should preside, in wisdom who excel.
Genius too often is conjoined with pride;
But worth and wisdom ever are allied---
Yet Genius too is ours. Ye Arts! proclaim
Each candidate for excellence and fame.---
So great the crowd, the attempt I must decline,
And to some abler pen, the task resign.

Yet, whilst we view the lofty mast ascend,
The stately mansion rise, the forest bend;
Commerce adorning, Delaware! thy tide,
Each harvest flourish, and the shuttle glide,
Cold must that bosom be, which does not feel
The sacred warmth of patriotic zeal.

*December*, 1792.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ANACREONTIC.

FROM the cellar bring that beer,
Meant our thirsty hearts to cheer.---
Hast thou brought but *one!*---there's plenty.
Blockhead! haste, and bring up *twenty*.

Perfected by skill and care,
See the toils of honest *Hare!*
To my frame it ease dispenses,
And invigorates my senses.

Lo! it foams above the glass—
Name thy friend, or toast thy lass,
Let us mirth from reason borrow,
Since too soon will come to-morrow.

Bacchus! can thy juice compare
With this draft of worthy Hare?
*Thou* canst weaken all our senses;
*He* found health and wealth dispenses.

This best produce of our lands
Every patriot's praise demands;
Since, while beer and freedom charm us,
Foreign foes shall ne'er alarm us.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* COUNTRY SWAIN'S ADDRESS *to his* CITY CHARMER.

COULD I in my verse combine
All the graces which are thine;
Could I rose and lily blend,
Nature's beauties to commend,
Those perfections, all would say,
Were but stars, compared with day.

Fancy! dare not here intrude;
She at once is fair and good.
Hear that tongue, which sense refines;
See that form where beauty shines;
In the tablet be combined
All the graces of the mind.

Music in her words is heard,
And morality revered;
Genius, bending from his throne,
Bows to her, and her alone.
From her tongue, which all revere,
Truth is rendered doubly dear.

Since the city little yields,
Seek with me the distant fields;
Where, if Delia should prove kind,
I to toil will bend my mind;
Cleave the logs and turn the soil—
Love will pleasure yield to toil.

Gentle Delia! be but mine;
We no courtiers shall outshine;
But, with every virtue blest,
Rise in joy, repose with rest.
Pride, ambition, we resign——
Be contentment yours and mine!

Delia! listen to my strain;
Bless with mutual love thy swain,
Who the forest will subdue,
And will only bend to you.
Be this truth by all confessed—
*Love* and *virtue* make us blest.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The* SUPERANNUATED MAIDEN.

MILD Thyrsis at forty to me paid his vows,
And promised to make me the happiest spouse.
Such starchness appeared in this gay ancient beau,
That I smiled at his offers, and tittered "No; no!"

I then was just twenty, and scarcely surmised,
That by wrinkles my forehead should e'er be surprised:
Health bloomed on my cheek, and so gay was my mien
That many imagined I scarce was fifteen.

Young Damon approached me, and chanted his pains
With passion, expressed in sweet melody's strains.
I listened; but said 'twas a sorrowful truth,
That in age want oft flowed from bright genius in youth.

By dozens obliged silly fops to discard,
'Twixt Thyrsis and Damon I shared my regard;
But coquetted so long, that, bereft of each heart,
Both Damon and Thyrsis I forced to depart.

But must I the worst of all miseries speak?
The sorrows of age are sunk deep in my cheek;
And, whilst I still chat with the flirt and the beau,
My cheeks look like buff, and my locks are like snow.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

TRUTH *an* EPIGRAM.

TRUTH! should I try to trace thee to thy fane,
Where every virtue owns thy happy reign,
Where shall I find thy glories best expressed?
In Henry's head, or Mira's gentle breast?

*On hearing the accomplished Miss* MARIA B--. *sing* "Mary's Dream."

A Cherub's face, an angel's air
Meekly grace the charming fair;
Whose voice--- blest music of the sky!---
Proclaims a lovely seraph nigh;
Thrilling, swelling, quav'ring, dying:
Murm'ring, sweet as zephyr sighing,
Melts at will the soften'd soul,
Or bids wild throbbing rapture roll.

As from her lips, where proudly glows
The charms which blushes o'er the rose,
The heaven-descending accents glide,
Upon the floating breeze's tide;
On its happy bosom flowing,
With ambrozial fragrance glowing,
They sighing gently rise on high;
And flutter to their native sky.

BELCOUR.

---

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*On* SATIETY.

AM I not with plenty blest?
Might not rapture swell my breast?
Yet that plenty I disdain,
And that rapture turns to pain.
Thus I feel those pangs of woe,
From satiety which flow.

*Philadelphia*, 1792.

---

ENVY.

OH! never let me see that shape again!
Exile me rather to some savage den,
Far from the social haunts of men!
Horrible phantom! pale it was as death!
Consumption fed upon its meagre cheek,
And ever as the fiend essay'd to speak,
Dreadfully steam'd its pestilential breath!
Fang'd like the wolf it was, and all a-gaunt,
And still it prowl'd around us and around,
Rolling its squinting eyes askaunt,
Wherever human happiness was found.

Furious thereat, the self-tormenting sprite
Drew forth an asp, and (terrible to sight)
To its left pap th' envenom'd reptile prest,
Which gnaw'd and worm'd into its tor-tur'd breast.
The desperate suicide, with pain,
Writh'd to and fro, and yell'd amain;
And then, with hollow dying cadence, cries—
"It is not of this asp that ENVY dies;
'Tis not this reptile's tooth that gives the smart;
'Tis other's happiness that gnaws my heart."

---

SONNET: *To* MARIA.

'TIS not thy flowing hair of orient gold,
Nor those bright eyes, like sapphire gems that glow;
Nor cheek of blushing rose, nor breast of snow,
The varying passions of the heart could hold:

Those locks, too soon, shall own a sil'ry ray,
Those radiant orbs their magic fires forego;
Insatiate Time shall steal those tints away;
Warp thy fine form, and bend thy beauties low;

But the rare wonders of thy polish'd mind
Shall mock the empty menace of decay;
The gem that in thy spotless breast enshrin'd,
Glows with the light of intellectual ray;
Shall, like the brilliant, scorn each borrow'd aid,
And, deck'd with native lustre, never fade!

---

BEAUTY.

GO tell the vain, the insolent, and fair,
That life's best days are only days of care;
That beauty, flutt'ring like a painted fly,
Owes to the spring of youth its rarest die;
When winter comes, its charms shall fade away,
And the poor insect wither in decay:
Go bid the giddy phantom learn from thee,
That Virtue only braves mortality.

# POLITICAL REGISTER.

## REPORT *of the* SECRETARY *of the* TREASURY, *respecting the* REDEMPTION *of the* PUBLIC DEBT, *and the* REIMBURSEMENT *of the* LOAN *made of the* BANK *of the* UNITED STATES.

IN obedience to two resolutions of the house of representatives, one of the 21st instant, directing the secretary of the treasury to report a plan for the redemption of so much of the public debt as by the act entitled "an act making provision for the debt of the united states," the united states have reserved the right to redeem; the other of the 22d instant, directing him to report the plan of a provision for the reimbursement of the loan made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the Xth section of the act entit'ed "an act to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of the united states;" the said secretary respectfully submits the following

### REPORT.

THE expediency of taking measures for the regular redemption of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government, being wisely predetermined by the resolution of the house of representatives referring the subject to the secretary, nothing remains for him but to endeavour to select and submit the most eligible means of providing for the execution of that important object.

With this view, the first enquiry, which naturally presents itself, is, whether the existing revenues are or are not adequate to the purpose?

The estimates which accompany the report of the secretary of the 14th instant, will shew, that during the continuance of the present Indian war, the appropriations for interest and the demands for the current service, are likely to exhaust the product of the existing revenues; though they afford a valuable surplus beyond the permanent objects of expenditure, which it is hoped may, ere long, be advantageously applied to accelerate the extinguishment of the debt.

In the mean time, however, and until the restoration of peace, the employment of that resource in this way, must of necessity be suspended; and either the business of redemption must be deferred, or recourse must be had to other expedients.

But did no such temporary necessity for resorting to other expedients exist, the doing of it would still be recommended by weighty considerations.——It would appear, in the abstract, advisable to leave the surplus of the present revenues free, to be applied to such casual exigencies as may, from time to time occur; to occasional purchases of the debt when not exhausted by such exigencies, to the payment of interest on any balances which may be found due to particular states upon the general settlement of accounts; and finally, to the payment of interest on the deferred part of the debt, when the period for such payment arrives.

There is a reasonable prospect, that if not diverted, it will be found adequate to the two last important purposes.

Relinquishing, then, the idea of an immediate application of the present revenues to the object in view, it remains to examine what other modes are in the option of the Legislature.

Loans, from time to time, equal to the sums annually redeemable, and bottomed on the same revenues, which are now appropriated to pay the interest upon those sums, offer themselves as one expedient, which may be employed with a degree of advantage. As there is a probability of borrowing at a lower rate of interest, a material saving would result; and even this resource, if none better could be devised, ought not be neglected.

But it is obvious, that to rely upon this resource alone would be to do little towards the final exoneration of the nation. To stop at that point would consequently be neither provident nor satisfactory. The interests as well as the expectations of the union require something more effectual.

The establishment of additional revenues is the remaining resource. This, if the business is to be undertaken in earnest, is unavoidable; and a full confidence may reasonably be entertained, that the community will see with satisfaction the em-

ployment of thoſe means, which alone can be effectual, for accompliſhing an end, in itſelf ſo important, and ſo much an object of general deſire. It cannot fail to be univerſally felt, that if the end is to be attained, the neceſſary means muſt be employed.

It can only be expected that care be taken to chooſe ſuch as are liable to feweſt objections, and that in the modifications of the buſineſs in other reſpects, due regard be had to the preſent and progreſſive circumſtances of the country.

Aſſuming it as the baſis of a plan of redemption, that additional revenues are to be provided, the further inquiry divides itſelf into the following branches:

I. Shall a revenue be immediately conſtituted, equal to the full ſum, which may at preſent be redeemed, according to the terms of the contract?

II. Shall a revenue be conſtituted, from year to year, equal only to the intereſt of the ſum, to be redeemed in each year—coupling with this operation an annual loan, commenſurate with ſuch ſum? Or,

III. Shall a revenue be conſtituted each year, ſo much exceeding the intereſt of the ſum to be redeemed as to be ſufficient, within a ſhort definite term of time, to diſcharge the principle itſelf; coupling with this operation alſo, an annual loan, equal to the ſum to be annually redeemed, and appropriating the revenue created to its diſcharge, within the term which ſhall have been predetermined?

The firſt plan, beſides being completely effectual, would be eventually moſt economical; but conſidering to what a magnitude the revenues of the united ſtates have grown in a ſhort period, it is not eaſy to pronounce how far the faculty of paying might not be ſtrained by any ſudden conſiderable augmentation, wherefoever immediately placed; while the rapid progreſs of the country in population and reſource ſeems to afford a moral certainty, that the neceſſary augmentation may be made with conveniences by ſucceſſive ſteps, within a moderate term of time, and invites to temporary and partial ſuſpenſions, as capable of conciliating the reaſonable accommodation of the community with the vigorous proſecution of the main deſign. For theſe and for other reaſons which will readily occur, the courſe of providing immediately the intire ſum to be redeemed, is conceived *not* to be the moſt eligible.

The ſecond plan, though much more efficacious than that of annual loans, bottomed on the revenues now appropriated for the payment of intereſt on the ſums to be redeemed, does not appear to be ſufficiently efficacious. The ſchedule A. will ſhew the effect of it to the 1ſt of January 1802, when the deferred debt will become redeemable in the proportions ſtipulated. Suppoſing the inveſtment of the intereſt which is each year liberated, together with that which has been, and will be releaſed by purchaſes, purſuant to proviſions heretofore made, in the purchaſe of 6 per cent ſtock; a ſum of principle equal to 2,043,837 dollars and 7 cents would be ſunk, and a clear annuity, equal to 459,212 dollars and 82 cents would be created, towards further redemptions; but the fund then neceſſary for the future progreſſive redemption of the debt, according to the right reſerved, would be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents, exceeding by 667,403 dollars and 62 cents, the amount of the redeeming fund.—Something more effectual than this is certainly deſirable, and appears to be practicable.

The laſt of the three plans beſt accords with the moſt accurate view which the ſecretary has been able to take of the public intereſt.

In its application it is of material conſequence to endeavour to accompliſh theſe two points: I. The complete diſcharge of the ſums annually redeemable within the period prefixed, and the reimburſement within the ſame period of all auxiliary loans which may have been made for that purpoſe. II. The conſtituting by the expiration of that period, a clear annual fund competent to the future redemption of the debt to the extent of the right reſerved.

The period to which it is conceived the plan ought to refer, is the firſt day of January, 1802; becauſe *then*, the firſt payment on account of the principal of the deferred debt, may rightfully be made.

In conformity to theſe ideas, the following plan is moſt reſpectfully ſubmitted: Premiſing that the ſum redeemable for the firſt year of the 6 per cent ſtock, bearing a preſent intereſt, is computed at 550,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted, during the preſent ſeſſion, equal to 103,199 dollars and 6 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January, 1793.—Let the

ſum of 550,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years, that is by the firſt January 1799. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1794, to the firſt payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1799, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The ſum redeemable the ſecond year, that is on the firſt of January 1795, is computed at 583,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the ſecond ſeſſion after the preſent, equal to 109,391 dollars and 60 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1794. Let the ſum of 583,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity reimburſeable within five years, that is, by the firſt of January, 1800; the ſum borrowed to be applied on the the firſt of January 1795, to the ſecond payment on account of the principle of the debt. The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1800, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The ſum redeemable the third year, that is, on the firſt of January 1796, is computed at 617,980 dollars.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the third ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 115,955 dollars and 17 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1795. Let the ſum of 617,980 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years, that is, by the firſt of January 1801.

The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1796, to the third payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1801.

The ſum redeemable the fourth year, that is on the firſt of January 1797, is computed at 655,058 dollars and 80 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the fourth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 122,912 dollars and 48 cents; to begin to accrue from the firſt of January, 1796. Let the ſum 655,058 dollars and 80 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within five years; that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1797, to the fourth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the fifth year, that is on the firſt of January 1798, is computed at 694,362 dollars and 33 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the fifth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 152,743 dollars and 12 cents, to begin to accrue from the firſt of January 1797.—Let the ſum of 694,362 dollars and 33 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within four years, that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1798 to the fifth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the firſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the ſixth year, that is on the firſt of January 1799 is computed at 736,024 dollars and 7 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the ſixth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 197,680 dollars and 20 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1ſt of 1798. Let the ſum of 736,024 dollars and 7 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within three years, that is by the firſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the firſt of January 1799 to the ſixth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt by the 1ſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the ſeventh year, that is on the 1ſt of January 1800, is computed at 780,185 dollars and 52 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the ſeventh ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 272,843 dollars and 38 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1ſt of January 1799. Let the ſum of 780,185 dollars and 52 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this an-

nuity, reimburſeable within two years, that is, by the 1ſt of January 1802. The ſum borrowed to be applied on the 1ſt of January 1800 to the ſeventh payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt, by the 1ſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the eighth year, that is, on the 1ſt of January 1801, is computed at 826,996 dollars and 65 cents.

Let an annual fund be conſtituted during the eighth ſeſſion, after the preſent, equal to 423,583 dollars and 64 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1ſt of January 1800. Let the ſum of 826,996 dollars and 65 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimburſeable within one year, that is, on the 1ſt of January 1802.

The ſum borrowed to be applied on the 1ſt of January 1801 to the eighth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The propoſed annuity will reimburſe the ſum borrowed with intereſt on the 1ſt of January 1802.

The ſum redeemable the ninth year, that is, on the 1ſt of January 1802, is computed at 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents. The then exiſting means for the diſcharge of this ſum, ariſing from the operation of the plan, will be

1ſt. The amount of the annuity conſtituted the third year, which will have been liberated by reimburſement of the third loan.

2d. The arrears of intereſt not previouſly appropriated, and which are computed at 200,000 dollars. There will conſequently be a deficiency this year of 810,661 dollars and 17 cents, which will require to be ſupplied by a temporary loan to be reimburſed out of the ſurplus of the fund which on the 1ſt day of January 1802 will exiſt for future redemptions, and which ſurplus will be ſufficient to reimburſe this temporary loan in about thirteen years and an half.

It may be proper to remark, that this deficiency upon one year, is ſuffered to exiſt to avoid an unneceſſary augmentation of revenue, materially beyond the ſum permanently requiſite. No inconvenience enſues, becauſe this temporary deficiency is made up by the ſurplus of the permanent fund, within the period mentioned. And that fund, from the 1ſt January 1802, is adequate to all future redemptions, in the full propoption permitted by the contract.

The table in the ſchedule B, herewith ſubmitted, will ſhew in one view the principles and operation of this plan.

The ſchedule C will exhibit the means of conſtituting the ſeveral annuities propoſed to be eſtabliſhed. From it, will be ſeen, that the propoſed annuities are to be compoſed, partly of taxes to be ſucceſſively laid, at the reſpective periods of creating them, partly of the ſurplus dividend to be expected on the ſtock belonging to the government, in the bank of the united ſtates, beyond the intereſt to be paid on account of it, and partly of the funds heretofore pledged for the payment of intereſt, which will have been liberated upon ſo much of the debt, as will have been extinguiſhed.

The reſpective amounts of the taxes to be ſeverally laid, will be:—In the firſt year 43,199 dollars and 6 cents; in the ſecond year 109,391 dollars and 60 cents; in the third year 115,955 dollars and 17 cents; in the fourth year 102,912 dollars and 48 cents; in the fifth year 102,743 dollars and 12 cents; in the ſixth year 107,680 dollars and 20 cents; in the ſeventh year 109,649 dollars and 32 cents; making together 691,530 dollars and 95 cents.

The ſum which will have been redeemed *prior* to the firſt day of January 1802, will be 5,443,607 dollars and 37 cents. The ſum redeemable on the firſt of January 1802, will be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents; and the fund which will thenceforth exiſt for the purpoſe of future redemption, (as is particularly ſhewn by the ſchedule D.) will be 1,210,744 dollars and 34 cents, exceeding the ſum ſtrictly neceſſary by 84,127 dollars and 90 cents—a fund, which, including the intereſt from year to year liberated, will, as already intimated, be completely adequate to the final redemption of the whole amount of the 6 per cent. ſtock, (as well the deferred as that bearing a preſent intereſt) according to the right which has been reſerved for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, a further impreſſion will be made upon the debt, by the inveſtment of the reſidue of the funds heretofore eſtabliſhed, in the purchaſe of it; and it is hoped, that the reſtoration of peace with the Indians will enable the applica-

tion of the ſurplus of the exiſting revenues, together with the proceeds of the ceded lands in our weſtern territory, to the ſame object. Theſe, whenever they can be brought into action, will be important aids; materially accelerating the ultimate redemption of the entire debt. The employment of theſe reſources, when it can be done by increaſing the intereſt fund, will proportionably leſſen the neceſſity of uſing the reſource of taxation for creating the propoſed annuities, if the government ſhall judge it adviſeable to avail itſelf of the ſubſtitute, which may accrue from that circumſtance.

Having now given a general view of the plan, which has appeared upon the whole the moſt eligible, it is neceſſary in the next place, to preſent to the conſideration of the houſe the requiſite funds for commencing the execution of it. Theſe will embrace a proviſion for the firſt annuity only; that alone requitting, by the plan, immediate proviſion. With regard to a proviſion for the ſubſequent annuities, which is propoſed to be ſucceſſive, the ſecretary will content himſelf with this general obſervation, that he diſcerns no intrinſic difficulty in making proviſion for them, as faſt as ſhall be neceſſary, with due convenience to the people, and conſiſtently with the idea of abſtaining from taxing lands and buildings (with the ſtock and implements of farms) reſerving them as a reſource for thoſe great emergencies, which call for a full exertion of all the contributive faculties of a country.

The following means for conſtituting the firſt annuity, are reſpectfully ſubmitted, viz.

Annual ſurplus of the dividend on the ſtock of government in the bank of the united ſtates, beyond the intereſt to be paid out of the ſaid dividend eſtimated at

*Dollars* 60,000

Tax on horſes, kept or uſed for the purpoſe of riding or of drawing any coach, chariot, phæton, chaiſe, chair, ſulkey, or other carriage for *conveyance of perſons* - - - - -

Excepting and exempting all horſes which are *uſually* and *chiefly* employed for the purpoſes of huſbandry, or in drawing waggons, wains, drays, carts, or other carriages for the tranſportation of produce, goods, merchandize, commodities, or in carrying burthens in the courſe of the trade or occupation of the perſons to whom they reſpectively belong, and the horſes of perſons in the military ſervice of the united ſtates, viz.

For very horſe not above excepted or exempted, at the rate of one dollar per annum, where only one is uſed or kept by the ſame perſon; with an addition of fifty cents per annum, per horſe, where more than one and not more than two horſes are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon—with an addition of one dollar per annum, per horſe, where more than two, and not more than four, are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon— and with an addition of one dollar and a half dollar per horſe, per annum, where more than four are kept or uſed by the ſame perſon.

Provided, that this addition ſhall not be made in reſpect to horſes uſually employed in public ſtages, for the conveyance of paſſengers.

This progreſſive increaſe of rates on the higher numbers, has reference to the preſumption of greater wealth which ariſes from the poſſeſſion of ſuch higher numbers.

The product of this tax will probably be about equal to the reſidue of the propoſed annuity, which is 43,199 dollars and 6 cents How near the truth this eſtimate may prove, experiment alone can, in ſo untried a caſe, decide. An aid to this fund may be derived from the ſurplus dividend on the bank ſtock, for the half year ending the laſt of December next, which, it is preſumed, will not be leſs than 20,000 dollars. Should a deficiency appear, upon trial, it can be ſupplied by a future proviſion. Proper regulations for the collection of this tax, will, it is believed be found not difficult, if the tax itſelf ſhall be deemed eligible. Its ſimplicity has been a conſiderable recommendation of it. Qualified, as it is, it is not likely to fall on any but ſuch who can afford to pay it. The exemption from the tax, in regard to horſes which are appropriated to the purpoſes of huſbandry, or of any trade or occupation, or to the tranſportation of commodities, ſeems to obiate all reaſonable objection.

If, however, there ſhould appear to the legiſlature, reaſons for preferring a tax on carriages for pleaſure, which, it may be obſerved, will operate on nearly the

ſame deſcription of perſons, the ſum required may, it is believed be produced from the following arrangement of rates, viz. Upon every coach, the annual ſum of four dollars—Upon every chariot, the annual ſum of three dollars—Upon every other carriage *for the conveyance of perſons*, having four wheels, the annual ſum of two dollars—and upon every chair, ſulkey, or other carriage *for the conveyance of perſons*, having leſs than four wheels, the annual ſum of one dollar.

The collection of this tax will be as ſimple and eaſy, and perhaps more certain, than that which has been primarily ſubmitted.

With regard to the ſecond object referred to the Secretary, namely the plan of a proviſion for the reimburſement of the loan made of the bank of the united ſtates, purſuant to the XIth ſection of the act by which it is incorporated, the following is reſpectfully ſubmitted, to wit, That power be given by law to borrow the ſum due. to be applied to that reimburſement; and that ſo much of the dividend on the ſtock of the government in the bank as may be neceſſary, be appropriated for paying the intereſt of the ſum to be borrowed.

From this operation, it is obvious, that a ſaving to the government will reſult, equal to the difference between the intereſt which will be payable on the new loan and that which is payable on the ſum now due to the bank.

If the propoſed loan can be effected, at the rate of thoſe laſt made in Holland, the nett ſaving to the government may be computed at the annual ſum of 35,000 dollars; which ſaving, whatever it may be, is contemplated as part of the means for conſtituting the propoſed annuities.

The benefit of this arrangement will be accelerated, if proviſion be made for the application of the proceeds of any loans heretofore obtained to the payment ſuggeſted, on the condition of replacing the ſums which may be ſo applied, out of the proceeds of the loan or loans, which ſhall be made purſuant to the power above propoſed to be given.

It will alſo conduce to the general end in view, if the Legiſlature ſhall think proper to authoriſe the inveſtment of the funds deſtined for purchaſes of the debt, in purchaſes of 6 per cent. ſtock, at the market price, though above par. The comparative prices of the ſeveral kinds of ſtock have been and frequently may be ſuch, as to render it more profitable to make inveſtments in the 6 per cents, than in any other ſpecies of ſtock.

*All which is humbly ſubmitted.*

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON,*
*Secretary of the Treaſury.*

*Treaſury Department, Nov.* 30, 1792.

—A—

*TABLE ſhewing the effect of a ſum annually created, equal to the intereſt of the ſum to be redeemed within each year, for a period of nine years, commencing from the firſt of January, 1793—on the ſuppoſition that the intereſt on the ſum annually redeemed be inveſted, as it is liberated, in the purchaſe of 6 per cent. ſtock, at the price of 22 ſhillings on the pound.*

| *Periods of Redemption* | *Sums annually Redeemable.* | *Intereſt annually liberated* | *Sums annually purchaſed.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Dols Cts.* | *Dols. Cts.* | *Dols. Cts.* |
| *January* 1ſt, 1794 | 550,000. | 33,000. | 291,172. 04 |
| *ditto* 1795 | 583,000. | 34,980. | 262,523. 05 |
| *ditto* 1796 | 617,980. | 37,078. 80 | 231,916. 56 |
| *ditto* 1797 | 655,058. 89 | 39,303. 52 | 199,233. 86 |
| *ditto* 1798 | 694,362. 33 | 41,661. 73 | 164,349. 20 |
| *ditto* 1799 | 736,024. 07 | 44,161. 44 | 127,129. 15 |
| *ditto* 1800 | 780,185. 52 | 46,811. 13 | 87,432. 33 |
| *ditto* 1801 | 826,996. 65 | 49,619. 79 | 45,180. 90 |
| *ditto* 1802 | 1,126,616. 44 | 67,596. 41 | 61,451. 28 |
| *Intereſt on debt paid in and purchaſed.* | | 65,000. | 576,520. 79 |
| | | 459,212. 82 | 2,043,837. 07 |

*Treaſury Department, November* 30, 1792.

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Secretary of the Treaſury.*

B

# TABLE exhibiting a View of the proposed Plan of Redemption.

| Periods of Redmption, or Payment. | | Sums redeemable. | | Temporary Loans. Times of Reimbursement. | | Years duration. | Amount of Sums borrowed, with compound Interest to the respective Periods of reimbursement. | | Years when annuities begin to accrue. | Years Annuities. | Annuities. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Dols. | Cts. | | | | Dols. | Cts. | | | Dols. | Cts. |
| January 1st, | 1794 | 550,000. | | Jan. 1st, | 1799 | 5 | 701,954. | | 1793 | 6 | 103,199. | 06 |
| ditto | 1795 | 583,000. | | ditto | 1800 | 5 | 744,071. | 24 | 1794 | 6 | 109,391. | 60 |
| ditto | 1796 | 617'980. | | ditto | 1801 | 5 | 788,715. | 51 | 1795 | 6 | 115,955. | 17 |
| ditto | 1797 | 655,058. | 80 | ditto | 1802 | 5 | 836,038. | 44 | 1796 | 6 | 122,912. | 48 |
| ditto | 1798 | 694,362. | 33 | ditto | 1802 | 4 | 843,997. | 41 | 1797 | 5 | 152,743. | 12 |
| ditto | 1799 | 736,024. | 07 | ditto | 1802 | 3 | 852,021. | 46 | 1798 | 4 | 197,680. | 20 |
| ditto | 1800 | 780,185. | 52 | ditto | 1802 | 2 | 860,154. | 53 | 1799 | 3 | 272,848. | 32 |
| ditto | 1801 | 826,996. | 65 | ditto | 1802 | 1 | 868,346. | 48 | 1800 | 2 | 423,583. | 64 |
| ditto | 1802 | 1,126,616. | 44 | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Sum redeemed by the 1st of January, 1802. | | 6,570,223. | 81 | | | | | | | | | |

*N. B.* All the Calculations in this Table, proceed upon a Rate of 5 per Cent. Interest.

*Treasury Department, November 30th, 1792.*

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON,*

*Secretary of the Treasury.*

—C—

## *Mode of Conſtituting the propoſed Annuities.*

| | | | | *Dols.* | *Cts.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1793. | Surplus dividend of the bank ſtock, beyond the intereſt which will be payable, eſtimated at | | 60,000 | | |
| | Tax | | 43,199. 06 | | |
| | | | | 103,199. | 06 |
| 1794. | Tax | | | 109,391. | 60 |
| 1795. | Tax | | | 115,955. | 17 |
| 1796. | Part of annual intereſt converted into annuity | | 20,000 | | |
| | Tax | | 102,912. 48 | | |
| | | | | 122,192. | 48 |
| 1797. | Part of annual intereſt converted into annuity | | 50,000 | | |
| | Tax | | 102,743. 12 | | |
| | | | | 152,743. | 12 |
| 1798. | Part of annual intereſt converted into annuity | | 89,000 | | |
| | Tax | | 107,680. 20 | | |
| | | | | 197,680. | 20 |
| 1799. | Part of annual intereſt converted into annuity | | 60,000 | | |
| | Annuity of the firſt year now liberated by reimburſement of the firſt loan | | 103,199. 06 | | |
| | Tax | | 109,649 32 | | |
| | | | | 272,848. | 38 |
| 1800. | Part of annual intereſt converted into annuity | | 220,000 | | |
| | Annuity of ſecond year now liberated by reimburſement of 2d loan | | 109,391, 60 | | |
| | Part of arrears of intereſt to be applied for balance of annuity of this year | | 94,192. 04 | | |
| | | | | 423,583. | 64 |

But a ſupplementary proviſion will be to be made for the ſecond year, equal to the ſum of 94,192 dollars and four cents, as the fund in that particular is not annual. This may alſo ariſe from the arrears of intereſt.

The payment to be made on the firſt of January 1802, may proceed from the following funds.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount of annuity of 3d year liberated by reimburſement of 3d loan | | 115,955. 17 | |
| Unapropriated arrears of intereſt | | 200,000 | |
| Temporary loan | | 810,661. 27 | |
| | | | 1,126,616. 44 |

*Treaſury Department, November 30th, 1792.*

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON,*

*Secretary of the Treaſury.*

—D—

## *View of Redeeming Fund, to and upon the 1st January 1802.*

| | | | | | | | | *Dols.* | *Cts.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intereſt which will have been liberated by purchaſes and payments into the Treaſury, excluſive of redemptions, according to the propoſed plan, | | | | | | | | 65,000 | |
| *Jan.* 1ſt, | 1794, | *by redemption of* | | 550,000 | | *dollars rate* | 6 *per cent.* | 33,000 | |
| *ditto* | 1795, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 583,000 | | *at ditto* | 34,980 | |
| *ditto* | 1796, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 617,980 | | *ditto* | 37,078. | 80 |
| *ditto* | 1797, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 6 5,058. | 80 | *ditto* | 39,303. | 52 |
| *ditto* | 1798, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 694,362. | 33 | *ditto* | 41,661. | 73 |
| *ditto* | 1799, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 736,024. | 07 | *ditto* | 44,161. | 44 |
| *ditto* | 1800, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 780,185. | 52 | *ditto* | 46,811. | 13 |
| *ditto* | 1801, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 826,996. | 65 | *ditto* | 49,619. | 79 |
| *ditto* | 1802, | *by* | *ditto* | *of* | 1,126,616. | 44 | *ditto* | 67,596. | 98 |
| | | | | | | | | 459,273. | 39 |

## *Taxes which will have been laid.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1793 | *dollars* | 43,199. | 06 |
| 1794 | —— | 199,391. | 60 |
| 1795 | —— | 115,955. | 17 |
| 1796 | —— | 102,912. | 48 |
| 1797 | —— | 102,743. | 12 |
| 1798 | —— | 107,680. | 20 |
| 1799 | —— | 109,649. | 32 |
| | | 691,530. | 95 |
| Surplus dividend of bank ſtock beyond the intereſt which will be payable out of it | | 69,000 | |
| | *Dollars* | 1,210,744. | 34 |

## *Amount of Intereſt converted into Annuities.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1796 | *dollars* | 20,000 | |
| 1797 | —— | 50,000 | |
| 1798 | —— | 90,000 | |
| 1800 | —— | 220,000 | |
| Annual ſum at the end of 1800 | | 380,000 | *dollars.* |

*Treaſury Department, November 30, 1792.*

*ALEXANDER HAMILTON,*

*Secretary of the Treaſury.*

# The CHRONICLE.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Extracts from Leyden Gazettes of the 9th and 12th October, 1792.*

BONN, (Germany) *October 5.*

THE neceſſity in which the generals of the combined armies in France have been under, of drawing ſucceſſively to them all the German troops which were on the Rhine, firſt, the army of general prince de Hohenloe Reichberg, then the corps which had remained under the orders of count d'Erback, has left the field open to the French, not only on the ſide of Thionville where they carried off a conſiderable convoy, but alſo on the Rhine: Having come from Stratſburgh and Fort-Louis, they attacked with a far ſuperior force the 3000 Auſtrians which formed the garriſon of Spire, killed or made them priſoners, took poſſeſſion of the city, and ſent the military ſtores that were in it to Landau; the alarm was ſpread to Manheim, Worms, and even to Mentz. The inhabitants are taking to flight, and the conſternation is general. This expedition took place on the 29th September. Above, on the Moſelle, the French have made a ſecond irruption into the electorate of Triers; 5000 Frenchmen with 9 cannon entered Metzig on the 29th, at 7 o'clock A. M. forced the garriſon to evacuate, deſtroyed the proviſions, &c.

*Extract of a letter from Mentz, 2d October.*

"The invaſion which general Cuſtine* has made, by order of general Biron, into the territory of the empire; and the taking of Spire†, with the general magazine of military ſtores for the Imperial army; has ſpread terror and conſternation through all this part of Germany. Our city is ſhut up; no one can enter or go out of it. Even the navigation of the Rhine is ſtopped, to the great detriment of commerce. The number of fugitives come here from Heidelberg, Worms, and all that part of the Rhine, is conſiderable. Out of 3000 men who, under the orders of general Winkelmann, guarded Spire and the military ſtores, very few have eſcaped. They were almoſt all killed, drowned in the Rhine, or made priſoners they did not however give up without making the braveſt defence. The French, the greateſt part of whom came out of Landau, were a body of 17 or 18,000 men. Their ſuperiority was therefore too great to be reſiſted. It is ſaid they intend to purſue their march to this city. Having advanced to the diſtance of one league from Kircheim Pohland, where the prince of Naſſau Weilbourg reſides, the court retired in haſte at 10 o'clock at night, with their moſt precious effects, and arrived at Weilbourg. It was on the 30th of September that Spire was taken, a ſtroke which muſt be conſidered as a moſt important, if not a deciſive one."

LEYDEN, *October 11.*

We are now no longer in an uncertainty, reſpecting the ſucceſs of the French armies.

Late advices received by way of London, that the combined armies, after attempting a negociation without ſucceſs, had retired with ſo much haſte that they had left 4 or 5000 ſick in the hoſpitals, loſt 200 priſoners, and abandoned 20 waggons loaded with proviſions and ammunition; that inſtead of forcing the French army to capitulate, they had been purſued themſelves in their retreat: and that from the direction of the march of part of their forces, it was probable they would meet general Cuſtine, who is now maſter of all that part of Germany which borders the Rhine, from Spire to Mayence.

* *Formerly the count de Cuſtine. He was colonel of the regiment of Saintonge, in general Rochambeau's army, in America.*

† *An imperial city in the electorate of Triers.*

*On the 12th of Oct. General Dumourier delivered the following speech to the National Convention.*

"CITIZEN LEGISLATORS,

"LIBERTY is every where triumphant; guided by philosophy, it will overspread the universe, and it will establish itself on all thrones, after having crushed despotism and enlightened the people.

"The constitutional laws which you are about to frame, will form the basis of the happiness and fraternity of nations. This war will be the last, and tyrants and privileged orders, mistaken in their criminal calculations, will be the sole victims in this struggle of arbitrary power against reason. The army, which the confidence of the nation entrusted to my command, have deserved well of their country. Reduced when I joined them, on the 28th of August, to 17,000 men, and disorganized by traitors, whom punishment and shame every where pursue, they were neither intimidated by the number, discipline, threats, barbarity, nor first successes of 80,000 satellites of despotism. The armies of the forest of Argon were the Thermopylæ, where this handful of soldiers of liberty made a respectable resistance for fifteen days to that formidable army. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were supported by two armies, animated by the same spirit, whom we joined at the impregnable camp of St. Menehould. The enemy, in despair, wished to attempt an attack, which adds a new victory to the military career of my colleague and friend Kellerman.

"In the camp of St. Menehould, the soldiers of liberty displayed other military virtues, without which courage even may be hurtful—confidence in their chief, obedience, patience and perseverance. That part of the republic which consists of a dry soil, destitute of wood and water, the Germans will remember it; their impure blood will perhaps fertalize these barren plains which are now drenched with it. The season was uncommonly rainy and cold; our soldiers were badly clothed; were destitute of straw to lye upon; had no covering, and remained sometimes 2 days without bread, because the position of the enemy obliged our convoys to take a long circuit, by cross-roads, which are very bad at all seasons, and which were then spoilt by the long rains; for I must do justice to the purveyors of provisions and forage who, notwithstanding all the obstacles of bad roads, wet weather, and the secret movements, which I was obliged to conceal from them, supplied us in abundance, as far as was possible; and I am happy in declaring, that we are indebted to their care for the good health of the soldiers. [Applauses.] I never heard them murmur. Songs and joy would have made one take this formidable camp for one of those camps of pleasure, where the luxury of kings formerly embodied automats for the amusement of their mistresses and children. The soldiers of liberty were supported by the hope of conquest; their fatigues and sufferings have been rewarded; the enemy have sunk under famine, misery and disease. This formidable army, diminished one half, has fled; the roads are strewed with the carcases of horses and dead bodies; Kellerman is in pursuit of them with more than forty-thousand men, while I shall march, with a like number, to the assistance of the department of the North, and of the unfortunate and respectable Belgians and Liegeoise.

"I have come to spend four days here, only for the purpose of settling, with the executive council, the plan of the winter campaign. I embrace this opportunity of presenting my respects to you. I shall not take any new oath—I shall shew myself worthy of commanding the children of liberty, and to support those laws which the sovereign people are going to establish for themselves, by you their representatives."

## DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

*Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson, to the Secretary at War, dated at Fort-Hamilton, 6th November, 7 o'clock P. M.*

"Just as I was about to dispatch this, I received a letter from Major Adair, commandant of the Kentucky mounted infantry, of which the enclosed is a copy: The check which the enemy experienced in this little affair, will produce good effects, and the event reflects honour upon the major and the yeomanry of Kentucky; but the immediate consequence will be an entire stop to the transport of forage to the advanced post, as our pack horses are either destroyed or disabled, and the riflemen dismounted. In this situation, I am perplexed by difficulties, as from my ignorance of the designs of government, and for the want of explicit orders, I am at a loss whether to direct the purchase of more pack horses, or to encourage the riflemen to remount themselves. On these points I shall duly deliberate, and will make such decision as my judgment may direct, relying confidently on the liberality of government, for

an excuſe, ſhould I err; and in the mean time, I ſhall urge forward the tranſport of forage from Fort Waſhington to this poſt, by every means left in my power.

As this affair happened near to and in ſight of Fort St. Clair it may be inquired why the commanding officer did not ſupport major Adair? The anſwer is ſhort, and will, I hope, prove ſatisfactory—The garriſon under his command is poſted for defence, and not offence, and altho' it appears that in this inſtance to have hazarded would have been judicious, yet as I have conſidered it ſafeſt for the national intereſts to confine my ſubordinate officers by rigid orders to defenſive meaſures ſolely, they are bound to hazard in no caſe whatever, which does not immediately and eſſentially intereſt the ſafety of the truſt which may be confided to them; and it may be added that in the inſtance before us, the attack was a moſt daring one, and that neither the number or ultimate object of the enemy, could be developed, before it was diſcovered that Major Adair was a full match for him.

I have this moment diſpatched twenty of my mounted infantry, who will reach St. Clair before day-light, to aid in bringing in the wounded and the weary.

*Copy of a letter from Maj. John Adair, to Briga. Gen. Wilkinſon, dated Fort St. Clair, Nov. 6.*

SIR,

This morning about the firſt appearance of day, the enemy attacked my camp, within ſight of this poſt, the attack was ſudden, and the enemy came on with a degree of courage that beſpoke them warriors indeed, ſome of my men were hand in hand with them before we retreated, which however we did about eighty yards to a kind of ſtockade intended for ſtables; we there made a ſtand, I then ordered Lieut. Madiſon to take a party and gain their right flank if poſſible, I called for Lieut. Hail to ſend to the left; but found he had been ſlain; I then led forward the men who ſtood near me, which together with the enſigns Buchanan and Flinn, amounted to about twenty-five, and preſſed the left of their center thinking it abſolutely neceſſary to aſſiſt Madiſon. We made a manly puſh, and the enemy retreated, taking all our horſes except five or ſix. We drove them about ſix hundred yards through our camp, where they again made a ſtand, and we fought them ſome time, two of my men were here ſhot dead.

At that moment I received information that the enemy was about to flank us on the right and on turning that way, I ſaw about 60 of them running to that point. I had yet heard nothing of Madiſon. I then ordered my men to retreat, which they did with deliberation, heartily curſing the Indians who purſued us cloſe to our camp, where we again fought them until they gave way; and when they retreated our ammunition was nearly expended altho' we had been ſupplied from the garriſon in the courſe of the action. I did not think proper to follow them again, but ordered my men into the garriſon to draw ammunition. I returned however, in a few minutes to a hill, to which we had firſt driven them, where I found two of my men ſcalped, who were brought in. Since I began to write this, a few of the enemy appeared in ſight, and I purſued them with a party about a quarter of a mile, but could not overtake them, and did not think proper to go farther. Madiſon, whom I ſent to the right, was on his firſt attack wounded, and obliged to retreat to the garriſon, leaving a man or two dead.

To this misfortune I think the enemy are indebted for the horſes they have got; had he gained their right flank, I once had poſſeſſion of their left, and I think we ſhould have routed them at that ſtage of the action, as we had them on the retreat. I have ſix killed and five wounded; four men are miſſing. I think they went off early in the action on horſeback, and are, I ſuppoſe, by this at Fort Hamilton. My officers and a number of men diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly.—Poor Hail died calling to his men to advance. Madiſon's bravery and conduct need no comment; they are well known. Flinn and Buchanan acted with a coolneſs and courage which does them much honour. Buchanan, after firing his gun, knocked down an Indian with the barrel. They have killed and taken a great number of the pack-horſes. I intend following them this evening ſome diſtance, to aſcertain their route and ſtrength, if poſſible. I can with propriety, ſay, that about fifty of my men fought with a bravery equal to any men in the world, and had not the garriſon been ſo nigh as a place of ſafety for the baſhful, I think many more would have fought well.

The enemy have no doubt as many killed as myſelf; they left two dead on the ground, and I ſaw two carried off. The only advantage they have gained is our horſes, which is a capital one, as it diſables me from bringing the interview to a more ſerious and ſatisfactory deciſion. I am Sir, yours, &c.

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*From* JULY *to* DECEMBER, 1792, *inclusively.*

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